

STUDIES IN
THE CULT OF YAHWEH

VOLUME ONE

*Studies in Historical Method,
Ancient Israel, Ancient Judaism*

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RELIGIONS IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD

EDITORS

R. VAN DEN BROEK H.J.W. DRIJVERS
H.S. VERSNEL

VOLUME 130/1



STUDIES IN THE CULT OF YAHWEH

VOLUME ONE

*Studies in Historical Method,
Ancient Israel, Ancient Judaism*

BY

MORTON SMITH

EDITED BY

SHAYE J.D. COHEN



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This series Religions in the Graeco-Roman World presents a forum for studies in the social and cultural function of religions in the Greek and the Roman world, dealing with pagan religions both in their own right and in their interaction with and influence on Christianity and Judaism during a lengthy period of fundamental change. Special attention will be given to the religious history of regions and cities which illustrate the practical workings of these processes.

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PREFACE

Papers on the Cult of Yahweh was the title chosen by Morton Smith for the collection of his scholarly articles that he first planned in 1972. Unfortunately, the pressure of other commitments – a glance at the list of his publications will reveal how much he accomplished after 1972! – and then, towards the end of his life, ill-health combined to prevent him from realizing this project. A year or two before his death he asked me to serve as his literary executor and empowered me to republish whichever of his articles I thought worthy. I set before me his 1972 outline, retained about half of it, and filled out the collection with work from his later period. I also changed the title slightly. No doubt Smith himself would have found much to correct and much to supplement in these essays – all of them need bibliographical updating, and not a few need some polishing – but I have left the essays in their original form with only minor changes. I have introduced a measure of consistency in the transliteration of Hebrew, in the citation of biblical, classical, and rabbinic texts, and in the footnote style, but I did not allow myself to become obsessed with absolute consistency, and I know that inconsistencies remain. In the course of re-typing and re-setting the essays, I have tacitly corrected numerous mistakes (incorrect references, typographical errors, etc.) but whatever joy I experienced by the removal of errors from my teacher's work is offset by the certain knowledge that, in spite of all my exertions, I have introduced new errors into the text. For all the errors and inconsistencies for which I am responsible, I beg the reader's indulgence and Smith's forgiveness.

These corrections aside, any intentional deviation from the original text of these essays has been indicated by **brackets**. In chapters 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, and 16 Smith himself is responsible for the text in brackets: these are corrections that Smith entered on the margins of his offprints of the original publications. In chapters 19 and 20 I (and, in the case of chapter 20, Joseph Sievers) am responsible for the text in brackets. (Throughout the essays, Smith occasionally uses brackets to fill out self-understood but unexpressed words in quotations; this is a common usage which is easily recognizable and should not be confused with the additions and corrections which I am now describing.) To facilitate reference, the original pagination is indicated in each article, this too in

brackets; all cross references within the volume are to the original pagination.

A complete list of Smith's publications, as well as an appreciation of his scholarly achievement, will appear in volume 2.

I would like to thank the following people: the holders of the copyright of the original publications, for permission to reprint; my students William K. Gilders and Ami Eden for assistance in checking the proofs; Prof. Seth Schwartz and my student Andrew Jacobs for their assistance in editing chapter nineteen; Dr. Joseph Sievers for editing chapter twenty.

Shaye J. D. Cohen

PART I
METHOD

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORICAL METHOD IN THE STUDY OF RELIGION

[8] Historical thought, as applied to the study of religion, has often concentrated attention on two questions which history is incapable of answering—those of the origin and nature of religion. The only thing history can tell us about the origin of religion is that it occurred in prehistoric times. As for the nature of religion, I should agree, of course, that the definition of the term is an historical question. Nothing is more wearisome than to have some philosopher invent his own meaning for the word *religion* and then go through history, either distinguishing “true religion,” which fits his definition, from “religion falsely so called,” which does not, or, even worse, trying to force all religion whatever into his own mold. By contrast with this philosophical procedure, the normal philological—and that is, historical—way of finding out what a word means is to determine what it has been used to mean and then describe the range and distribution of its uses. This method is used constantly, for instance, in determining the meanings of words in hitherto unknown or imperfectly known languages. One collects all the passages in which the word occurs and then looks for a meaning or group of meanings which will make sense in all of them. Theoretically, therefore, I agree that the determination of the meaning of the English word *religion* is an historical question. But practically I doubt very much that it is a soluble question. The variety of ordinary usage is so wide, the number of terms which the word has been used to translate in learned literature is so enormous, the special meanings which have been given it by individual thinkers are so many and so various, that the historical method is unusable because of the complexity of the problem. Even if a great staff of scholars were to produce a full account of the variety of the usages, that account because of its complexity could never be fully present at one time in any human mind. Those who have memorized the Babylonian Talmud can never know it all at once—they can only recall it part by part. Therefore I think the best we can do, with questions of this sort, is to content ourselves with the customary generalities produced by the superficial, historical methods of lexicography, and proceed to discuss the role of historical method in the study of religion without knowing exactly what we are talking about. [9]

This role is of course enormous, especially if one takes *historical investigation*, as I should, to include any sort of investigation intended to determine just what did happen at some time in the past. In this

sense, scientific investigation, when it tries to determine what happened in a test tube, and criminal or legal investigation, when it tries to determine what happened at a crossroads, and a vast number of other specialized sorts of investigation, are all "historical." Any amount of stuff has, I know, been written about scientific method and historical method and so on, but as far as they are concerned to determine what happened in some past event, I think them the same: you start with certain pieces of present evidence, meter readings or manuscript text or whatever, you suppose that the present evidence was produced by the sort of cause-and-effect sequences which you have learned from one or another body of experience, and you try, accordingly, to imagine a set of causes which would have produced the effects, that is, the evidence, to be accounted for. If you can imagine two or more sets of causes which might have produced the same evidence, you judge between them on the basis of probability (which is another complicated set of generalizations from past experience) and your result, "history," is accordingly, by your standard, the most probable account of what happened. (It is not necessarily the true one. Indeed, it must sometimes be false, because improbable things sometimes happen and, when they do, they produce results of which the most probable explanations will be the wrong ones. But we can never recover the actual past event; therefore we have to accept, *faute de mieux*, the most probable explanation as the historical one. So truth is by definition stranger than history.) The search for, discovery, and acceptance of these most probable explanations shape almost all our thought about religion, as about almost everything else. From the immense range of its relevance in the study of religion I want to pick out two spheres I think of special importance.

The first is the obvious one: historical method enables us to produce the individual histories of the individual religions which have arisen, flourished, and declined among the civilized peoples of the world. These individual histories are not, of course, the history of religion. That, I suppose, if we use the terms strictly, would be an enormous, unknowable thing, an account of all religious activities all over the world, from year to year, throughout the whole course of history. This, thank Heaven, has never been attempted, and the term "history of religion" is usually misused for what should be called "the science of religion," that is, the attempt to classify religions by types, to describe the patterns of development and decline which are followed by the various types, to determine the causes which produce these patterns and the methods which might be used to alter them. Those who are accustomed to hope for great things from the social sciences will doubtless expect them also [10] from this scientific study of religion. Some, perhaps, will even envisage a practical handbook entitled

Religions, Their Causes and Cures. But, while we await the development of this science of religion, we must recognize that the first step toward it is the production of reliable histories of the individual religions. Only when we know accurately the life histories of our specimens can we begin to generalize about patterns of development. And lest one think that the life histories of the major religions are already well known, so that little remains to be done in this field, I want to indicate a few points in which the application of proper historical methods has still to be carried through in the study of the religions best known to our society—the religion of Israel and two of its major descendants, Judaism and Christianity.

The first requirement of historical method is to determine the content of your evidence. When your evidence includes texts, therefore, one of the first steps in the historical study of religion must be textual criticism—the determination of just what manuscripts you have, just what readings stand in which, how the different readings are related, and what was, most probably, the original from which they derived. In the study of the religion of Israel this work has been blocked by reverence for the common, medieval Hebrew text. Consequently, we still have no good critical text of the Old Testament, thousands of emendations almost certainly correct remain buried in the footnotes, while students continue to memorize inferior readings and produce implausible arguments in defense of them. To make a critical text it would be necessary, of course, to compare with the Hebrew manuscript the readings of the oldest versions and the quotations by ancient authors. But the one thing on which experts in Septuagintal studies seem to agree is that there is no satisfactory edition of the LXX, and careful study of the ancient Syriac versions is barely beginning. Editions of many of the major Greek and Latin Fathers are far from adequate, and the textual criticism of the Talmuds and the Midrashim is in even worse condition.

After one has determined just what the texts, in their present form, originally said, the next thing to be done is investigate their background. From what group do they come? What interests do they represent? The answers given these questions can make an enormous difference in our picture of the history of a religion. For instance, “the religion of Israel” is commonly reconstructed from the Old Testament on the basis of a tacit supposition that the works preserved in the Old Testament represent the beliefs and practices of most ancient Israelites. But there are strong reasons to believe that they actually represent the beliefs and wishful legislation of a minority party which came to power only for brief intervals during the period of the Kingdoms. If this be so, then the various religious practices common in ancient Israel were actually more like those which the Old Testament

books denounce. Similar problems have been raised for early Christianity, by the work of Bauer, *Rechtgläubigkeit* [11] *und Ketzerei*, and for early Judaism, by that of Goodenough. In all these instances it appears that we need very careful studies of the events which led to the (practical or actual) canonization of the works now considered authoritative, and to the disappearance of most of the material not thus approved.

Once we have decided what parties and interests our texts represent, we can then go on (with due allowance for the bias of the works) to consider their interpretation and reliability. As to interpretation, we are generally well supplied with lexica and grammars, but a great deal still remains to be done in biblical lexicography, particularly in critical evaluation of the many proposals for interpretation of biblical texts in the half-light of ancient Near Eastern parallels. It must never be forgotten that the bulk of the Old Testament consists of works produced about the middle of the first millennium B.C., often a thousand years later, or more, than the second millennium B.C. texts which are advanced as explanations. Most of the biblical texts, therefore, are far closer in time to the earliest versions, especially the Septuagint, to the traditional interpretations (especially in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha), and to the Phoenician and Nabatean cultures—besides being more closely related to the traditions from which these sprang.

But these problems of lexicography are insignificant by comparison with the questions of historical interpretation raised by much of the work, notably the archaeological work, of the past half century. A great deal of it was based on the assumption that possibility constituted proof: If evidence of destruction could be found in a city, for instance, and could possibly be dated to about the time when the Old Testament said the city was destroyed, that proved it was to be dated then, and the date then proved that the Old Testament account was correct and that the destruction was the work of the groups mentioned in the Old Testament—as if nobody else could have done it! Another common cause of error has been the tacit supposition that a source must be as old as its oldest element, so that, for instance, a few Ugaritic terms can be taken as proof that the Psalm in which they occur is of Ugaritic origin. The same method of criticism would prove *Paradise Lost* was composed by Homer. Equally ludicrous has been the neglect of the literary character of much of the preserved material, which is obviously legendary. Stories of men who entertain deities at dinner or save them from rape, wrestle with angels, or stop the sun and moon in mid career, are described as “substantially historical,” and some scholars have actually had the impertinence—or stupidity—to declare that “there is no mythology in the Bible.” Because of the story

that Abraham came from Ur, the centuries following the destruction of Ur have been christened "the age of the patriarchs." One can imagine how classicists would laugh if some pious Latinist were to christen the centuries following the destruction of Troy VII, "the age of Aeneas." Most of this pseudo-historical criticism, therefore, will have to be done over. [12]

From all this it can be seen that there is a great deal to be done before we have reliable histories even of the individual religions best known to our own cultural tradition. The science of religion, for which these histories of particular religions are prerequisites, is still far in the future. But, when and if it comes, both it, and the individual histories already developing, will be shaped by a basic supposition of sound historical method.

This supposition, in classical terms, is "atheism." I say "in classical terms" because the adjective "atheist" was regularly used in classical times to describe, for instance, the Epicureans, who insisted that there were gods, but denied that they ever descended to any special intervention in the world's affairs. It is precisely this denial which is fundamental to any sound historical method. Whether or not supernatural beings exist is a question for metaphysics. Even if they exist and exercise some regular influence on the world, some influence of which the consequences are taken to be part of the normal course of natural events—let us say, for instance, that they determine the motion of the sphere of fixed stars, or that the whole of nature, including its regular operation, is a manifestation of some unchanging divine nature or will—even this is of no concern to history, since it is not history's task to inquire into the causes of the normal phenomena of nature. But the historian does require a world in which these normal phenomena are not interfered with by arbitrary and *ad hoc* divine interventions to produce abnormal events with special historical consequences. This is not a matter of personal preference, but of professional necessity, for the historian's task, as I said at the beginning, is to calculate the most probable explanation of the preserved evidence. Now the minds of the gods are inscrutable and their actions, consequently, incalculable. Therefore, unless the possibility of their special intervention be ruled out, there can be no calculation of most probable causes—there would always be an unknown probability that a deity might have intervened.

In all this I am, of course, contradicting the recent statement of Professor Thorkild Jacobsen, that when writing the history of religion we are only concerned to determine what ancient beliefs were, not whether or not they were true. This is false, because a great many ancient beliefs concerned supposed cases of divine intervention in history, and these are questions of historical fact. Whether Joshua's

defeat of the Amorites at Gibeon was or was not prolonged by his stopping of the sun in mid heaven for the space of a day is just as much an historical question as whether a recent congressman's defeat of his opponents was or was not affected by tampering with the voting machines. In both cases, the historian must collect the evidence and try to discover the most likely explanation.

Let me give an example of the way in which this practical atheism of [13] historians works. A recent Ph.D. candidate undertook to write on international relations in the ancient Near East. He dutifully collected all the relevant passages he could find, and, not being historically minded, he took them at face value. Consequently, he produced the following preliminary report:

International relations in the ancient Near East were entirely in the hands of the gods. The gods decided when war was to be declared, and when peace was to be made; they settled the boundaries and authorized the treaties; they directed the rulers by their oracles, and the rulers consistently represent themselves as merely the agents of the gods. An exception must be made in the case of Egypt, where the ruler was himself a god. He was consequently able to direct Egyptian affairs himself, and to take a more independent line vis-à-vis the other gods, than could the other rulers, who were only men.

The first and most obvious thing wrong with all this is the failure to ask, Who were the gods?—that is, what human beings were accepted as the mouthpieces of the gods or as able, for official purposes, to determine their wills? The historian must of course suppose that these human beings produced the directives represented as divine, and he will therefore look in those directives for indications of the interests and intentions of their human authors. He will therefore find, by the way, that the rulers of Assyria, who were evidently able to get whatever oracles they wanted, and promptly, were much less subject to “the gods” than were many Pharaohs who found their own divine wills opposed by those of “the gods,” that is, the priesthoods of the great temples. And even if we suppose (as is probable) that many oracles were not cooked to order, but were expressions of the individual or group unconscious, or of the prophet's “sincere conviction,” or whatever, and if we call the supposed cause of such oracles Amon or Ishtar or Yahweh—even this account of the cause permits and, indeed, requires naturalistic, psychological analysis and explanation. It is a mesh in the coherent web of natural causes and consequences, which a god is not. This fact has been much obscured by German romanticism, which liked to give divine names to psychological phenomena, but the difference is clear.

To make it clearer, let me conclude with a legal example. Shortly after a recent accident the police, arriving on the scene, found two cars

in the ditch on the right hand side of the road. One car was overturned and its left side was mashed in; both persons in it were dead. The other car, its nose mashed in, was piled on top of the first. The driver's ribs were broken and he was unconscious, but alive; he smelled strongly of whiskey. It seemed evident that he had come out of the side road to the left, which there adjoined the main road, without stopping, and had hit the first car (which was traveling along the main road) in the side. When the driver recovered and was faced with the charges he explained the evidence as follows: "It's true I'd had a little drink, but I [14] wasn't drunk, 'n' I wasn't goin' fast at all, 'n' I meant to stop when I come to the main road, but the ol' Devil, he's always out to get me; so when I come up to that corner he come up right behin' me 'n' g'me a shove slam into that other car. There jus' wa'n't nothin' I could do about it."

This explanation is irrefutable. It accords perfectly with the traditional beliefs of both Christianity and Judaism, the major religions of our culture; therefore it cannot be said to describe a course of events which, by *the traditional standards of our culture*, could be called impossible. But the traditional standards of our culture are not its present, practical standards. For practical purposes we now work by the presuppositions common to history and science, among which, as I have argued, is one to the effect that supernatural intervention does not alter the normal course of physical events. Anyone who doubts that this presupposition is common might be asked to undertake the legal defense of this driver. I think he would be well advised to defend him on the ground of insanity. No jury would swallow that story. For a jury's task is essentially one of historical criticism—to determine whether or not the evidence presented establishes a probability strong enough to be taken as proof that the accused is guilty as charged. And the ordinary jury's refusal to accept accounts of supernatural intervention as explanations of historical evidence is an example of common sense which historians of religion would do well to follow.

I hope this conclusion seems a truism scarcely worth stating, because I now propose to give evidence of the need for stating it. I shall draw my evidence from the most authoritative work by the most eminent and competent general historian of religion now teaching in the United States, that is to say, from Professor Mircea Eliade's book, *Shamanism*, in its recent English edition (Bollingen Series, LXXVI, New York, 1965). In discussing shamanic initiation Eliade makes practically no distinction between initiations performed by men, in which there can be deliberate communications of traditional teachings and techniques previously unknown to the candidate, and initiation by sickness and hallucination, in which any unknown material must emerge from the candidate's subconscious. Thus he writes (p. 253 ff.),

“Most of the (Chuckchee) shamans ... claimed to have had no masters, but this does not mean that they did not have superhuman teachers. The meeting with ‘shamanic animals’ itself indicates the kind of teaching that an apprentice might receive.” This failure to distinguish between yarns about supernatural instruction and reliable historical reports about human instruction has obscured in Eliade’s work the extremely important difference between two types of shamanism—one hierarchic and usually hereditary, the other charismatic; it has also obscured the almost equally important problem of the interrelation between these two types, the ways, for instance, in which charismatic shamans attempt [15] to transmit their powers (or, at least, their power) to their children, or a shamanic hierarchy adjusts to extraordinary powers in an outsider. These are serious faults of historical analysis. Equally serious is Eliade’s acceptance of the stories about feats of the shamans of the good old days; for instance, in *Shamanism*, 254, 290: “The Eskimo remembers a time when the angakut were far more powerful than they are today. ‘I am a shaman myself,’ one of them told Rasmussen, ‘but I am nothing compared with my grandfather Tiqatsaq. He lived in the time when a shaman could go down to the mother of the sea beasts, fly up to the moon,’” and so on—that is to say, the old man *either* had more fantastic hallucinations, *or* was a less inhibited liar; *or*, most likely of all, the stories of his feats had grown with time. It would be a matter of some historical interest to know which, or what combination, of these possibilities was the correct explanation. If hallucinations have actually become less adventurous as primitive groups have come into contact with civilization, or, if the influence of higher cultures has produced conscious caution in the inventions of primitive religious personnel, we should like to know more about the changes. But Eliade simply swallows the stories whole (*Shamanism*, 299, 500, etc.). What is worse, he goes on to make them into evidence for an historical process, an actual decline in shamanic powers, which makes it impossible for shamans now to fly through the air as they used to! (*Loc. cit.*) If by this he means an actual change in the content of the hallucinations to which shamans are subject, let him say so and let the question be investigated—if there is adequate evidence for an investigation. But it is worth remarking in this connection that both Homer and the Old Testament picture a world in which the powers of men in general have far declined from what they were in the good old days. Perhaps Eliade would accept their picture, too, but the fifth century B.C. author of the *Battle of Frogs and Mice* could already parody such stories in the spirit of historical criticism, making his hero frog lift a great mud ball “which not nine frogs of these degenerate days” could hope to move.

Actually, the most striking characteristic of Eliade's work on shamanism is its total and deliberate neglect of the importance of sham. This is characteristic of a great many works of contemporary anthropology and ethnology. It is a reaction against the unsympathetic, either dogmatic or rationalist, approach to primitive beliefs and practices which vitiated the work of many early observers. For good observation it is of course necessary to study with sympathy. But for good judgment it is necessary to regain objectivity. The study of religion is in this respect like the study of poetry. One must come to the material with what Coleridge called "that willing suspension of disbelief which constitutes poetic faith," or one will never feel the moving power which the material has, and one will never, therefore, be able to understand what the believers are talking about. But neither religions, nor even poems, exist *in vacuo*. Therefore, having [16] experienced what the ceremony or the composition has to offer, the historian, like the critic, must then be able to return from the world of imagination to that of fact, and to determine the relation of the poetic or religious complex to its environment in the historical world.

PART II
ANCIENT ISRAEL

CHAPTER TWO

THE COMMON THEOLOGY OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

I.

[135] We have recently heard much about the importance of archaeology for the study of the Old Testament. Just because this importance is great, it should be described accurately.

The need for this caution is shown by the recent exaggeration of the importance of the material from Ras Shamra. That material is admittedly of great importance for the history of the Near East in the second millenium B.C., but for the understanding of the bulk of the OT, which dates from about the middle of the first millenium, it is somewhat less relevant than would be the material preserved in mediaeval French mystery plays for the understanding of the English deists of the early eighteenth century. Linguistically, the two groups are about equally distant,¹ but the fifteenth-century mysteries are much closer in time to the deists than Ugaritic literature is even to Isaiah, let alone Jeremiah or Deuteronomy.² From the mysteries to the deists there is a continuous development of a single culture, whereas between the Ugaritica and the OT lies the complete destruction of the

[The copy of this essay in Smith's offprint file contains six marginal annotations by Hans Goedicke, plus one additional annotation in an unidentified hand. For various reasons I have decided not to publish these annotations: I cannot fully decipher two of them; they deal with specific points of detail (five of the seven apply to footnotes) and do not affect the overall thesis of the article; I assume that Prof. Goedicke did not intend his annotations to be published in their original form; I do not know how to determine which of these annotations Smith would have incorporated and which he would have rejected. Smith's own additions and corrections, have been included unsigned in brackets. The face of the offprint also contains several comments in Smith's hand, the two most germane of which are the following. In the first, Smith transcribes H. Frankfort, *The Birth of Civilization*, New York, 1956, p. 63: in Mesopotamia "the city, as soon as it became recognizable, appears as the property of one god, although other deities are worshiped there as well." The second note reads "For pagan recognition of the common theology see Aelian, VH 2.31, a fine proof passage." – SJDC].

¹ C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook*, Rome, 1947 (*Analecta Orientalia*, 25) nos. 14.3-9 repudiates as unproved his former classification of Ugaritic with Hebrew as belonging "to the same subdivision (often called Canaanite) of the Northwest branch of the Semitic languages." He concludes that because of our ignorance of the exact relationship of the Semitic languages generally, it is impossible to determine the proper place of Ugaritic, which "has been grouped with everything from Heb. to South Arabic" and had best be treated "as a separate Semitic language."

² W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine*, Harmondsworth, 1949, p. 187, says "all the datable texts from Ugarit belong to the first third of the fourteenth century." In that event, the poems contained in these texts can hardly be later than the fifteenth century B.C. This would put Ugaritic poetry about as far from Isaiah (late 8th cent.) as Isaiah was from Meleager of Gadara (1st cent. B.C.).

former culture by barbarian invasions.³ However much the religion of the deists differed from that [136] of the authors of the mysteries, it yet preserved the same *dramatis personae* and the same sacred literature, whereas the striking thing about the religion of the Ugaritica is its almost total lack of any direct relationship to that of the OT. The weakness of the evidence which has been alleged as proving direct relationship is actually the best evidence against it. A few traces of Ugaritic mythology are found in OT poetry—but the striking fact is the rarity of such references, and when they do occur they are pieces of poetic imagery, probably of no religious significance.⁴ A good deal of poetic jargon also found in Ugaritic is preserved in the OT, but much of it is the common jargon of most ancient Semitic poetry, and to be explained by the common linguistic and cultural background of that poetry.⁵ At any rate, it does not prove the direct relationship of the religions: *Paradise Lost* is full of the poetic jargon of Homer. As for the evidence supposedly furnished by the preservation of proper names: Nothing can be clearer from the entire known course of Israelitic and Jewish history than the fact that, like most other peoples, the Israelites and the Jews preserved place names and adopted foreign names often without any knowledge of the original meaning, and often, when they did happen to know it, without any concern for it.⁶ In sum: Ugaritic literature is of great importance for many aspects of ancient history, but its importance for the study of the OT is at best indirect and incidental, and the recent exaggeration of this importance is symptomatic: Had there been much that was really near, less would have been made of what was really remote.

All this being granted, however, the fact remains that to see the OT against a remote background is better (for historical purposes) than to see it against no background at all. Fortunately, many important

³ W. F. Albright, *The Present State of Syro-Palestinian Archaeology*, in *The Haverford Symposium on Archaeology and the Bible*, New Haven, 1938, p. 23: "At the threshold of the Iron Age we enter a new historical world, in which the great nations of the Bronze Age seem incapable of making a constructive cultural effort, and in which Israel and Hellas play an increasingly important part." So also T. J. Meek, *Hebrew Origins*, revised ed., N.Y., 1950, p. 74, "Excavations in Palestine show a definite break between Canaanite (Late Bronze) and Hebrew (Early Iron) cultures, with a number of differences between them."

⁴ W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine*, Harmondsworth, 1949, p. 233, notes this lack of religious significance. See also p. 235. It is also noted by H. L. Ginsberg, *Ugaritic Studies and the Bible*, in *Biblical Archaeologist*, 8 (1945), p. 54, whence I have taken the comparison to the unimportance of classical mythology in English poetry. Contrast the theories of Dussaud.

⁵ This is the opinion of Gordon, *op. cit.*, 17.4-13. What is true of poetic jargon is equally true of the forms of the poems, which have also been used as evidence of close relationship. Cf. Gordon, *ibid.* 13.98.

⁶ For ignorance in the early period see the false etymologies in Genesis; for indifference in the late, the history of the name Isidore.

fragments of such background as we have are now collected in the magnificent volume produced by Princeton,⁷ and it seems therefore [137] worth-while to try to state in outline just how the theological material in that collection *is* relevant to the theological material in the OT.

By “theological material” I mean that which describes a god (or gods) and his (or their) actions.

Now the striking thing about the theological material of the great majority of these ancient near-eastern texts is that, despite superficial differences, it shows one over-all⁸ pattern, which is the following:

⁷ *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*, ed. J. B. Pritchard, Princeton, 1950. Hereafter cited merely by page and column, e.g., 389 a means ANET, p. 389, col. a.

⁸ Particular exceptions can be found to every one of the following points, but are not relevant to the argument, which is concerned only to describe the common pattern. This pattern is clearest in the Egyptian and neo-Babylonian material, it is least clear in the Hittite (as might be expected, since the Hittites, in race, language, social structure and environment stand rather apart from the majority of ancient near-eastern peoples, and it is here suggested that this pattern was largely a product of those causes. The Hittite pantheon, like Hittite society, seems to have been more feudal than those of the city states and centralized empires.) But it is contended that the pattern here described gives on the whole a correct account of the structure of belief expressed by the actual devotions to any one of the major deities, including the Hittite—so far as the preserved material enables that structure to be determined. (In some instances, of course, notably in Ugaritic, very little devotional—as opposed to mythological—material has been preserved, but if any arguments are to be made from silence, they should be rather for than against the common pattern.)

Two specifications in the above claim require special notice: one is *structure of belief*, the other, *major deity*.

Any great religion, considered in detail, presents such a bewildering mass of particular practices and convictions as to seem to defy classification, but classification is none the less possible. A comparison with anthropology may be useful here: The average man who lives among and is constantly concerned with the members of one racial group, will be the first to deny that they all look alike, and will be able to prove his point by reference to innumerable particular differences as well as by appeal to his own undoubtedly expert opinion; but the anthropologist will none the less maintain that certain structures are typical of this racial group. This paper, then, is concerned with the underlying structure of belief, not with the accidents of expression.

The structure of belief reaches full development only in the cults of the major deities. No doubt much of the popular devotion was to minor deities, either of unimportant localities (e.g. Meres-ger, 381 a-b) or specialists (e.g. Thoth, 379 a, 476 a). These, of course, were not usually exalted further than was necessary for the purpose of the worshiper. If the deity was by definition “He who does x,” then, in calling on him to do x, one had only to remind him of his well-known power. But it should be noticed that, within their own limits, these minor deities remain true to the general theological pattern, e.g. Meres-ger (v. *supra*) punishes her servant when he transgresses, shows her power, and then, on his repentance, shows her mercy and heals him. Notice, too, that her servant is devoted to her and addresses her alone. So, for the scribe, Thoth is “my god” and “a shield about me,” 676 a.

II.

Prayer and praise are usually directed to one god at a time,⁹ and peoples and persons are often represented as, or appear to have been, [138] particularly devoted to the worship of a single god.¹⁰ The mythology tells of many gods, of course—you can't have much mythology about a solitary being—and it accounts for many of the practices of worship¹¹—no doubt because it was invented to do so. But the mythology seems rather a literary than a religious product. And just as it, for its own purposes, exploited polytheism, so prayer and praise, no doubt because of their own nature, are usually directed to one god at a time. This fact is characteristic of the rest of the theological pattern.

⁹ All of the Egyptian hymns and prayers (365 a to 381 b) are concerned with single deities (the Pharaoh, of course, is a god), so are all but one of the Sumero-Akkadian hymns and prayers (383 a to 392 b). (The composition entitled "prayer to Every God" should have been entitled "Prayer to Any God"—it is not addressed "to all gods in general" (p. 391 a), but to that *one* god or goddess whom the petitioner supposes to be punishing him or her, and it is significant that the petitioner takes it for granted that this unknown deity is singular.) Even when two deities are worshiped simultaneously, as Bel and Beltiya in the Akkadian ritual, the prayers and praises are directed most often to one or the other *singly*, 332 a-334 a; contrast the magical formula 333 b-334 a. So in the Hittite rituals (346 a-361b) though 9 of the 13 involve sacrifice or prayer to several gods *successively*, yet there are only 3 in which prayer is directed to several gods *at once*. So, too, of the Hittite prayers (393 ff.) only 3 (section b of the plague prayers of Mursilis, the "Prayer to be spoken in an Emergency" and the "Prayer of Arnuwandas") are really directed to many deities. The others, though several of them contain incidental references to a number of gods, are primarily directed, each one, to one single divine being. So, too, most of the prayers put in the mouths of mythological characters or found in the mythological material: The Hittite ritual in the Telepinus myth (126 b-128 b), such prayers as there are in the Gilgamesh epic, the prayers in the Etana story, the prayers in the story of the two brothers, etc.

¹⁰ "King Apophis ... made him Seth as lord, and he would not serve any god who was in the land except Seth." King Seqnen-Re, on the other hand, "relies upon no god who is in the entire land except Amon-Re, King of the Gods." (231 b) The story is not historical, of course; what is historical is the fact that the author should consider such a procedure perfectly natural and use it as a point of departure for his story. Historical evidence of such behavior in Egypt is provided by the case of Akh-en-Aton. That his policy merely carried to an extreme a common tendency is suggested by many details, e.g., the practical absence, from the records of Thut-mose III (234 b ff.) of reference to any god save Amon (and, of course, Thut-mose III himself). Montu, the god of war, is occasionally mentioned, evidently by literary convention, but the actual direction of the war is wholly Amon's and there are dozens of references to him for every one to any other deity. Contrast the frequent appearances of Montu in the material of the next Pharaoh, Amen-hotep II. Outside Egypt, Mesha of Moab is almost exclusively devoted to Chemosh, Atrahasis has Ea as "his god" and "his lord" (106 a-b) etc. (see the refs. above, ends of notes 8 and 9). Other instances of cities or individuals especially devoted to the worship of a particular god are numerous, e.g.: Mesopotamian: Esarhaddon to Ashur 290 a ff.; Babylon to Bel 331 a; a priest to Bel 333 a; the poet to Ishtar (cf. the psalmist to Yahweh) 384 b f. Egyptian: Hermopolis to Thot 379 b, Heliopolis to Re 379 b; Karnak to Amon 380 a; Thebes to Amon, *ibid*. Hittite: Puduhepas to the sun goddess of Arinna 393 a; Kantuzilis to the sun god 400 b, a patient to Uliliyassiss 350 a (and v. *inf*. end of n. 15).

¹¹ Myths explain rites or practices: 8 b-9 a, 10 b, 11 a-b etc.

The god being worshiped is regularly flattered—that is to say, exalted. Though he may occupy a minor position in the preserved [139] mythological works, yet in the worship addressed to him he is regularly represented as greater than all other gods.¹² It is often said that he created not only the world, but also the other gods.¹³ He is the only true god; sometimes, even when worshiped in close connection with other deities, the only god.¹⁴ This does not mean, of course, that he is actually thought to be the only god; the expression is usually no more than a form of flattery; only in a few special cases does it come to

¹² Mythologically secondary or derivative deities who are declared greatest of the gods or ruler of the gods: Ashur 298 a; Bel Marduk 62 a, 332 a f.; Enlil 337 b; Ishtar 383 a ff.; Isis 14 a; Nanna-Sin 311 a ff.; 386 a f.; Ptah 5 a; Shamash 387 a; the sun goddess of Arinna 393 b; Telepinus 397 a. [This practice extended to Persia and India; see R. Zaehner, *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*, New York, 1961, p. 147. The exaltation of the Fravashis in the Yashts “does not mean, as has sometimes been supposed, that there was a proliferation of ‘high gods’ throughout the Iranian lands, each of whom was supreme to his own particular group of worshippers; it means simply that the poets who composed these hymns were returning to a technique similar to that employed by the poets of the Rig Veda—a technique which is concerned with the exaltation of one particular god in any hymn addressed to him in such a manner that it would appear that he is surely the greatest of all the gods.”]. These passages illustrate, but by no means exhaust, the common practice. Even commoner is the representation of a mythologically minor deity as greater in some particular than one of his mythological superiors. More attention should be given the passages in which a foreign deity is referred to as greatest of, or ruler of, the gods: Anath (in Beisan, but by an Egyptian) 249 b, Qadesh and Rashap (in Egypt) 250 b, Marduk (in an Assyrian document) 299 b, Marduk (for Cyrus) 315 b. In most of these instances it is clear that the author has adopted the conventional rhetoric of the god’s professional servants, which was evidently very much the same all over the ancient Near East: Theology, in these expressions, is a by-product of politeness. Just so, when the eloquent peasant appealed to the chief steward, he called him “greatest of the great” and attributed to him omnipotence, 408 b.

¹³ El is the “creator of creatures” (132 a ff.) but it is not certain that “creatures” here includes the other gods. The Akkadian creation epic has at least five universal creators: Apsu (61 a), Mummu-Tiamat (*ibid.*), Mother Hubur (62 b), Ea (64 a) and Marduk-Marukka (69 b) (cf. Marduk-Aranunna “creator of the gods, his fathers” and Marduk-Shugurim, 71 a-b). Elsewhere in the same literary tradition Anu and Mammi give birth to all the gods (111 a ff.). Yet again it is Nanna who did so, 385 a; again, Enlil, 50 b. I doubt that for the purpose of this paper it is worth while to distinguish between a “father” of the gods and a “creator” of them. The Hittite Kumbabis is “the father of all gods” 121 b, ff. Atun of Heliopolis is either father or creator of all other deities, 3 a ff.; Ptah of Memphis created all other deities, 5 a-b; Re created all things, including the gods, 6 a ff.; etc. Notice that Re himself has a father, Nun, 6b, 11a, 13a. Here one sees clearly the conflict between mythology (to which Re is only one figure in a genealogy) and a local patriotism (which made him the supreme god and origin of godhead). Note 4 of p. 13 a recognizes this conflict but does not grasp its significance. (cf. the attribute of Marduk-Aranunna, above.)

¹⁴ Bel is sole lord, 333 a; Nanna is unique, 386 a; Amon is unique in nature, 365 a, sole one, 366 b ff.; Aton is sole god, 370 b. Cf. the later Greek expression *εἷς θεός* —, which means approximately “—is a great god”, not “—is the only god.” [O. Eissfeldt, *El*, Berlin, 1951, p. 60, reaches the conclusion that, at least for some circles, El was not only the highest God, but “der Gott schlechthin ... dem gegenüber die anderen Gottheiten zwar schwerlich ihre Existenz, wohl aber ihre Bedeutung für den Frommen zu verlieren in Begriff stehen.” See too p. 70 for parallels from Egypt and Babylonia.]

be taken literally. As a form of flattery it is often an expression of local patriotism,¹⁵ which achieved it by a chain of exaggeration something [140] like this: Our god is the greatest of all gods, there is none other like him, there is none other.¹⁶

Such exaltation of the god being worshiped is motivated also by the worshiper's desire to convince himself that this god can grant his requests. Therefore this god has all power necessary to do what his worshipers ask (and this is the important thing; this granted, whether or not he has *all* power is an academic question sure to be answered in the affirmative sooner or later by the natural development of flattery.) His activity is by no means limited to his own land;¹⁷ he regularly discomfits foreign enemies in their own territories, makes over foreign

¹⁵ So H. Ranke, in his note on a Ptah inscription, *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, ed. H. Gressmann, Berlin, 1926, sec. 1, no. 4: "This is a typical example of local theology in ancient Egypt. In similar fashion the local divinity at Heliopolis and at certain of the other great temples of the country was set above all other divine beings and credited with their creation." The same process is visibly at work in Sumer-Akkadian hymns, but has not there achieved such full expression. Evidences of local loyalties, however, are numerous, e.g. Babylon's for Bel (331 a ff.), Nippur's for Enlil (455 b) etc. (see 53 b ff. and *inf.* n. 27). The intimate relation of Yahweh to a people rather than a place is paralleled most closely by the relation of Ashur to the Assyrians. The reader will, I trust, pardon the application of the term "local patriotism" to such tribal loyalties as well as to strictly local ones.

¹⁶ Examples of this line of thought in various stages of development: 365 a-b (Amon-Re), 383 a (Ishtar), 386 a (Nanna), 71 b f. (Marduk), Exod 15:11 and Ps 50:1 (Yahweh). The final step in the process is to dispose of the other gods. This may be done by reducing them to parts or names or activities of the great god (as in Egypt, 4 a ff.), by reducing them to demons (as the Persians did, 317 a), or by denying their existence altogether (as did II Isaiah [and the Getae, Hdt. 4.94]). The choice of method was probably determined less by theology, or even by superstition, than by economic considerations. The various gods were sanctions of financial concentrations (esp. local temples) of which the beneficiaries were not inclined to deny their existence. It was probably the annihilation of such vested interests in Judea by the Babylonian conquest (they seem to have survived the attacks of Josiah) which cleared the way for II Isaiah's theological centralization. That, however, was too much for Jewish common sense, which might abuse the concepts of divinity formed by men of other traditions, but would not wholly deny their correspondence to some objective fact. Therefore in this point, as in others, Hellenistic Judaism did not follow II Isaiah consistently, but adopted various explanations of the pagan gods, e.g. it followed the Persians and was itself followed by Christianity in explaining that they were demons. The rhetoric of II Isaiah was preserved as a literary exercise but, even by the Rabbis, was transferred from the deities to the idols, v. S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*, N.Y., 1950, p. 126, n. 60.

¹⁷ Gods who are worshiped or said to exercise power outside their own lands (those starred rule the whole world, or all mankind): *Amon-Re 6 a ff. (All-Lord), 27 b, 237 a, 263 a, 366 b ff. etc.; *Ashur 275 a, 281 b ff.; Anath, Astarte, Baal 250 a-b; *Aton 370 a ff.; *Bel-Marduk 72 b, 164 a, 309 a, 331 a ff.; *Enlil 50 b, 159 b, 337 b, 455 b, 481 b; The Hattian storm god 395 a; *Ishtar 383 ff.; Khonsu of Thebes 30 b; *Nanna 385 b; Ningirsu 269 a; Qadesh and Rashap 250 a-b; *Shamash 116 b, 387 b ff.; The storm god of Nerik 400 a; *The sun goddess of Arinna 392 a-b; *Telepinus 397 a. This list has no pretention to completeness.

lands to his own worshipers,¹⁸ or gives other lands (or even the lands of his own worshipers) [141] into the hands of foreign rulers.¹⁹ Having created the order of nature, he not unnaturally maintains it (makes the crops grow, and so on),²⁰ but he can also change it by miracles. He maintains by rewards and punishments the moral order,²¹ but he is independent of it and can pardon sin at will.²²

He is regularly described by comparisons with the most conspicuous or the most powerful objects known to the culture, for instance, the sun,²³ the father,²⁴ the king²⁵ and the bull.²⁶ His minor attributes are usually those of the objects to which he is compared: As bull he is noisy, violent and fertile. As the sun he is glorious, perfect in beauty, the source of light and knowledge, the enemy of darkness, ignorance and falsity, the witness and judge of all that is done on earth. He is the

¹⁸ Amon-Re to various Pharaohs 23 b, 248 a f., 251 a, 263 b. Enlil to Sargon 267 b. The Assyrian rulers regularly claim to be "king of the world ... king of all the four rims of the earth" 274 b ff., and their kingship is ordained by the gods, esp. by Ashur, who also specifically orders their foreign conquests 275 a ff., and helps them in the conquering 275 b ff. The Assyrian formulae were taken over by the neo-Babylonians (vestiges in 307 a and—applied by Cyrus to Nabonidus?—in 315 b) and by the Persians (316a) who at first claimed to hold them from Marduk (*ibid.*), later from Ahuramazda (316 b).

¹⁹ Amon gives Egypt to the kings of Cush, 448 a. El is the god of Udum, but gives it to be harassed by Keret, 144 a. The Hattian storm god "brought people of Kurustama to the country of Egypt," 395 a. "Marduk ... beheld with pleasure his (Cyrus') good deeds ... and therefore ordered him to march against his (Marduk's) city Babylon ... going at his side like a real friend." 315 b. See also n. 49 below.

²⁰ Gods who maintain the order of nature: Amon 366 b ff.; Aton 370 a ff.; Bel Marduk 71 a, 332 b f.; Nanna 386 a; Shamash 389 b; Telepinus 397 b.

²¹ Gods who back up the moral order by rewards and punishments: Amon 380 a-b; Ashur 300 a; Bel-Marduk 70 b f., 316 a; "The god" of Amen-em-opet 421 ff.; "God" in Ahikar 429a-b; Hittite gods generally 355 a; Shamash 388 b f.; Telepinus 397 a. Other refs. *inf.* notes 35, 39, 43, 44.

²² Gods who pardon sin: Amon-Re 379 b f.; Bel-Marduk 310 a, 390 a-b, 436 b; the Hattian storm-god 395 b; Ishtar 385 a; Sin 386 b. It is necessary to emphasize again that these lists are intended to be exemplary, not exhaustive, and that considerations of economy have necessitated their reduction to a minimum. Note also that they are derived from a small (but representative, or so the editors claim—pp. xiv ff.) selection of the total material. One should not, therefore, on the basis of these, exaggerate the difference between, say, Ishtar who pardons sin and Shamash who punishes it. As a matter of fact Shamash also pardons sin (117b) and Ishtar punishes it (385 a) but, in the list above, only the most typical passages were cited. This note is intended to forestall any attempt to refute the argument of this paper by splitting up the major divine functions among various specialists. As a matter of fact, most of the major deities have most of the major functions. Consequently I have tried to give full illustration only of attributes frequently denied to the original Yahweh.

²³ Gods identified with or compared to the sun: Amon 365 a ff.; Aton 370 a ff.; Bel-Marduk 331 a ff.; Ishtar 384 a-b; Shamash 387 a-b; Sin 386 b; Telepinus 397 a.

²⁴ Gods as fathers: Amon 365 a ff.; Anu 390 a; El 143 a ff.; Enlil 72 b, 390 a, etc.; the Hattian storm god 357 a-b; the Hattian sun god 401 b; Nanna 385 b; Telepinus 397 a.

²⁵ Gods as kings/queens: Amon 15 a ff., 365 a-b; Anu 101 b; Ashur 281 b; Ea 108 a; El 133 a; the Hittite gods 120 a-b; Ishtar 383 b f.; Marduk 307 a, 332 a; Nanna 385 b.

²⁶ Bulls: Amon 16 a, 365 a; El 129 b ff.; Enlil 455 b; the Hattian storm god 398 b, Horus 244 b f.; Ishtar (!) 384 b; Nanna 385 b.

father and king of his people,²⁷ his child,²⁸ whom he especially favors. The human king [142] is his son,²⁹ servant,³⁰ or favorite,³¹ whom he especially protects. But he also protects ordinary men, cures diseases and grants other material favors,³² cleanses sin,³³ and comforts the afflicted.³⁴ In short, the god described by prayer is everywhere the god who will do the things which are most prayed for by the people who have most cause to pray.

But as father and king, the god of worship is just³⁵ as well as merciful,³⁶ an object—not to say an objectification—of fear as well as love.³⁷ His justice has accordingly expressed itself in the law, both the

²⁷ His/her land/city/people: 365 a ff., Egypt, of Amon; of Aton 370 b; 369 a Heliopolis, Thebes, Memphis; 347 b, 398 a Hatti land, of the storm god; 393 b Hatti land, of the sun goddess; 390 b Nippur etc., of Bel-Marduk. See also above, n. 15.

²⁸ Egypt is the only daughter of Re, 377 a.

²⁹ Sons: Adapa 101 b; the Hittite king 357 a-b, Keret 143 a ff.; the Pharaoh (of Amon-Re) 4 b, 23 b, etc. (Ramses II claimed to be the son of Montu 256 a, and Seth 257 a, as well as Re, 257 a. In such instances the purely conventional—i.e. rhetorical—nature of the relationship is clear.)

³⁰ Servants: The Assyrian kings regularly execute the order of Ashur 275 a ff.; Hammurabi, of Anum and Enlil, 164 a, of Marduk 165 b; Kantuzilis, of the sun god, 400 b; Keret, of El, 144 b; Mesha, of Chemosh, 320 b; Mursilis, of the storm god, 394 b ff., of Telepinus, 396 b; Nabonidus, of Marduk, 310 b; Nebuchadnezzar, of Marduk, 307 a; Sargon, of Ishtar, 267 b.

³¹ Favorites: Cyrus 316 a, Esarhaddon 289 a, Hammurabi 270 b, Mursilis 203 b, Nabonidus 313 a, Ramses II 199 a, Thut-mose III 235 b.

³² Gods who cure diseases or do other material favors: Amon-Re 369 b, Bel-Marduk 70 b, the Hittite gods generally 352 b, Ishtar 384 a, the sun goddess of Arinna 393 b; Tarpatassis 348 b, Telepinus 397 a.

³³ See above n. 22.

³⁴ Gods who comfort the afflicted or help the poor and oppressed: Amon 366 a, Ishtar 383 a, Marduk 436 b, Shamash 391 a, Telepinus 397 a.

³⁵ This is true not only of gods who are singled out as judges, e.g., Osiris 34 a, Shamash 178 a, Yamm 130 a; but also of the major gods generally, e.g. Amon is the source of truth 372 a, and requires truth 381 a; slander and false accusation are “disliked by the gods” of Assyria 289 a, baseness is an abomination to Ashur and Marduk (*ibid.*); further: Bel 70 b, the Egyptian gods generally 410 a, Sin 386 b, Telepinus 397 a. The justice of the gods appears especially in the actions of those who serve them. (E.g. the gods made Hammurabi king that he might establish justice, 704 a; and the messiah, as servant of the Egyptian gods, will establish justice, 446 a.) Also, in the claims of those who seek their favor. (E.g. the Egyptian “Protestation of Guiltlessness,” 34 a-36 b, concludes, “I have done that which men said and that with which gods are content. I have satisfied a god with that which he desires. I have given bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothing to the naked ... I have effected justice for the Lord of Justice.”) See further the evidence cited above, n. 21, and cross refs. there.

³⁶ See above ns. 22 and 24.

³⁷ Fear: Amon 11 a, Anum and Enlil 164 a, Ashur 285 a, Hittite gods generally 394 b, Ishtar 384 a, Marduk 69 b.

Love: Amon 366 a, Bel-Marduk 332 b f., the Hattian sun god 400 a f., Ishtar 383 a, Shamash 388 a.

law of his cult³⁸ and the law of the land,³⁹ which he has given or caused to be [143] given. The law of his cult provides that his worship shall be conducted, frequently under the supervision of a special priesthood, by sacrifices which are often strikingly similar from one country to another,⁴⁰ and with the observation of tabus which vary from place to place but show a general similarity of attitude toward the divine.⁴¹ The similarities of ancient codes of civil law are too well known to need description, and their practical independence is well recognized.⁴² But

³⁸ Gods who establish cults or cult laws: The Akkadian gods generally 43 b; Ea 68 b; Marduk 69 a f., 311 a, 316 b; Nanna 385 b; Ptah 5 b; Telepinus 397 a.

³⁹ Sumero-Akkadian kingship is of divine institution 43 b, 265 b; Egyptian likewise 4 b f., 17 a. Gods as givers of civil law or legal decisions: Bel 331 a; Ishtar 384 a; Shamash 388 a ff.; Shamash, Sin, Adad and Ishtar 391 a. Egyptian law is inadequately represented in ANET, as in the remains, but the Pharaoh appears elsewhere as the establisher of the laws given by the gods, e.g., H. I. Bell, *Egypt*, Oxford, 1948, p. 57 (Philometor I, where the title is a dynastic hand-me-down). The goddess Maat ("Truth" or "Justice") will not rest unless the king's decrees be enforced, 213 a and n. 2 *ibid.* "The good ruler, performing benefactions for his father (Amon) and all the gods," is one who sets up justice, 251 b. For Queen Hat-shepsut's statement that the Asiatics "ruled without Re, and he did not act by divine command down to the reign of my majesty" (231 a) the translator (*ibid.* n. 4) proposes Gardiner's explanation that the Pharaoh "ascribed all his official acts to obedience to orders given him by the deity." This is what would be expected, given the practice elsewhere in the ancient Near East. All the law codes of ancient near-eastern origin to which we have coherent preambles state in them the divine authorization of the law. Lipit-Ishtar "established justice in Sumer and Akkad in accordance with the word of Enlil," 160 b; Enlil called him "to the princship of the land in order to establish justice in the land." (*ibid.*) The bas-relief at the top of the Hammurabi stela shows Shamash giving either the law or the order to write it. The prologue says, "Anum and Enlil named me ... Hammurabi, ... to cause justice to prevail in the land, to destroy the wicked and the evil, that the strong might not oppress the weak." 164 a. The conclusion says, "By the order of Shamash, the great judge of heaven and earth, may my justice prevail in the land; by the word of Marduk, my lord, may my statutes have no one to scorn them." 178 a.

⁴⁰ Egyptian bread offerings 416 a, oblations 417 b, incense 420 a, animal sacrifice 36 b, 327 a, 417 b, 447 a. El commands the sacrifice of sheep, goats and turtle doves, and libations of wine and honey, 143 b. Hittite sacrifices involve the same general materials, though the rites seem to have been peculiar, 348 a ff. The similarities of the sacrificial cult of Uruk to that described in the P material of the OT are clear, 343 a ff. Even of later times, when the Jews were self-consciously insisting on their difference from the heathen, Lieberman can remark (*op. cit.*, p. 130), "There was a general pattern in the ancient world of temples and sacrifices ... which the Jews shared."

⁴¹ The pig an abomination to the Egyptians, 10 b; Sumero-Akkadian tabus 117 a (eating abominations), 344 b (materials tabu in the service of particular deities). Hittite tabus 207 b ff., 400 b. Later parallels, Lieberman, *op. cit.*, 164 ff., esp. 169.

⁴² T. J. Meek, *Hebrew Origins*, revised ed., N.Y., 1950, p. 74, finds Hebrew law closest to Canaanite (doubtless because so little is known of the latter) and the relation even between these one of gradual and indirect adaptation. It may be questioned whether even this be not an overstatement of the importance of the connection, for the details in which Meek finds clearest evidence of the influence (pp. 70-73, e.g. the law of the goring ox, with its recognition of the special case of the ox known to be dangerous and its substitution of a fine for a death penalty) easily admit of explanation by common cultural background and by the generally consistent pattern of cultural change from primitive societies in which death is primarily an occasion of expiation and purification, to more advanced ones, which are more concerned with the financial loss it occasions.

it should be [144] noticed that everywhere the civil law, like the cult law, is the god's law, and an offender against either is an offender against the god.⁴³

Now—since the gods were like men—it was expected everywhere that a god would punish men who offended him and would reward those who did what he wanted;⁴⁴ this, moreover, was what he was for. And since he was everywhere thought to want sacrifices,⁴⁵ it was also by sacrifices that men sought to placate him when they thought they had offended him or to secure his good will when they wanted special favors. The *do ut abeas* and *do ut des* relationships are found in all countries of the ancient Near East. But since everywhere the major deities demanded other things beside sacrifice, it was natural that the different ways of pleasing them should sometimes be contrasted, and that there should be some individuals who decided that it was better not to sin in the first place than to sin and offer sacrifice, or who maintained that the sacrifice of a wicked man was less pleasing to god than the prayer of a righteous one.⁴⁶ Moreover, since religious observance, whether of moral or of ritual requirements, naturally lends itself to abuse by the temperamentally scrupulous (in psychological jargon the 'compulsives'), it is not surprising that everywhere there were some who came to advocate a righteousness greater than that required by law.⁴⁷ Naturally, such individuals were rare, and there was no such economic interest to preserve their works as that which preserved works embodying the priesthood's doctrine of atonement by sacrifice; consequently there is no reason to believe that the earliest preserved instances of their opinions are the earliest which actually occurred. Individual perfectionists, like individuals with other psychological abnormalities, are regularly produced and neglected by every large society. [145]

⁴³ The "Protestation of Guiltlessness," 34 a ff., contains both civil (B 2, 4, 5) and ritual (A 21, 34) offences. Evildoers, whatever the evil, violate the law of Re, 8a. Those who neglect to punish the wicked will themselves be punished by the god (Shamash) 117a. The law of Hammurabi is the law of Shamash, 178 b. See above, n. 39.

⁴⁴ Gods punish offenders: Ashur 300 a, the Egyptian gods generally 251 b f., Enlil 95 a, the Hattian sun god 400 b, Hittite gods generally 208 a, Marduk 266 b, 315 b. For the general presupposition see esp. the prayer to any god or goddess, 391 a ff. (cf. *sup.* n. 9).

Gods reward their worshipers: Ahuramazda 317 a, Egyptian gods (even non-Egyptian rulers) 27 b, Hittite deities 396 a, Marduk 315 b.

See also above, n. 21.

⁴⁵ Gods want sacrifices: Akkadian 117 a, Egyptian 36 a, Hittite 124 a.

⁴⁶ "The Instruction for King Meri-ka-Re" 417 b.

⁴⁷ "The Instruction of Amen-em-Opet," the *locus classicus* of this "higher morality" has every appearance of having been produced by long accretion. The same tradition has also furnished most of the items in the "Protestation of Guiltlessness" 34 a ff. For similar developments in the Mesopotamian tradition cf. 426 b (recompense evil with good) and 430 b (resist not evil and Shamash will reward you).

As against such eccentrics, most people were probably content to believe that rewards and punishments were given, whether to individuals or to the whole people, according as men obeyed or disobeyed the usual social and religious codes of the society. The relation between people and god was therefore always essentially a contractual one, and the question as to when it was first given dramatic expression in a formal contract is one for the history rather of rhetoric than of theology.

Because of their contractual relationship with the gods, people gave attention to the prophets who everywhere⁴⁸ claimed to know by revelation the country's state of obedience or disobedience and the rewards or punishments soon to be allotted. (All the major prophets—i.e. those whose works have been preserved in quantity—prophecy change. Why? In the first place, because change is 'news'; the prophet was the newspaper editor of his day, and if he had no news he got no audience. In the second place, because change always comes, and those prophets who foretold a continuation of the old order were sooner or later discredited. Of course, given the common theological structure outlined above, change, if for the better, was conceived as divine reward, if for the worse, as punishment.) Now the punishment of a society has to be effected by drought or flood, famine, pestilence, internal discord, or defeat by an enemy.⁴⁹ Therefore the prophets everywhere ring the changes on these five themes,⁵⁰ supplement them by threats of miracles—usually earthquakes and eclipses—and sometimes even foretell that if the people continue in their wickedness their god will utterly destroy them.⁵¹ Likewise, the good things they prophesy are merely the reverse of these, except that, in place of the

⁴⁸ Oracles of Bel 331 a, prophets in Egypt 30 b and n. 19 *ibid.*, but the presence there of prophets in the ordinary sense of the word is known from references to prophecies (416 a) and from the prophecies themselves (441 a ff.). Prophets of Baal and Astarte in Egypt 250 a, n. 13; Assyrian kings act on oracles of Ashur 275 a ff. Prophets (ecstatics) in the Gilgamesh epic 87 a; Hittite prophets 396 a; oracles of Shamash 388 a; of Sin 386 b.

⁴⁹ The Egyptian gods punish Egypt by military defeat 251 b; "God Enlil gave the accumulated possessions (of his city) to the enemy" 337 b; Marduk punished his land by subjecting it to Assyria 309 a, he subjects it to Cyrus 315 b; the Hittite gods leave their land to its enemies 396 b; Omri "humbled Moab many years for Chemosh was angry at his land." 320 b. The other punishments are too common to illustrate, see the following note.

⁵⁰ See the oracles and prophecies collected on pp. 441 ff. *passim*.

⁵¹ Enlil 481 a, the coming destruction of Babylon, *Cuneiform Texts*, 13.49. Egypt is to be destroyed so thoroughly that Re must found it anew, 445 a. [Also, it has pleased gods in the past to destroy their countries, e.g., "to subvert the ways of Shumer" (Frankfort, *Before Philosophy* 213).]

earthquakes and eclipses, they often foretell, as something no less miraculous, the coming of a good king who will save his people.⁵² [146]

III.

Such was the common theology of the ancient Near East—and not only of the ancient Near East, but of most periods and countries where polytheism has been the religion of civilized peoples. In describing it I have discussed only its appearance in the ancient Near East, because that alone is usually referred to in the study of the OT, and I have tried to suggest how, for psychological, social and rhetorical reasons, it might have developed independently in any ancient near-eastern country. That it did develop independently in each is strongly suggested, I think, by the uniformity of the results, which can be explained better by postulating relatively uniform causes, that is, social, psychological and rhetorical patterns, rather than accidents of historical transmission. The interaction of these patterns produced a single ‘pattern for major deity’ to which every deity who in that area and time became major had more or less to conform, whatever the historical or mythological accidents of his ancestry.

Consequently, parallels between theological material in the OT and in ‘Ancient Near Eastern Texts’ cannot be taken off hand as indicating any literary dependence, common source, or cultural borrowing. The number of instances in which the OT has hitherto been supposed to depend on foreign sources—small though that number is—is probably too large. It is only when the texts are parallel in some peculiar, accidental detail, something which *cannot* be explained as a probable product of natural development, that the parallelism can be taken as *proving* literary connection.

The knowledge of this general pattern should serve as a guide and a caution in OT studies. It should serve as a guide by making clear the peculiarities of the OT, the points which need special explanation—for instance, Yahweh’s abnormal jealousy and the almost complete neglect of the underworld. It should serve as a caution, not only to those who would discover foreign influences everywhere, but also to those who think it possible to reconstruct the history of theological thought in Israel and then detect and date interpolations by the stage of theological development which they show. In the first place, this procedure depends on arguments from silence, and the OT probably contains so small a selection of the literature of ancient Israel that

⁵² Hat-shepsut claims to be the fulfillment of a messianic prophecy, 231 a. Several examples of such prophecies, 445 b-452 b. It is hard to decide whether the customs at the accession of a new ruler imitate these prophecies more than the prophecies imitate the customs, or vice versa. For the customs—or, at least, the court rhetoric—in Egypt see 378 b f., parallel Assyro-Babylonian material in R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, vol. 1, Chicago, 1892, no. 2.

arguments from silence are utterly untrustworthy. In the second place, it is possible that there never was any major theological development in Israel, that there were only shifts of emphasis and occasional working out of corollaries. The [147] system above outlined is essentially that of Philo as outlined by Wolfson,⁵³ but it is quite primitive enough to have been held by a tribe of nomads, and there is no good proof that the Israelites in their nomadic period did not hold it. To suppose that Yahweh's control of foreign nations began with Amos⁵⁴ is to neglect the deliverance from Egypt and the conquest of Palestine. To suppose that Yahweh's concern for morality began with Nathan⁵⁵ is to neglect the divine backing of the law, which is characteristic of such primitive legislation as that from which the present legal documents of the OT must have developed. As for the famous 'discovery of monotheism' by second Isaiah, that was probably not a discovery of monotheism, but an exaggeration of patriotism. Two things, at least, are certain: It has patriotic precedents and it was used for patriotic purposes. No sooner was the God of Israel declared to be the only God than he promised Israel the hegemony of the world. If this be philosophy it is puzzling, but if it be patriotism it may be primitive. In that event the fact that God's rule of the whole world had never before been *so much emphasized* could be explained on practical grounds: As to power, the attribute of the god of Israel was merely that of the major god of any ancient near-eastern people, viz., to be greater than the gods of their neighbors. Thus when he gave them Canaan he was greater than the gods of the hill cities, when they fought the Philistines he was greater than Dagon, when they were established as a kingdom he was greater than the gods of the adjacent kingdoms, and when they were scattered in a diaspora from one end of the known world to the other, what was left for him but monotheism?

⁵³ H. A. Wolfson, *Philo*, Cambridge, 1947. By "system" I refer, of course, to Philo's foregone conclusions, not to the philosophy with which he justified them.

⁵⁴ This supposition is made by R. H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* N.Y., (1948), p. 580, "Like other religions of antiquity, the religion of Israel before Amos was national in its appeal. Jehovah was the God of Israel, his jurisdiction limited to the land of Israel." Amos, because he extended Jehovah's jurisdiction over all nations, "marks the beginning of a new era in the history of religions." (*ibid.*, cf. notes 18-20 above.)

⁵⁵ R. H. Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, p. 359, thinks the teaching, put in the mouth of Nathan (2 Sam 12), "that Jehovah would not tolerate criminal actions and that his worship involved moral conduct" ... "was truly revolutionary in the time of Solomon, when Jehovah was merely champion of Israel and still approved of bloody deeds as treacherous as those of Ehud (Judg 3:20 f.) and Jael (Judg 5:25 f.), and even later, through Elijah and Elisha, sanctioned the assassination of kings (1 Kings 19:15-17; 2 Kings 9)." To suppose a god indifferent to morality because he approves the murder of national enemies or of the patrons of his competitors (or because of his personal peccadilloes as recorded in mythology) is to misunderstand not only ancient, but a good deal of modern religion.

CHAPTER THREE

ON THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE CULTURE OF ISRAEL AND THE MAJOR CULTURES OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

[389] Among the many facets of Professor Gaster's work, one of the most brilliant has been his exposition of ancient Near Eastern literary and religious material cognate to that in the Old Testament. Accordingly, it seems appropriate here to comment on the general problem raised by such exposition—that of determining the relation between the culture of the Israelites and those of the other peoples of the Near East.

Apart from homiletic generalization, the easiest, and perhaps most common, approach to this problem has been the demonstration of particular similarities between details of the Old Testament and of other ancient near eastern works. This presents no difficulty: only one instance on either side is needed to prove a positive statement. Consequently a great many such similarities have been pointed out, and it is high time that someone made a full collection of them either in the form of a commentary on the Old Testament like Gaster's *Myth, Legend, and Custom*, or in that of a systematic work like de Vaux's *Ancient Israel* with an additional section on literature.

However, when it comes to the question of the differences between Israelite culture and that of the other countries of the eastern Mediterranean, the problem is much more difficult. It is immediately obvious that there are great and important differences between the works in the Old Testament and those of other Near Eastern literatures, but it is not clear how far these literary differences represent differences of the underlying cultures. In the first place, we encounter a logical embarrassment. To demonstrate differences usually requires the proof of negative propositions, and proof of a negative calls for a knowledge of the entire literature in which the occurrence of a given trait is to be denied. Such knowledge, however, is practically unobtainable so far as ancient civilizations are concerned, since the material preserved, from even the best known, is only a tiny part of what must once have existed.

Consequently, the usual procedure in trying to demonstrate differences between Israelite and other Near Eastern cultures has been to hedge statements about traits not found, by expressions such

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as "in the preserved material," or "it must have been, if it did occur, extremely rare." This procedure is by no means unjustified since the difference between [390] frequent and infrequent traits is often more important than are traits which occur only in one culture and not at all in another.

However, the question of frequency leads to another and much more serious problem: neither the literature in the Old Testament nor the other Near Eastern literature that has come down to us can confidently be supposed an average sample or cross-section of the culture it came from. The Old Testament, as I have argued at length in *Palestinian Parties and Politics*, contains a body of material carefully selected and preserved by the continuous manuscript tradition (and revision) of a series of partisan groups for their peculiar (and often unpopular) purposes. For the other Near Eastern countries we are at the mercy of archaeological finds which, especially in Egypt, give us mostly the documents of the royal temples, the royal monuments, and the tombs of the rich. How far, then, is the apparent difference between Old Testament material and that of the other Near Eastern countries due to the difference of the ways in which the material has been preserved and, consequently, to the difference of the social classes represented?

The purpose of this paper is to suggest, as a means of attacking this problem, the use of the "hypothetico-deductive" method (so called by H. A. Wolfson, who developed it), and to sketch some of the hypotheses this method would propose for investigation.

The method can be described briefly and simply: to determine the situation as precisely as possible, ask what could have happened, and take the various possibilities as hypotheses to be confirmed or refuted by research.

In the attempt to determine the relation between Israelite culture and the other cultures of the Near East, this method dictates that we first determine the differences between the specific situations, geographical and historical, of the Israelites and their neighbors, and then inquire into the cultural differences which might be expected to follow as consequences of the historical and geographical distinctions. For purposes of clarity, let us confine ourselves to the major and most clearly characterized of ancient Near Eastern cultures, those of Mesopotamia and Egypt.

Aside from the patriarchs,¹ we know the Israelites as a people or group of peoples who, in the late thirteenth century and thereafter,

¹ The patriarchs belong to the field of mythology rather than to that of history, as do Gilgamesh, Hercules, Theseus, Helen of Troy, and their likes. This is not to say that no such persons ever existed, but it is to say that the stories about them have been so deformed by centuries of oral tradition that they belong to the class the Greeks called

were found in the hill country on both sides of the Jordan valley, but mainly on the western side. From their traditions it would seem [391] that they came into this country as invaders from the south and east. Once in it, they lived in small cities, in villages, in tents and caves in the countryside, and supported themselves mainly by farming and herding. They did a good deal of fighting, not only with each other, but also with their neighbors—at first with the other inhabitants of the hill country and the great valley of Galilee, later with the Philistines of the coastal plain and with the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, and Syrians who held the plains of Transjordan to the south, east, and north. The northern Israelite tribes were conquered by the Assyrians in 722, the southern retained nominal independence until the Babylonian take-over in 587. Given this historical and geographical situation, what characteristics should distinguish the culture of this people from that of the major states of Mesopotamia and Egypt?

Let us begin with food, since it is the primary concern of man. To get food, a predominantly agricultural people must have land, water, air, sunlight, and the normal climate. Air, sunlight, and so on can be taken for granted, and therefore generally are. Adults in religion are much like children in the family: they concern themselves mainly about contingent benefits. Those necessary conditions of life that are regularly supplied by the parents or the gods are usually taken for granted. It is only in places like southern Mesopotamia, where combinations of flood, typhoon, and sandstorm can sink the whole landscape under water, blot out the sky, and seem to threaten the whole structure of the world, that rituals to reestablish or preserve the cosmic order should be expected to arise. Even if we did not know where the Biblical flood story came from we could have supposed with confidence that it did not originate in the hill country of Palestine. Floods in hill countries never threaten to cover the world

Land, too, might seem a thing to be taken for granted, but within Israelite memory it had not been so, and not only prophetic, but also political foresight could anticipate that it might cease to be so. The

mythoi. When history developed in Greece (where, as Pausanias shows, oral tradition was long lively) authors found themselves confronted by many such stories. They soon and sensibly came to distinguish between those parts of the past which could be ascertained by *historia* (which means, 'investigation') and those they knew about only from *mythoi*. The latter is the proper domain of *mythology*. We should do well to continue using these words in their original and proper senses. The notion often expressed by writers on the ancient Near East, that "myths" have only to do with gods, is neither justified by the history of the word, nor defensible in discussion of a literature where gods and men live together. Gilgamesh was two-thirds god and one-third human; is his story two-thirds of a myth? The Dioscuri were mortal and immortal on alternate days; is the story of castor a myth on Monday, Wednesday and Friday, but a legend on Tuesday, Thursday and, at the pleasure of the hero, Saturday?

anticipation probably became acute after the revival of Assyria under Tiglath Pileser III and the attendant development of the Assyrian policy of deportation. Since the gods of ancient peoples normally helped them in their wars of aggression and conquest (a pacifist god in the ancient Near East would be no less anomalous than a bellicose clergyman in Greenwich Village), we should expect that the Israelites would regularly refer to their land as that which their god had given them—that is, enabled them to conquer—and would celebrate their god as the giver, rather than the creator, of the land. Whether or not they thought he had created it, the creation was comparatively immaterial to them; the important thing was the giving, the conquest. So we should expect myths of creation to be less important in their literature than legends of the conquest.

Conquest usually carries with it a certain uneasiness in possession. Others can conquer, too. Therefore it would not be surprising if the notion early arose that, should their god be angered, he might revoke his gift. But the notion that divine anger immediately threatens to lead to the punishment of exile is not likely to have arisen until there was a real and present danger of such a punishment—that is, after 745. And it seems likely that neither of these themes would have played a large part in the literatures of Mesopotamia and Egypt, where the bulk of the population neither looked back to a conquest nor forward to an exile, being too long established for the one and too large for the other.

Given the land, the remaining necessity for food is water. In Palestine this is, of course, the most uncertain. Even the Deuteronomic authors recognized the difference from Egypt—but they tried to make a virtue of it: [392]

The land you are going to inherit is not like the land of Egypt from which you went out, where you sowed your seed and had to water it by your own labor, like a vegetable garden; but the land which you are going to inherit is a land of mountains and valleys that drinks water from the rain of the heavens, a land of which Yahweh your God is mindful; the eyes of Yahweh your God are on it from the beginning of the year to the end of the year (Deut 11:10f.)

Amos was more faithful to the actual situation and attributed it to divine anger: "I denied you rain . . . and I made it rain on one city, and on another city I did not send rain . . . and two or three cities migrated to one city to drink water and did not find enough" (4:7f.). In brief, Egypt lived from floods, Mesopotamia was threatened by them, while Palestine was threatened by drought. In Palestine, therefore, we should expect a major function of the deity to be the sending of rain, the rain itself to be a major form of divine reward, and the denial of it,

of divine punishment. None of these characteristics of Palestinian culture should be prominent in either Mesopotamia or Egypt.

The rain in Palestine falls on hills that are largely limestone and similar materials; consequently, another characteristic of the country and the culture is the frequency and importance of springs and of caves. The many place names containing the words 'spring' or 'well' testify to the importance of such permanent centers of water supply as political and cultic centers. The caves, on the other hand, not only housed the poorest class of the population and were convenient for shepherds and their flocks, but also offered places of refuge from foreign conquerors or from domestic tyrants. David fled to one from Saul, Elijah to another from Jezebel. Although we have reports only of a few cases, it does not seem unlikely that the unusual spirit of independence vis-a-vis the country's established authorities, the constant criticism of the kings and the priests, that runs through Israelite literature owes a good deal to the facilities afforded malcontents by a hilly and cavernous country.

The hills were, in general, the limit of Israelite territory. Indeed, on one occasion, when a Syrian invasion had been defeated, "the ministers of the King of Syria said to him, 'The Israelites' gods are gods of the mountains, therefore the Israelites defeated us; so now let us fight them in the plain, we shall certainly defeat them'" (1 Kgs 20:23f.). The Israelite author who reports this opinion reports also that Yahweh proved it false by defeating the Syrians in the plains, too. Be that as it may, the story points to a conspicuous characteristic of Israelite culture and cult. Given the general human notion that up is good and down is bad (perhaps derived from the fact that in infancy the Great Powers—our parents—were usually above us), and given a mountainous country, we might expect to find that the gods are thought to live on certain mountains, that these and other mountains are the favored sites of revelations and of miracles, that holy men are said to have gone up mountains to die, that the popular worship was commonly conducted on hill tops and other high places, and, in cities, on roof tops, and that the chief official sanctuary, though on a very modest hill near the capital, claimed to be on a mountain and, eventually, on the highest mountain of them all. None of these traits should be characteristic of the culture of Egypt or Mesopotamia—or at least of lower Mesopotamia (here Assyria might well diverge). When in lower Mesopotamia one finds an equation of the temple with a mountain, attempts to build artificial mountains, and the like, it would seem plausible to suppose that these traits were not native to the culture, and to look for some outside source, as one does for the traits imported from the desert into Palestinian culture by the Israelites.[393]

The mountainous character of the country should be reflected in many characteristics of the culture and the literature. To begin with a comparative triviality: olives and vines thrive better in the hills than in the plains of Mesopotamia and Egypt, accordingly their products and the imagery based on them, especially on wine, should be more important in the Palestinian tradition. How trivial such matters actually are is hard to decide when one thinks of the enormous range of the consequences of imagery: would the eucharist have had the same evocative power if the fluid in the cup had been beer (the common drink of Egypt and Mesopotamia)?

More important is the simple fact that the mountains break up the country—and the deep Jordan valley breaks it even more sharply—into tiny and comparatively isolated segments. Each little valley had to be conquered by itself, therefore had a history of its own, therefore might have a population of its own. Israelite tradition represents the land as inhabited, before the conquest, by six or seven or even ten different peoples. And the Biblical authors lament that this condition was not fundamentally changed by the conquest. The Israelites were added as one people more and eventually became the majority of the ruling class throughout the hill districts, but the other peoples are said to have lived on as distinct groups down to the time of Solomon, at least. Moreover, even if the Israelites invaded as a single force (which seems unlikely) the divisions of the land soon broke them up into small and semi-independent groups. The history is therefore predominantly one of small political units. For the Israelites these units are the tribes. Tribal feeling and affiliation is marked. Hostility between the tribe of Judah and the northern tribes almost split the kingdom of David and did split the kingdom of Solomon after his death. This tribal feeling will later express itself in genealogies filled out, of course, by later invention, but at least reflecting a sense of the earlier political reality. Reliable history, too, will be approached first by the stories of tribal heroes, not leaders of “all Israel.”

By contrast to the Israelite tribes, the unit for the native population was the little city, from which most of the Old Testament's *legal*, as opposed to *narrative*, material seems to have come. The legal material, as is well known, reflects in many points the continuing tradition of Mesopotamian culture; the narrative material is specifically Israelite. It is remarkable that none of our early historical traditions come from the little cities that were later absorbed into the Davidic kingdom. That is to say, we have no stories of heroes of Jerusalem or Beth Shan to compare with those of the heroes of Manasseh and Gilead. When kingship emerges in Israel it is not the old city kingship, but is tribal. The king is surrounded by a circle of his “mighty men” whose deeds of daring seem to have been the themes of a popular literature of which

we have glimpses in the stories told of Saul and Jonathan, of David's men and of David himself. Neither the court of the great king who dominates Egyptian thought from the beginning of literacy on, nor the municipal tradition of early Mesopotamia is likely to have produced either tribal or typically "heroic" materials, nor, consequently, such a history as that of David and his court, which is clearly a development of the heroic tradition.

The distance between the tribal and the municipal traditions can be seen by a comparison of the stories of the judges (not to mention David) with the story of Gilgamesh. Gilgamesh is clearly a cultic and mythological figure—he makes a bosom friend of the wild man from the waste, goes to one end of the world to fight the giant in the cedar mountain, rejects the love of Ishtar and kills the bull she sends to avenge the insult, then goes to the other end of the world to get the plant of immortal life from the survivor of the flood; he is celebrated [394] first of all as the builder of a city and a holy place, the Eanna temple in Uruk. His closest analogue (and perhaps his remote literary descendant) is Odysseus. The Old Testament parallels to his story are the myths of foundation heroes (the patriarchs), not the legends of tribal heroes like Gideon and Jephthah.

Because of the geographical and political fragmentation of the country, the established authorities in Israel were always relatively weak. Consequently we should expect Israelite literature to show less influence from these authorities and their agents, and more influence from independent and even anti-establishment figures, than appears in the literatures of the great centralized political powers of Mesopotamia and Egypt. Conspicuous among the agents of the establishment are, of course, the temples and the court officials, especially the scribes. In Israel, while some priests are important authors, the priesthood as such—the temples and their interests—are conspicuously absent from most of the pre-exilic *narrative* material. (Is there any pre-exilic reference to domain lands owned by the Jerusalem temple?) A further question is how far the political power was able to control the cult. The reports of "high places" which were allowed to continue from reign to reign may conceal a stubborn resistance by the local cult centers to submit to domination from Jerusalem. The historical books, certainly by deliberate selection, show us a series of prophets who, from Samuel on, reject and defy the political rulers. The books of the pre-exilic prophets themselves (also selected) begin with Amos' expulsion from Bethel and end with Jeremiah's imprisonment and his subsequent denunciation of the Jewish popular leaders in Egypt.

Finally, the scribes are conspicuously absent in most of the literary tradition. Here two factors are to be reckoned with. First, the petty

courts could hardly support much in the way of a secretariat, just as they could not afford very large priestly bodies. Second, and more important, writing was alphabetic and therefore required little special training. Consequently, while of course we find a "secretary" and a "recorder" or two mentioned as high officials in the courts from David's time on, we have no reason to suppose that they were members of a special "scribal class" or that they had any peculiar training not possessed by the other equally literate members of the court. It is a priori likely that as books increased there came to be trained calligraphers who made a living by copying them, and who may have eked out their income by teaching writing and perhaps reading and occasionally something about the content of some of the books they copied. But there is no reason to suppose that such petty craftsmen and elementary teachers should be equated with the high officials of the court. At most some of them may have been employed about the court as copyists to keep well written records and produce well written documents—a sort of stenographic staff. This is quite a different thing from the scribal classes of Mesopotamia and Egypt—definite groups of highly trained individuals who had mastered the complicated arts of writing in demotic, hieratic, hieroglyphic, and cuneiform, and who consequently monopolized the positions requiring literacy in the great courts (except insofar as Aramaic was used in Mesopotamia). In Israel we should suppose that, although some teachers of reading and writing did put together collections of commonplace sayings as practice books for their students (the sort of thing represented in this country by *McGuffey's Fifth Reader*) there was never any important "scribal class." The evidence of the wide influence supposed to have been exercised by "the scribes" will probably turn out to be evidence of nothing more than the fact that commonplaces are common.

To this set of hypotheses derivable from the basic historical situation of the ancient [395] Israelites, three observations may be added: 1. These are hypotheses, indications of problems that deserve investigation, and of a general method by which further problems may be anticipated; they are not theses to be taken as fixed statements of a position. 2. It is clear that many important characteristics of Israelite literature and religion, characteristics that distinguish the Israelite tradition sharply from those of Egypt and Mesopotamia (for instance, the jealousy of the deity, the hostility to images, the peculiar development of prophecy) are not included in the preceding list. They are not there because they do not seem to follow as consequences from basic historical facts. Nor does the given list pretend to be complete; it contains only some of the important peculiarities which are probably explicable from the geography and history of Israel.

There is a likelihood that these explicable peculiarities were characteristic of Israelite literature as a whole, or with only minor exceptions, since they resulted from causes operating on the whole of it. Peculiarities not traceable to such general causes (those due, for instance, to particular individuals or parties) are more likely to owe their prominence in the preserved literature to selection, and to have been comparatively insignificant in the bulk of the literature now lost. However, this likelihood cannot always be relied on. Many peculiarities of many religions—for instance, most purity laws—have no perspicuous historical explanation. 3. It should be noted that many of the peculiarities pointed out have parallels in ancient Ugaritic and Greek religion and literature. No doubt this is due to the fact that both geographically and politically Iron Age Palestine was in many ways much more like Iron Age Phoenicia, Syria, and Greece, than it was like Mesopotamia and Egypt. Similar circumstances produced similar results—though communication is not to be denied and direct influence may occasionally have occurred. Whatever their causes, the similarities suggest that the three traditions should be studied simultaneously. This hypothesis has been strongly supported by the example of Professor Gaster, who has been outstanding among Old Testament scholars by reason of his wide knowledge of classical, as well as Ugaritic, material, and whose work has repeatedly demonstrated the value of each of these traditions for the illustration of the others.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PRESENT STATE OF OLD TESTAMENT STUDIES¹

[19] “Present state” papers vary between two extremes—the review of recent books and the discussion of standing problems. This will be of the latter sort, for a change. So long as I can remember, we have always had someone to inform us of the “latest” publications, to assure us that his own and those of his students expressed the “latest” views, and to dismiss the rest as “superannuated”—as if scholarship were a matter of fashion. This sort of self-advertisement—what I may call the *Vogue* school of OT criticism—I should not want to perpetuate.

Moreover, I could not honestly perpetuate it, since any honest review of the present state of OT studies must report that there is no prevailing fashion at all; the actual situation is unparalleled in the study of any other body of documents from the ancient Mediterranean world. The field is a scene of intense research, resulting in widespread disagreement.

This unparalleled state of affairs must result from some peculiar causes, and I think the chief of these causes is obvious: the peculiar fate of the OT in the histories of Judaism and Christianity and its peculiar relation to important contemporary institutions. Briefly, in the first centuries of our era the OT was misinterpreted by both Christianity and rabbinic Judaism, and the resultant misinterpretations are still being defended by the believers, adherents, and employees of these two great religions. Moreover, both Judaism and Christianity did something worse, for historical purposes, than misinterpret the OT: They believed it. They believed it a literally true account of the history of the world and of the Israelites from the creation of the world (about 4004 B.C.) down to the last events recounted by Nehemiah. Everyone knows of the great battle in the nineteenth and early twentieth century when this belief was finally refuted by biologists and geologists. Of course, that battle is still being fought in the backwoods of the intellectual world. There are some countries where even the teaching of evolution is prohibited by law. But for most of us the matter seems a dead issue. However, this battle was only one incident in a much wider war which also has generally ended with the triumph of a rationalistic notion of the world, a triumph, that is, in scholarship and science. Of course, miraculous [20] medals continue to sell, and healing shrines will always have patrons, and professional theologians

¹ The substance of this paper was presented as a lecture at the meeting of the American Academy of Religion in Dallas on October 18, 1968.

continue to pay lip service to the notion of supernatural intervention in history—long ago and far away. But I think any judge in the country would throw an accusation of witchcraft out of court, and any historian who attributed the victory on the Marne to the active intervention of angels on the side of the allies would be laughed at, and any American theologian who told his bishop that Yahweh had appeared to him and sent him to warn the nation of the coming end of the world would be advised to try psychoanalysis.

This great change in our notion of the way the world works is of fundamental importance for biblical criticism, because the Bible is largely a tissue of miracle stories. The creation, the expulsion from Eden, the flood, the conversations with the patriarchs, the call of Moses, the plagues on Egypt, the division of the Red Sea, the epiphany on Sinai, the giving of the law—these are all miracle stories, *magnalia Dei*. Even when there is a historical framework, as in Kings, the interest of the author is not in this framework, but in the miracles of the prophets and, more generally, in the miraculous management by Yahweh, who used natural and supernatural events alike to punish Israel for its sins. To explain away a miracle by imagining some sequence of natural events which might have produced the same effect is to misunderstand the genre of the story and to thwart the author's purpose in telling it; his primary concern was not to report what happened, but to give glory to Yahweh.

Since this is the nature of the OT, and since Judaism and Christianity have accepted the OT as the revelation of divine truth, OT scholars committed to Judaism or Christianity have now some difficulty in explaining how it happens that this revelation of divine truth is mostly incredible. The recent history of OT criticism by H. J. Kraus² devotes about half of its content not to studies of the meaning of the OT, but to attempts made by Lutherans and Calvinists to adjust their beliefs to the meaning, or the meaning to their beliefs. Admittedly, theologians have been more worried about the problem than has either the Church or the Synagogue. The continuity of great institutions is maintained by inertia and depends on orthopraxy and orthology, not orthodoxy, so a great deal of variation in opinion has been tolerated. Nevertheless, the traditional teachings of religious institutions are still probably the largest single influence in OT criticism. Most scholars in the field must teach in seminaries; even appointment to university posts, especially in Europe, is often affected by politics in which the institutions are of great influence; most students of the subject come from pious families and have been

² *Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments*, Neukirchen, 1956.

trained in religious schools: such background and training is a great advantage in the study, and students who have had it are likely [21] to excel. One of the most hopeful developments, in this respect, is the growth in Israel of secular scholarship thoroughly grounded in Hebrew. But outside Israel, the field is dominated, numerically at least, by the representatives of religious establishments.

Because of all this there is a constant tendency to save as much of the old positions as possible. If not true, then let the stories be at least “essentially” true. If not even “essentially” true, let them at least teach some “higher truth.” (Whenever a critic makes much of a higher truth you may suppose he is trying to conceal a lower falsity.) And if, in the end, unpleasant facts must be admitted, they must at least be expressed in reverent language. Friederich Delitzsch has left an amusing story of his first encounter with this higher veracity.³ He learned from his professor’s lecture that Deuteronomy was not written by Moses but was a work of the seventh century, composed for a specific purpose, and for that purpose attributed to Moses. Deeply shocked, he went to call on the professor and, in the course of their conversation, asked, “Is Deuteronomy, then, a forgery?” “For God’s sake, no!” said the professor. “That may very well *be* so, but you mustn’t *say* so.”

In sum, what generally prevails is pseudo-orthodoxy. Let us add a new word to the language and say, “pseudorthodoxy.” The *pseud* is important. I do not know any competent OT critic now living who would not have been excommunicated 250 years ago by any of the major Christian or Jewish groups. Nobody I know accepts the OT chronology, or thinks the nature miracles really happened, or even attributes the whole of the Pentateuch to the direct authorship of Moses; and a fortiori, nobody has that notion of the world and of how it works which is presupposed throughout the OT and taught in many passages. Nobody, so far as I know, believes in the existence of Yahweh as the OT describes him—a North-Arabian mountain god who traveled in thunderstorms and liked the smell of burning fat. But everywhere there are persistent efforts to square the facts of the OT as far as possible with the traditional teachings of the institutions, and even more, to make them serviceable for homiletic presentation.

The resultant pseudorthodoxy, let me emphasize, is not a thing distinctive of scholars in conservative denominations. Father de Vaux, for instance, a Dominican, has amazingly little of it, while some of its most conspicuous representatives in America belong to traditionally liberal Protestant sects. The causal relations between pseudorthodoxy and traditional Judaism and Christianity are more subtle and complex.

³ *Die Grosse Täuschung*, Berlin, 1920–1921, I, p. 5.

On the one hand there are unquestionably considerations of practical interest. Religious institutions have the money to finance excavations and publications and lectures, and such things are useful for academic careers. The large conservative reading public, especially in the South, [22] assures a sale for books attacking higher criticism. An excavation of which the results "confirm the Bible" will certainly get large publicity, and the enormous expense of archeology—a most important difference from other methods of biblical research—has made it far more dependent than the others on public interest and support. Men with a flair for raising money of course had better chances in the field; they attracted their like, and a sort of Barnum tradition grew up, exploiting public interest in the OT. Books announcing the great discovery that there had once been a big flood in ancient Mesopotamia, or describing "the" tower of Babel, titles like "Gibeon, Where the Sun Stood Still," or "The Bible is True" are symptomatic. But beyond these obvious, practical concerns there were deeper ones. Sensitive men brought up in the various religious institutions and ways of life were deeply attached to them. The love of their music and ritual, their art and architecture, the almost architectural appreciation of their great systems of philosophy and theology, the more practical appreciation of their enormous services to society, especially in education, medicine, and public welfare—such rational and aesthetic concerns, and the yet deeper irrational attachment to the beliefs one has held in one's childhood, were important sources of pseudorthodoxy. But the most important was fear. The security of the nineteenth century was destroyed by the first World War, the consequent bankruptcy of Germany which wiped out the savings of millions of middle class families (OT scholarship is a middle class activity), the consequent rise of Nazism, which fundamentally challenged the humanitarian traditions of Christianity and Judaism, the consequent second World War, and the "Cold War" consequent on that. Everywhere many men sought or clung to established institutions, traditions, codes of conduct and formulae of belief which seemed to offer some security, some island of stability to which they could escape from the wreck of the world. This deeper utilitarianism was the major root of pseudorthodoxy, the attempt to reconcile the traditional beliefs about the OT with the undeniable results of scholarship.

Having thus described pseudorthodoxy, I have now to show its pervasive influence on OT criticism and its large share of responsibility for the obscurantism and the disagreements which plague the field.

Let me begin with the very text of the OT. The edition now standard is a transcript of a single 11th-cent. MS, and prints the text

with three often erroneous commentaries of the Byzantine period—the vowel points, the accents, and the masoretic notes. In the text itself, the editors have made no changes save to correct obvious slips of the pen. All readings from other MSS, though thousands are preferable, have been relegated to the footnotes. Indeed, reverence for this sacred masoretic text has led to a determined resistance even to proposals to collect and study the variants from other MSS; the last important collections of variants were made in the eighteenth century. We have been assured, [23] often without any evidence at all, that all such variants come from scribal corruptions, not from other text types—a contention made implausible by the frequency with which large groups of the known variants agree with the readings of other text types. Again, from these different text types, which were all current in the Greco-Roman period, there are thousands of readings better than the masoretic. These readings, too, are relegated to the footnotes, and the footnotes are negligent about reporting them.⁴ Finally, there are yet thousands of places in which the readings of all sources are corrupt, but scholars have been able to correct the text with conjectures which are almost certainly right. These conjectures, of course, are also left to the footnotes.

To any classical scholar, this state of affairs must seem ludicrous. The first object in the study of a classical author is to produce a text as nearly correct as possible, and this objective has been successfully pursued in NT studies, where the textual problem is no less complicated than in OT. But in OT studies the sacred masoretic cow still lies in the middle of the road, and will certainly stay there because the publication of OT texts is so expensive that it has to be financed by the Bible societies, and the Bible societies are strongholds of pseudorthodoxy. The consequences of this are legion. First, scholars of more piety than intelligence are constantly inventing new defenses of impossible masoretic readings; these defenses too often get into the journals, confuse students, and waste paper, money, and time. Second, the unjustified prestige of the masoretic text deforms the study of the other text types. The most widely used edition of the LXX, for instance, followed the example of the Hebraists by taking “the best MS” as a text and departing from it as little as possible. Further, the departures were too often based on the supposition that the masoretic text was correct and that the Greek text which came closest to the masoretic was therefore the best Greek text. Consequently, as an account of the peculiar tradition of the LXX, Rahlfs’ edition is worse than useless; it is misrepresentative. Finally, and this is worst of all, the

⁴ See the remarks of H. Orlinsky, “The Textual Criticism of the Old Testament” in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East*, ed. G. Wright, 1961, pp. 114 ff.

use of a single, often corrupt MS as *the* text of the OT constantly deforms the notion of Hebrew acquired by the students who read and re-read this text. And in OT studies too many of the students read no other Hebrew—all they know of the language is this one corrupt text. The first thing, therefore, that OT scholarship needs is the production, for beginning students, of good critical editions of the individual works of the OT, editions which will print as their texts the best readings that can now be recovered. If such texts were available and if students' notions of ancient Hebrew were shaped by them, we could then hope for further progress.

I said, "editions of individual works of the OT," because another [24] consequence of pseudorthodoxy in OT studies is the treatment of the OT as a unit and the neglect of other ancient Hebrew literature contemporary with its latest books. The sharp separation between the canonical, the apocryphal, and the pseudepigraphic books is perpetuated by the pseudorthodox, and still does much to obscure the history of all three groups. The interest in the Dead Sea documents has helped to correct matters, but further correction is needed. Too many students, for instance, are still under the illusion that at the time of Jesus a mythological monad called "Judaism" had "The Old Testament" as its "sacred Book."

When we go on from text and canon to lexicography, we find ourselves in a stronghold of pseudorthodoxy. Since Semitic roots are usually of only two or three letters there are many homonyms. Moreover, the vocabularies of most Semitic languages are closely related; so it is a rare root that does not occur in four or five languages, often with two or three meanings in each language. Consequently, if in a given passage the normal meaning of a Hebrew word will not make sense, the pseudorthodox defender of the masoretic text, determined to avoid emendation, has only (in current jargon) "to bring to bear on the problem the resources of comparative Semitic linguistics," i.e., to leaf through half-a-dozen dictionaries, with the reasonable assurance of finding at least as many different meanings for the same root, one of which may happen to make sense. That the sense it makes will be the original sense is unlikely of course, but unimportant. And that this meaning may be found only in Akkadian a thousand years before the time of the text, or in Arabic a thousand years later, is a matter of indifference; such linguists are godlike: for them a thousand years of antiquity, since it is past, are but as yesterday. Of course, it is necessary, because of the poverty of the remains of ancient Hebrew, to rely on comparative linguistics for the elucidation of many difficult passages, but we must never forget that this is a *pis aller*. The best guide to the meaning of words in a given language is the tradition of that language, including the translations made from it. Considerations

of historical proximity must always be taken into account in evaluating analogies from other languages; and in a vowelless text, which has undergone both transcription from one alphabet to another and several centuries of uncontrolled copying, corruption is far more likely than the occurrence of a root meaning otherwise unattested in the language. This holds especially for the OT of which the text is often extremely corrupt.

But linguistics is even more important for pseudorthodoxy as a way to get rid of embarrassing meanings. Can Yahweh at the beginning of the ten commandments have said, "I, Yahweh your God, am a *jealous* god? " Heavens, no! Therefore the root, *קנא* must have some other meaning. And sure enough, with a little linguistic research, it turned out to mean "deeply concerned." That it also must mean "jealous" [25] (Num 5:14) and that in the ten commandments, where Yahweh is forbidding the worship of other gods, the meaning of "jealous" is clearly indicated, need not be said. This way of whitewashing the deity has enjoyed wide popularity, and anyone who wants to endow a professorship of "Apologetic Linguistics" will find no lack of qualified candidates, but I shall say no more about the practice because it has already been ably exposed by James Barr in his book, *The Semantics of Biblical Language*.

Leaving linguistics we go on to higher criticism, which has always been the *bête noire* of the pseudorthodox. They were clever enough to see that its results had to be accepted. On the other hand, to attack higher criticism was the accepted way of vindicating pseudorthodoxy. Therefore higher criticism had to be both attacked and accepted. What could be done? The solution was: to concentrate the attack on the greatest and most famous representative of higher criticism, to announce to the public that his "system" had been destroyed, and to appropriate privately its elements. This method has been used so often in lectures on the present state of biblical studies that I suppose some of you expected this one, too, would begin with the words, "Great tidings of joy I bring unto you which shall be to all peoples, Wellhausen is dead!" Since Wellhausen's *History of Israel* was published just ninety years ago (1878) and he died just fifty years ago (1918), this well-worn kerygma is principally interesting as evidence of the greatness of his genius and the endurance of his influence. We can safely prophesy that none of his critics will be of comparable importance ninety—or even fifty—years from now. Further, if we look more closely at the elements of Wellhausen's system and at their fate, we can see that: 1. Basic to the system was the distinction of four main strata in the Pentateuch—this is still accepted by almost all scholars. 2. It was supposed that each of these strata came from one independent document which had *in the main* been put together by one author-

editor at one time. This has been considerably modified by the recognition of minor sources and, in the major sources, of repeated and extensive redactions, so that the end products are more like the records of schools than the works of single authors; but Wellhausen himself began this recognition (*Composition des Hexateuchs*,⁴ 1963, p. 207) so it does not substantially alter his thesis. 3. Next came the dating of these documents, J and E (to use modern terms) before the major prophets, D about 620, P in or after the exile. This sequence is still generally accepted, and, within at most a century, these are still the customary dates. The most serious attack on the sequence has been Kaufmann's effort to prove an early date for P, but this has not secured general acceptance and probably will not; to mention only one consideration, the linguistic connection of P with Ezekiel is too strong. 4. Finally, on the distinction and dating of these documents Wellhausen based his history of the Israelites and their religion. Many details of his history and some important elements have now been [26] modified or generally abandoned; for instance, he certainly gave prophecy too large a role in the causation of the law codes—and it is these changes of interpretation which have served the pseudorthodox claim that the “system” has been destroyed. This claim itself served nicely to conceal the fact that three quarters of the system, its essential structure, was and is almost everywhere accepted.

When pressed to justify this claim, the pseudorthodox are apt to distinguish between the component parts and the system itself—a nice Platonic distinction between matter and form. The parts, they say—the analysis and dating of documents—were not Wellhausen's own work; so these were never in question. If pseudorthodox propaganda gave the impression that these had been discredited, that was purely accidental. All they ever meant to attack was the peculiar contribution of Wellhausen, the structure he composed of these elements, and particularly his picture of Israelite religion as beginning with a comparatively primitive cult centered in sacrifice, a folk religion which was then moralized and monotheized by its prophets, and finally legalized by the authors of its codes, who sought to embody its prophetic demands in a form suitable as the basis for a national religion. This picture, they contend, is fundamentally false because the essentials of Israelite religion originated in the middle and late bronze age, “a very civilized, sophisticated, and cosmopolitan era.”⁵ Consequently, it cannot possibly have been primitive. Abraham was a theologian as well as a merchant prince; his donkey caravans could barely stagger along beneath his library of cuneiform tablets. From

⁵ G. Mendenhall, “Biblical History in Transition,” in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East*, p. 36.

these little Isaac learned all that Sumerian literature of which the knowledge, faithfully handed down by tradition for a whole millennium, was to appear in the Israelite works of the eighth or seventh centuries. Or, to follow another version, Joseph learned monotheism from his friend Akh-en-aton, or better, taught it to him. Or at least Moses, schooled in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, anticipated the excavation of Tell el Amarna and recovered Akh-en-aton's suppressed teachings.

All such apologetic hypotheses overlook the archeological facts. (1) The literary culture of the bronze age was a court and, at the widest, a city culture. The difficulty of the systems of writing necessarily limited it to the small circles of the highly educated; it certainly did not extend to the fellahin ("the eloquent peasant" of the Egyptian wisdom-romance is like the courtly shepherd of the eighteenth century, a deliberate contradiction in terms). A fortiori this culture did not extend to the pastoral nomads, even when they occasionally penetrated Egypt or Mesopotamia and were put to work on building projects. (2) The one thing we know for sure about the peoples who invaded Palestine from the thirteenth [27] to the eleventh centuries is that they came from the east and south and were not of high culture. Like their contemporaries, the Dorian invaders of Greece, they did not even have any distinctive pottery tradition. If they made pottery at all, it must have been of so crude a sort that there were no shapes or peculiar utensils they wanted to preserve once the Palestinian products were available to them. Probably they had used skins rather than pots, and barbecued their meat—the old fashion of cooking was still prescribed for the Passover sacrifice until the time of the deuteronomic reform. When they came into Palestine they did not take over the bronze age cities and palaces. They burned them. Probably many preferred to live in their tents. The expression in Solomon's time was still, "To your *tents*, Israel !" By contrast the king has a *house* (1 Kings 12:16). When the invaders did rebuild they built hovels. From the remains of these and of their contents the cultural level of these invaders is absolutely clear: they were extremely primitive. That they were literate is wholly improbable. When the alphabet does come in, it comes from the Phoenicians in the northwest, not from any area where the Israelites had been. That they had any substantial knowledge of the higher culture of the bronze age is practically impossible. Whatever elements of that culture are preserved in the OT must have been preserved—as the agricultural and civic laws certainly were—by those Canaanite cities which like Beth-shan and Jerusalem were not destroyed but eventually made terms with the Israelites and were occupied peaceably, Jerusalem only in the time of David. The bronze age elements in the OT, therefore,

probably came into specifically *Israelite* tradition rather late. The pseudorthodox have written a great deal about archeological confirmation of the stories of the patriarchs, though all they had to show was a detail here and a detail there (and I shall discuss some of these details presently), but they have been amazingly silent about the archeological confirmation of Wellhausen's history, though that confirmation is obvious from the great majority of excavated late-bronze-to-early-iron sites in Palestine. Those sites leave no doubt that the culture of the invaders was primitive and that Wellhausen's picture of the history of Israelite religion as a progress from the religion of a primitive to that of a citified and legalized people is basically correct. As for the law and the prophets, Wellhausen of course did *not* maintain that the invading Israelites were utterly without tribal *laws* and that *laws as such* only developed after prophecy. He was concerned with the dates and elements of the preserved *codes*. For those codes his dates are still generally accepted—with some minor ups and downs—and the hypothesis that considerable elements in the codes reflect the prophetic teaching is almost certainly correct. To what extent this is true, and to what extent prophetic teaching itself was a development of elements found in earlier Israelite laws and customs, are obviously subordinate questions to which various answers can be given without affecting the [28] facts that the main outline of Wellhausen's history was correct and even many of its details are still defensible.

I do not think it worthwhile to follow the disputes over the details. Their importance is merely the factitious one which the pseudorthodox have given them by singling them out for attack. The essential question for the present state of the field is: Given the generally successful completion of the source criticism of the OT accomplished in the work of Wellhausen and the other great critics of the age before World War I, why have we not been able in the half century since 1918 to go on to an equally successful revision of the political and religious history of the Israelites? It is about these questions, the work of scholars of the past generation, that there is almost universal disagreement. Pfeiffer, Alt, Kaufmann, Mowinkel, and Noth, whose death we now mourn, Eissfeldt, born in 1887, Albright in 1891, von Rad in 1901—these were all great scholars. Why has none of the work of their generation been able to achieve the general assent which was and still is given to the essentials of Wellhausen's system?

The answer to this question is obviously complex. In part, modern scholars have attempted tasks more difficult than source analysis. For source analysis the evidence (i.e., the texts) is immediately and precisely observable; for the historical interpretation of the sources

other types of evidence, more difficult to assemble and evaluate, must be considered. Further, source analysis is logically prior to interpretation; interpretation must be built on it. Therefore, whenever source analysis is uncertain—as to some degree it almost always is—interpretation must be less certain. Moreover, because of physical accidents the archeological evidence needed for the interpretation, the evidence about Palestine in the *first* millennium B.C. has been very poor. And finally, the structure of the academic world encourages scholars to differ. To defend a new theory is to attract attention, secure publication, become an authority, and get a raise. But there is no money in proving that generally accepted ideas are, after all, right. However, along with all these factors and, at least as important as any of them, has been the continual confusion resultant from the apologetic tendencies of the pseudorthodox. A good number of these tendencies can be grouped under three heads: first, attempts to defend the traditions about the OT; second, attempts to defend the “essential truth” of OT stories, especially those of the patriarchs; and third, attempts to demonstrate the “higher” truth of the OT, its superiority to the products of surrounding cultures and sometimes, by implication, its supernatural origin.

Of these three the concern about authorship appears, for instance, in the attempts to vindicate for the prophets as much as possible of the prophetic books; to prove the psalms, if not Davidic, at least pre-exilic; and to find, if not passages really written by Moses, at least traditions [29] which may be in origin Mosaic. By this last trait pseudorthodoxy was involved in the critical study of traditions, the proper historical successor to source criticism, in which a great deal of valuable work has been done, especially by Noth; and this the apologists did not suffice to obscure. They drew aid and comfort, however, from the overconfidence with which Noth and Alt presented the results of their studies of tradition, and they used the fact that documents contained old traditions as an excuse for representing as unimportant the dates of the documents. They neglected the value of the works in the OT as historical evidence about the times at which they were composed, and they determinedly neglected the influence which those times, and the interests and purposes of the collectors, had on the contents of the collections. Some enthusiasts have even gone so far as to maintain that in the ancient world, “writing is used to preserve, not ... to create”⁶—a statement of really egregious insensitivity, since the OT contains some of the world’s most remarkable works of literary creativity, which is always highly imaginative. Consider the story of David’s reign, with its vivid accounts of scenes which no one could have reported (for

⁶ G. Mendenhall, *op. cit.*, p. 34, n. 4.

instance, David's deathbed advice to Solomon), the prophecies of Jeremiah, the visions of Ezekiel. And when one comes down from these heights to the Death Valley of the Chronicler, one finds an author whose brazen, clearly motivated invention is obvious on almost every page.

More important than such absurdities were the attempts to defend the "essential truth" of OT stories. Often these led to misrepresentation of the stories by attempts to eliminate the miraculous—this I have already spoken of. That by so doing one eliminates what the author thought was the essential truth (the revelation of the miraculous power of Yahweh) does not bother the pseudorthodox; for them the "essential truth" of a story is any truth that can be squeezed out of it. A favorite way of eliminating miracles is to invent a course of possible happenings which would have produced the alleged results, and then argue without any other evidence that, since the result is said to have occurred, these happenings must have preceded it. This is credulity. It is supported by argument from "fertility." If a hypothesis will yield a string of consequences convenient for my argument, then it is to be made since it is "fertile," whether or not there is any evidence for it. This is hypercredulity. Whenever an author argues that his hypotheses must be accepted because they are "affirmative," "positive," "constructive," or "fertile," you have grounds to suppose him either a fool or a fraud. But even more fertile than this fertility cult is the principle that any OT story which cannot be specifically disproved is therefore true. This has given birth to a whole history of the "patriarchal age" which, so [30] far as the patriarchs are concerned, is of no historical value whatsoever. As Professor Bickerman remarked in a brilliant review,⁷ the same methods would prove the legendary descent of the Britons from Brutus, a Trojan prince who fled to England.

A favorite means of revealing "essential" truth is to show that the patriarchal legends are "confirmed" by archeological evidence. This evidence turns out to consist of similarities in various details between the biblical stories and documents from the second millennium B.C. Which part or period of the second millennium B.C. makes no difference; debris in Sinai from the nineteenth century and treaties in Turkey from the thirteenth, agricultural settlements on the upper Euphrates from the eighteenth century and customs beyond the Tigris from the fifteenth—everything similar is confirmation. But, as de Vaux pointed out in his fine article on *Method in the Study of Early Hebrew History*⁸ with reference to the customs of Nuzi, "If they are limited to

⁷ In *Jewish Social Studies*, 1961, p. 49.

⁸ In *The Bible in Modern Scholarship*, ed. J. Hyatt, pp. 26 ff.

this region and to this period they cannot be used to enlighten the history of the patriarchs who were never east of the Tigris; if they are not limited to this region and this period they cannot be used to date the patriarchs." The same failure to consider the possible survival of cultural elements is frequent in the misuse of literary parallels to date biblical material. The historicity of the Sinai covenant was argued from its similarity to Hittite treaties, but the same essential structure appears in the treaties of Esarhaddon of Assyria where the parallels are so close to Deuteronomy as to argue its literary dependence;⁹ so one has to ask, When did the Israelites become familiar with this enduring Mesopotamian diplomatic convention? And the answer is surely not while they were slaves in Egypt or nomads along the desert, but after they became a kingdom, and perhaps, indeed, only after the revival of Assyria. Thus the "ancient near eastern archeological evidence" is actually evidence for a rather late date. Any number of psalms have been dated early because of their Ugaritic parallels. But we know from Philo of Byblos that traditions like the Ugaritic lived on in Phoenician cities down to Roman times, and Phoenician contacts with the Israelites were particularly close towards the end of the Persian period, when the Phoenicians seem to have controlled all the coastal plain of Palestine, had a trading colony in Jerusalem (Neh 13:16), and were probably allied with Jerusalem in a revolt against the Persians. Relations continued close in the hellenistic age, as we know from remains of the "Sidonians" at Marisa; and there is nothing unlikely in the notion that the Jerusalem priesthood of these periods, which was in close and friendly contact with the neighboring [31] peoples, may have been responsible for the introduction of Phoenician elements into the temple psalms. So here, too, the "ancient near eastern parallels," like the other characteristics of these psalms, point to a very late date.

Such possibilities have not been considered because the pseudorthodox did not want to consider them. Their object was to prove as much of the OT material as early as possible. So attention was concentrated on the parallels to be found in the bronze age, and little or no attention was paid to the relevant material from the world actually contemporary with the OT. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* had to go to a second edition before it recognized the existence of Canaanite and Aramaic inscriptions of the first millennium. To illustrate the background of the OT, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures* offers, of datable plates, 117 from the second millennium against 55 from the first. But the height of absurdity is reached by a recent Israeli

⁹ M. Weinfeld, "Traces of Assyrian Treaty Formulae in Deuteronomy," *Biblica*, 46 (1965), pp. 417 ff.

publication which calls itself *Sources for the History of Israel and its Land in the Age of the Bible, the Second Millennium B.C.E.* Actually, of course, the OT is a work of the middle and late first millennium. Very little of the material in it was written before the late ninth century; most is probably from the seventh, sixth, and fifth, and a good deal is even later. But for the pseudorthodox this is irrelevant. Like the linguists I mentioned before, they are utterly insensitive to anachronism. Their concept of the ancient near east is a sort of timeless cultural stew in which everything from the first cities of Sumer to the arrival of Alexander the Great is muddled together. A recent *Atlas of Ancient Mesopotamia* locates Mari (destroyed about 1750 B.C.) and Ugarit (about 1200) in the empire of Nebuchadnezzar II (604—562), and shows the Hittites in central Asia Minor 500 years after the country had been overrun by the Phrygians.

Consequently it is not surprising that a long series of archeological “confirmations of the Bible” have turned out to be howlers. Palestine itself has no more impressive ruins than those that litter the history of biblical archeology. The walls of Jericho that collapsed under Garstang’s theories, Solomon’s copper foundry that turned out to be a granary, Solomon’s stables that were built by Ahab, a Maccabean fortress that turned out to be Solomonian, the uninhabited wilderness of Transjordan that proved so rich in Mycenaean pottery, the thirteenth-century cities of Jericho and Ai that disappeared—these are only the items that come first to mind. And I only remark in passing that this concern for archeological confirmations of the OT has had two most unfortunate effects: On the one hand, it is giving us too many OT scholars who are more familiar with potsherds than they are with Hebrew verbs, and can recognize stratification in a dig but not in a document. But the OT, which they must teach, is a collection of documents. Their ignorance will presumably be perpetuated by their pupils. Much of it is even now [32] being laid up in popular reference works and commentaries for consultation by the unwary. On the other hand, the determination to confirm the Bible has had a most unfortunate effect on Palestinian archeology. Some time ago I was talking with one of the world’s foremost experts on certain aspects of ancient near eastern archeology. I happened to remark that there was something about ancient Egypt which seemed to attract cranks—the Pyramid readers, the Amarna monotheists, the mystery men, and so on. “You,” I said, “in Mesopotamia seem to be more fortunate.” “Yes,” was the reply, “but then—we get the biblical archeologists.”

In all this, I have not spoken of OT theology. I think it unspeakable. But I must say something of the third main thrust of pseudorthodoxy, its attempt to separate the OT from the near eastern culture of its time and to prove that it teaches a “higher truth.” One favorite contention

is that there are no myths in the OT. This is, of course, absurd. Stories of heroes who wrestle with angels and of deities who come to dinner are nothing if not mythological. Even the pseudorthodox are uneasily aware of this, and when in difficulties hasten to add, "that is, no mythology properly defined." Then they go on to define mythology in such a way as to exclude a good half of the Greek material. Let us be quite clear on this subject: The term *mythos* in Greek regularly refers, *inter alia*, to stories of dealings between deities and men, and until the rise of pseudorthodoxy nobody thought of excluding such stories from mythology. Nor is that notion seriously considered now. So anyone who declares unequivocally that there is no mythology in the OT is at best declaring that he is so ignorant he cannot recognize a myth when one stares him in the face.

Another favorite theme maintains that the OT is distinctive because of its belief that God acts in history—other ancient near eastern peoples experienced the divine only in the recurrent cyclic processes of nature. This also is vanity. All ancient deities who were the object of petitionary prayers were thought to act in history—that was why they were prayed to. I am glad to say this apologetic tradition has now been given its well-deserved comeuppance by B. Albrektson, *History and the Gods* (Lund, 1967).

Yet a third hoary misrepresentation is the claim that Yahweh is the creator of the elements of nature, in paganism the gods are elements of nature or their products; therefore Yahweh is a being *sui generis*, not a god in the pagan sense of the term (and the Israelites merely called him a god because they could not invent a new word for their new concept, though they were fully aware of its novelty!). In the first place, the OT Yahweh was never a concept and always a god; in the second, the notion that he created the elements of nature is far from universal in the OT material: In Gen 1, for instance, he "created" (בָּרָא, whatever [33] that means) heaven and earth, but not darkness nor the deep (תְּהוֹמוֹת), which are conceived as obstacles overcome by his actions. In Gen 2 his action is clearly formative, not creative in the sense which "creation" has come to have in Jewish and Christian theology, but Gen 2 is no less a cosmogony. Finally, ancient near eastern paganism bristles with gods represented as universal creators. Over fifteen years ago I collected references to eight or nine of them in my article, *The Common Theology of the Ancient Near East*.¹⁰ But such observations of fact have no effect whatever on the pseudorthodox. At most they draw some new "distinctions" to justify their old conclusions. For those conclusions are their real concern, not the facts nor the arguments. Accordingly, when new facts are adduced or old arguments

¹⁰ *JBL*, 71 (1952), p. 139, n. 13 (chapter two above).

refuted, they do not change their conclusions, but merely look for new ways to support them. It will not do to speak of *fides quaerens intellectum*, for neither *fides* nor *intellectum* is here appropriate.

With this conclusion it is clear that this paper has fallen far short of an account of “the present state of OT studies.” It has tried only to sketch the ramifications of pseudorthodoxy and so explain in part the confusion and dispute prevalent in the field. Therefore the great discoveries and solid progress of recent years have been passed over. Thus I have said nothing of the great advances in textual criticism which will eventually result from the publication of the Dead Sea documents, the Aleppo codex, the codex Neofiti of the Palestinian targum, and the Leiden edition of the Peshitta, to name only the most conspicuous of present projects.

Dim as my view is of the “revolutionary advances” in Hebrew lexicography, I welcome the appearance of the new edition of Baumgartner’s dictionary, especially because of my profound respect for the work of Professor Kutscher who will participate in the revision. To have a compendious and critical survey of the innumerable etymological conjectures of the past generation will be invaluable. (Nevertheless, at least for purposes of comparison, I shall cling to my old ragged Gesenius.) The study of Palestinian geography, and especially that of its archeological remains, has seen enormous advances. Here too, of course, pseudorthodoxy has been active: On the basis of correspondence with biblical reports, you give a name to a ruin, then you excavate the ruin and discover that it confirms the biblical reports. But in spite of such side shows—no, even, because of them—the really important task of recording what ruins there are, where they are, and what they contain, has gone forward steadily. Meanwhile, outside the biblical field, archeology has become a specialized profession, recognizing more and more clearly its peculiar tasks and limitations. Israeli archeology, in particular, [34] is highly professional, often outstandingly competent, and I expect that through the Department of Antiquities it will more and more impose its standards on all excavations in Israel. At the same time, departments of archeology are developing in many universities, and it seems likely that these—and not the theological seminaries—will provide the leaders for the more competent and significant excavations of the future. We may hope that the days of the professor of OT who is an archeologist in his summer vacation and explores the Holy Land with his Bible as his guidebook, will soon be over. So too, I hope, will the days of the archeologist who is a professor of OT between digs and who explores his Bible for details he can fit to his findings. For a correct history of the Israelites we must have the archeological facts determined quite objectively and independently by competent

archeologists, and the biblical facts likewise determined by competent philologists, and then can we begin to compare them.

Towards this goal, even now, we are progressing. Already, indeed, the gradual publication of archeological results has steadily built up an objective picture of the history, not only of ancient Palestine, but of all the ancient near east. We can now distinguish clearly its main contours—the rise of the great “empires” of the bronze age; their almost complete collapse in the years between 1250 and 950; the barbarian invasions which profoundly changed all the near eastern countries during those three dark centuries, and the gradual emergence of the new powers of the iron age, at first little kingdoms and city-states, then new “empires” like the new Assyria and Babylonia, whose princes looked back to those of the preceding millennium as the rulers of the Renaissance did to the ancient emperors of Rome. We can see Ashurbanipal, for instance, as a Renaissance ruler, raiding Babylon and the rich Phoenician cities as the French raided Rome and the trading towns of Italy, collecting old manuscripts and patronizing new artists. Akkadian is still spoken in his court and in the temples and at the bar (as Latin in the Renaissance); even Sumerian enjoys a learned revival (as Greek did). But the business documents are more and more in the new business language (Aramaic), and the interests and information and art and mentality of the new world are a thousand years away from those of the world of Hammurabi.

It is to this new Renaissance world of the Assyrians and the Phoenicians, the Lydians and the Greeks, that the Israelites, a new people of recent invaders, belong. They belong to the beginning of the iron age culture, not to the end of the bronze. Their cultural history is paralleled most closely by that of the iron age Greeks: savage invaders of the thirteenth and twelfth centuries, they soon assimilated some elements of the culture they had overrun, but reshaped these by their own standards and interests and combined them with new elements from the new [35] world around. Learning the alphabet from the Phoenicians, they began to write down their heroic legends and those of the old holy places in their land (J and E, the Homeric epics and hymns); in these we can sometimes see the dim outlines of bronze age legends, but the heroes have become nomads and chieftains of the invasion period, and the mentality and language is that of the early monarchies. As civilization developed, wealth and trade and social injustice increased, and prophets emerged to denounce the wickedness of the rulers, defend the poor, and foretell the coming of the judgment of Yahweh or Zeus—Amos and Hesiod are conspicuously close in date, message, and prophetic vocation. But prophetic preaching was not directly effective. What the people needed for their protection was

the publication of their laws, hitherto a matter of tradition in the heads of the rich—the city elders and the priests. Consequently, Deuteronomy and Draco are almost exact contemporaries, and both the social concerns and the proposed remedies of the deuteronomist are in many points parallel to those of Solon, who lived only a generation later. At the same time intellectual development is going on. Soon the gnomic “wisdom” poetry, traditional all over the near east, will be developed by gifted individuals like Theognis and the author of the first section of Proverbs to serve their own didactic purposes. From such beginnings will come, a century later, such great theologico-philosophical and dramatic dialogues on the problem of evil as Job and *Prometheus Bound*. And after these great peaks of poetry the writers of both peoples will turn to topics of more “human interest.” Speculative thought will concern itself with the good life (so Epicurus and Ecclesiastes), narration will turn to hellenistic romances like Judith and Tobit. This is the outline of Israelite literature, and it belongs part and parcel, soul as well as body, to the iron age and to the Mediterranean, not to the Mesopotamian world. The work of the coming generation of OT criticism will be, I hope, to recognize this relationship and determine its details. For those tasks students will rely not only on the source analysis and dating worked out by the scholars of the nineteenth century, but also on the great achievements of the past generation—the introductions by Pfeiffer and Eissfeldt (invaluable tools for research), the painstaking studies of tradition by Noth and von Rad, the collections of archeological, geographical, and lexical observations by innumerable scholars, and the relentless questioning of accepted conclusions by Ezekiel Kaufmann. My intention in this paper has not been to deny or to overlook these contributions to the study of the OT, but to present at some length what seems to be, for that study, the most important obstacle.

CHAPTER FIVE

PSEUDEPIGRAPHY IN THE ISRAELITE LITERARY TRADITION

[191] Let me begin by confessing uneasiness about the common distinction between Palestinian and diasporic pseudepigrapha. The fact is that we do not know where most of the *OT* pseudepigrapha were written. As Prof. Hengel has shown,¹ Palestine was profoundly hellenized and we have no assurance that works of hellenistic form and spirit may not have been written there in Hebrew, in Aramaic, or in Greek. Conversely, we know that Hebrew and Aramaic were used in the diaspora²; for all we know they may have been used to write books there; we know of some Greek works written in the diaspora which not only perpetuated and developed *OT* forms and themes, but were intensely hostile to the Greco-Roman tradition—such, for instance, is the canonical *Apocalypse*. In sum, the conventional distinction of both Judaism and early Christianity into “diasporic” and “Palestinian” types is not justified, and I regret the current project for a corpus of the literary remains of diasporic Judaism. It will be a corpus of unjustified assumptions.

What is justified is a distinction between the Israelite literary tradition—perpetuated in Judaism, Christianity, Samaritanism, Islam, elements of the magical papyri, some popular literature of the middle ages, and so on—and the Greco-Roman literary tradition. These two traditions, each with its characteristic themes and forms, arise independently, develop, at first, independently, and live on, [192] side by side and recognizably different, down to our own times. With the survival of the Greco-Roman tradition we are all familiar. *The Book of Mormon* is a recent example of influential work in the Israelite tradition and the poetical forms of that tradition are still alive in modern Israel. From at least the hellenistic period on, the two traditions profoundly influenced each other and various mixed forms were produced; these may be assigned to either tradition, according to the criteria chosen. By content, for instance, the *Sibylline Oracles* usually belong to the Israelite literary tradition, by form, they are Greco-Roman; *Ben Sira*, on the other hand, puts much hellenistic material into Israelite form.

¹ M. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*, Tübingen, 1969 (Wissenschaftliche Unters. zum N.T. 10).

² See the material in J. Frey, *Corpus inscriptionum iudaicarum*, Vatican City, 1936-52, 2 vols.

Since the relations of literary forms are often easier to determine than those of contents, I shall make form my criterion and shall deal with pseudepigraphy in works which formally belong to the Israelite literary tradition and which were written before A.D. 70. For this purpose I have had to review the tradition from the beginning; only in this way can the pseudepigraphic works be seen in proper perspective. Beginning this review, I found myself engaged in an aspect of *Old Testament* criticism that has been almost totally neglected. U. von Wilamowitz actually said that forgery of documents was a characteristically Greek trait³—an opinion Willrich went too far in correcting.⁴ In recent years the only monograph that touched on the subject (before the work of Dr. W. Speyer) was the apologetic tract of Sint,⁵ and surveys of recent work in Form-[193]geschichte, Gattungsgeschichte, Traditionsgeschichte, Redaktionsgeschichte, and Überlieferungsgeschichte⁶ indicate that none of the practitioners of these polysyllabic disciplines has paid any attention to pseudepigraphy as such, though one might suppose it a literary form important both for redaction and for the history of the way the material was handed down. This silence is not difficult to explain. "Pseudepigraphy" is, in theological circles, a discreditable term, and "forgery" is little short of unmentionable. The younger Delitzsch reported an amusing example of this attitude. He learned from his professor's lecture that *Deuteronomy* was not written by Moses, but was a work of the 7th century, composed for a specific purpose and for that purpose attributed to Moses. Deeply shocked, he went to call on the professor and asked, "Is *Deuteronomy*, then, a forgery?" "For God's sake, no!" said the professor, "That may very well be so, but you mustn't say so."⁷ So much for the unmentionable. We shall later touch on other reasons for the neglect of the question in Biblical studies.

Delitzsch's professor would no doubt have tried to justify his reluctance by saying that "forgery" is primarily a legal term properly used of checks, receipts and similar documents. When one comes to literature, especially to the literature of a primitive people, often handed down by oral tradition before being fixed in writing, and then

³ In his review of the inscriptions of Magnesia, *Hermes* 30 (1895), 192; this reference I owe to Professor Bickerman.

⁴ H. Willrich, *Urkundenfälschung in der hellenistisch-jüdischen Literatur*, Göttingen, 1924 (Forschungen zur Rel. und Lit. des A. und N.T., N.F. 21).

⁵ J. Sint, *Pseudonymität im Altertum*, Innsbruck, 1960. See the reviews by M. Forderer, *Gnomon* 33 (1961), 440ff. and M. Smith, *Jnl. of Biblical Literature* 70 (1961), 188 f.

⁶ K. Bernhardt, *Die gattungsgeschichtliche Forschung am A.T.*, Berlin, 1959 (Aufsätze und Vorträge z. Theol. u. Religionswiss. 8); K. Koch, *Was ist Formgeschichte?*, tr. S. Cupitt, under the title *The Growth of the Biblical Tradition*, London, 1969; H. Ringgren, "Literarkritik, Formgeschichte, Überlieferungsgeschichte," *Theol. LitZ.* 9 (1966), 641ff.

⁷ *Die Grosse Täuschung*, Berlin, 1920-21, I, 5.

by a complex literary tradition before reaching its present form, the varieties of "authenticity" and "falsification" become so many and so subtle that it is impossible to distinguish [194] between them with legal precision. This is true, but I think it still possible to make at least rough distinctions. There will be general agreement—for instance—that the speeches in *Job* were from the beginning admittedly literary compositions, never intended to be thought "authentic", whereas the editors who put the ten commandments into *Exodus* and *Deuteronomy* believed them, and intended them to be believed, substantially exact quotations. The New Yorker cartoon which showed a preacher declaring, "And the Lord said unto Moses, and I quote," was not basically misrepresentative of the intentions of the editors of the *Pentateuch*.

With the word "editors" we touch, of course, on one of the major differences between the Israelite and the Greco-Roman literary traditions. In the Greco-Roman tradition the material is mostly preserved as individual works by specified authors. A book is commonly the work of a man, therefore a primary problem of literary history is to distinguish cases of misattribution and forgery. Interpolation, of course, does occur, but it is not the general rule and when it occurs it usually is not extensive; relatively few of the major documents have been produced by conflation of earlier ones. In the Israelite literary tradition, on the contrary, authors' names are rarely reported and when they are reported the reports are almost always false. Of all the preserved works written in Biblical forms, or modifications of those forms, down to A.D. 70, only one—*Ecclesiasticus*—can with confidence be attributed to a known author⁸ (the books of the prophets usually contain some prophecies by the men whose names they bear, but were not composed by them). Most documents of the Israelite tradition, and especially the most important ones, have been produced, not [195] merely by conflation, but by repeated conflations by a series of editors, each of whom has interpolated and abbreviated *ad libitum*. The typical work is therefore a sort of literary onion which must be peeled layer by layer, not without tears. This is a second reason for the neglect of pseudepigraphy in *Old Testament* criticism. Critics have usually been anxious to discover the earliest, the "original," elements of the Biblical books. The question of attributions takes us away from these "original" elements into the diminishing vistas of the history of the literature. And even in this literary history the problems are to distinguish styles and schools and traditions, and to trace the

⁸ The work of Jason of Cyrene (the source of 2 *Maccabees*) is not preserved and probably belonged by form to the Greco-Roman tradition.

development of literary forms as such, without regard to the unanswerable question, who were the individual authors?

Accordingly it is from false attribution, not from forgery, that we must begin our study of the pseudepigrapha in the Israelite-Jewish tradition. False attribution is relatively common—one thinks immediately of the *Psalms*. While the Psalter itself carries no attribution, many individual psalms are attributed to David, one to Solomon (72), one to Moses (90), a number to legendary singers or sages.⁹ All these are examples of what I shall call “simple misattribution,” that is to say, the texts have not been altered to support the error. For a number, however, the mistake has been buttressed by a pseudo-historical heading or even a brief introduction specifying the occasion in David’s life for which the psalm was thought to have been composed.¹⁰ These introductions must be older than the Septuagint text of *Psalms* which shares them with the Hebrew. Therefore historical study of Israelite texts—the attempt to discover, from their [196] contents, by inference, their historical *Sitz im Leben*—began in the early hellenistic, if not in the Persian period. Other examples of such simple misattribution, unsupported by alteration of the texts, are the sections of *Proverbs* attributed to Solomon, Agur, and Lemuel (or Lemuel’s mother, 31:1), the *Song of Songs* which is Solomon’s, the *Prayer of Manasseh*, and the *Psalms of Solomon*. The *Book of Malachi* probably belongs here, though its misattribution seems to have been produced by hypostatization of an author from a common noun.¹¹

The list is interesting because it is so small and only one of the six items in it—the *Psalms of Solomon*—can be dated with certainty to the Greco-Roman period. It becomes more interesting when we consider that the great majority of the documents peculiar to the Qumran sect are not pseudepigraphic—the *War*, the *Hymns*, the *Manual of Discipline*, the *Damascus Document*, the *Blessings* (1Q Sb), the many commentaries and florilegia, so far as we can judge from their remains. This admittedly inadequate evidence suggests that the attribution of anonymous works to particular authors was a fashion which came into or developed in the Israelite tradition, perhaps mainly in the neo-Babylonian and Persian periods (though a heading in *Proverbs* (25:1) seems to indicate that this one section was already

⁹ Pss. 88 and 89 and the *Asaph psalms*, if Asaph should be understood as an individual. (These and all subsequent references to the *Old Testament* use the numeration in the Hebrew text. References to the apocrypha follow A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*⁶, Stuttgart, N.D.).

¹⁰ Pss. 3, 18, 34, 52, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, etc.

¹¹ The misattribution of the *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum* to Philo and to Josephus is later than our period.

thought Solomonic in the time of Hezekiah, the late 8th or early 7th century). Whenever it came in, the fashion surely did not win universal acceptance, and our limited evidence suggests it declined in the Greco-Roman period.

A closely related phenomenon is the insertion in, or attachment to, larger works of compositions which the framework attributes either to the authors or to the heroes of the larger works, but which contain nothing to support [197] the attribution and probably were not originally so attributed. Examples from the historical books are the prayer of Hannah (*1 Sam* 2:1b-10), the song of David on his deliverance from Saul (*2 Sam* 22:2-51 = *Ps* 18:3-51), and the covenant of Nehemiah (*Neh* 10:30-40). In the prophets we have innumerable interpolations and additions—the whole of “Second” and “Third” *Isaiah*, *Zechariah* 9-14, and so on, down to such brief but clear examples as the thanksgiving of Hezekiah in *Isaiah* 38:10-20. The prayer of Azariah in *Dan* 3:26-45 and the parables in *Enoch* (38:1-6+39:2b-8; 45:1-6; 58:1-6) show the same treatment of material continued in later times. This list does not pretend to be complete; I am anxious to avoid the quagmire of disputes about authenticity and therefore mention only a few clear examples. In some of these the misattribution may have been the result of a mere error in transcription, the loss of a heading between the end of one book and the beginning of a second. But in others it goes a bit further. When short texts are built into longer ones, even though their own wording is not changed, they are interpreted, placed in their supposed historical settings or, at least, in settings for which they were thought appropriate (the line between historical and literary evaluation is here probably indiscernible).

Perhaps therefore it is significant that this sort of misattribution unsupported by alteration of the texts is commonest in the prophets and the *Pentateuch*, especially in the priestly material, where we have not only the “Song” and the “Blessing” of Moses (*Deut* 32:1-43; 33:2-29), but also many laws attributed to Yahweh and one attributed to Moses that give in their texts no indication of the speaker’s identity.¹² Had these laws been composed *ad hoc* by the editors they would probably have contained references to the situations and speakers for which they were intended. Since they do [198] not, it seems that they were originally anonymous and the attributions are secondary. This appearance is strongly supported by the other instances of secondary attribution of anonymous material, to which we have already referred. It is even more strongly supported by the fact that there is, I believe, no example of a law in which it is clear from the content that Moses or

¹² *Lev* 1-7; 12-14:32; 24:2-9; 27:2-33; *Num* 19:2b-22; 30:3-16.

Yahweh is the speaker, but which is not attributed to the one or the other by the context. From the sum of this evidence we derive the impression of a considerable body of anonymous material—oracles, songs, and laws—being dealt with by editors who wish to locate such items historically—to assign the oracles and songs to named individuals, and to specify the occasions on which the laws were given. This is not to say that the editors' historical methods were adequate or their results correct, but the basic pattern of their thought was of a historical sort, as opposed to philosophical, or mythological, or mnemonic arrangement by catchwords, or whatever. Historical interest was old in Israel, where a first-rate biography of David was written already in the 9th or perhaps even the 10th century B.C. But here we see this historical interest extending itself to organize what was apparently a body of non-historical texts. This seems to take place mainly in the neo-Babylonian and Persian periods, when the *Pentateuch*, the historical books, and the prophets were all reaching their final shape. How can we explain it?

We can move towards an explanation by considering the next type of pseudepigraphic material—that produced by editors who not only misattribute their texts, but also alter them. Of course, in moving, we must pass over a great many dubious and border-line cases. There are many passages of which we shall never know whether the editor inserted them as he found them, or partially rewrote them, or made them up out of whole cloth. We shall never know, either, what the editors cut out. Finally, any discussion of [199] pseudepigrapha can deal only with the examples that are suspect, that is, with the unsuccessful ones. There will always be a margin of error produced by the forgers who succeeded and whose works are now among those from which we derive our criteria of authenticity. But there are none the less many instances in which it is reasonably clear that the content of texts has been altered significantly by editorial insertions. Sometimes old material was used for this purpose—thus *Nehemiah* was made to testify to the patriotism of his enemies the priests by insertion in his “memoirs” of a list of wall builders, no doubt from the temple archives, in which the priests stood at the head (3:1-32); another insertion made him the guarantor of an extensive collection of old genealogies (7:6-62). More often new material was manufactured *ad hoc*. Thus the author of the *miserere* (*Ps.* 51, supposedly David) could not be permitted to declare that Yahweh was indifferent to animal sacrifices; a postscript was added to specify that this was true only before the restoration of the temple (20f.). It would not do for Amos to foretell the final destruction of Israel; a happy ending, indeed, a series of happy endings, had to be added (9:8ff., 11f., 13ff.) Ezra's commission from Artaxerxes was gratifying, but did not go far

enough; it had to be extended to authorize him to impose the law of Moses on the whole trans-Euphratine province (*Ezra* 7:25f.) And so on; the examples are innumerable, especially in the works of the prophets where all the postscripts introduced by, "Behold the days are coming, saith Yahweh," are *ipso facto* suspect, though a few may be genuine.¹³ [200]

Even more interesting for our purpose are the passages in the *Pentateuch* which show that the text of the laws has been modified to make clear that Yahweh or Moses is the speaker. These fall into two great groups—in the priestly material the speaker is almost always Yahweh¹⁴ and the law is the law of Yahweh, in the earlier strata of the Deuteronomic material the law is the law of Moses and Moses is the speaker. Let us look at some examples.

The ten commandments (in *Exodus* 20:2ff. and *Deuteronomy* 5:6ff.) are particularly interesting because their basic text was certainly prior to both some priestly and some Deuteronomic editors, who edited it differently. Yet the basic text already shows the alteration of which I speak. Yahweh begins by identifying himself and speaks in the first person: "I am Yahweh your god ... you shall have no other gods before me ... for I, Yahweh, am a jealous god." But with the third commandment we come to the third person form, appropriate for anonymous laws: "Thou shalt not take in vain the name of Yahweh, thy god" (not, "My name"). And this form is maintained hence forth: Yahweh (not "I") will not acquit the transgressor; the seventh day is his sabbath; he blessed and hallowed it; he gives you the land. Since this alteration occurs in both the priestly and the Deuteronomic versions, and since we have already seen enough to justify the guess that the anonymous version of the law was prior to that which represented Yahweh as speaking and specified the occasion, we may conclude that the process of personalizing and historicizing [201] the laws must have begun before the composition of *Deuteronomy* 5 and the priestly material in *Exodus* 20.

Deuteronomy 5 is particularly interesting for us because, of all the early Deuteronomic material, it alone departs from the school's

¹³ Forms of attribution are of particular interest in *Ezekiel*, where they divide the book clearly into three parts: a first person narrative in chs. 1-11, a collection of oracles introduced (sometimes after a brief narrative) by the formula, "And the word of Yahweh (came) to me, saying, Son of man," in chs. 12-39, and a first person narrative containing two long speeches in chs. 40-48. In the central section the oracles are normally of two parts, the second beginning, "Therefore thus saith Yahweh." Departure from this regular formulaic pattern, especially by the addition of third and fourth parts containing divine postscripts, are *ipso facto* suspect and are noticeably more frequent in the oracles against foreign nations, where the temptation to bring prophecy up to date was strong.

¹⁴ The only exception I have noticed is Num 30:2-17.

customary representation of Moses as the giver of the law, to insist that Yahweh spoke these words (5:4), and at the end of the commandments it repeats, "These words Yahweh spoke to all your assembly in the mountain ... and he said nothing more," (literally, "he did not add," 5:19)—a protest against pseudepigraphy repeated, as to its essentials, in 18:16, cf. Exod 20:19. It is not unlikely to suppose that this protest was directed against one or more collections of laws attributed directly to Yahweh—the sort of thing we now find in the "Holiness Code" (Lev 17-26, of which I shall speak presently). This supposition would fit the other indications that there was originally considerable friction between the priestly and the Deuteronomic schools, and that the present *Pentateuch* is a product, not only of compilation, but of compromise.

In the priestly material, by contrast to the Deuteronomic, Yahweh is constantly uttering laws. We have already remarked that a good many of those attributed to him contain nothing to show that he is the speaker; the attribution is purely external and secondary. In many others, however, he refers to himself or the text of the law somehow makes clear that he is the speaker. But in most of these the references or clarifications occur only at the beginnings and the ends of the laws, while the central parts refer to him, if at all, in the third person, an indication that they were originally anonymous.

This is particularly clear in *Leviticus* and *Numbers*. After the long body of internally anonymous laws with which *Leviticus* begins (chs. 1-7) and two chapters of narrative, comes the law on pure and impure animals: The only indications in the text of the law that Yahweh is the speaker are [202] in two verses tagged on at the end, not part of the law proper (11:44f.). Then come two more chapters of internally anonymous laws, including those on symptoms of "leprosy" and purification from it, and then again, in the law on "leprosy" in houses, a reference to the land of Canaan calls up the standard phrase, "which I shall give thee" (14:34) to indicate that Yahweh is the speaker. This leads to another verb in the first person before the text goes back to the third. In the next chapter (15) comes the law on discharges from the body; it refers to Yahweh in the third person throughout (15:14; 15:30)—only a final, appended exhortation indicates that he is the speaker (15:31). In the next chapter (16) the laws on the day of atonement regularly refer to Yahweh in the third person (16:8ff.; 12; 13, 18, 30, 34); only one explanatory phrase inserted at the very beginning (16, 2) indicates that he is the speaker. Turning to the legal material scattered through *Numbers* we find that in chapters 5 and 6 only 5:3 and 6:27 (the last verse of the law there) indicate that Yahweh

is the speaker. In *Numbers* 8 and 15, the latter half of 18,¹⁵ 28-29, and 33:50-35, the same pattern prevails. All this material seems to have been originally anonymous legislation; it has been attributed to Yahweh by minor changes in the text as well as by the editorial framework. This is the more striking because there is another strand of priestly legal material in which Yahweh constantly identifies himself as the lawgiver and makes this a major reason for observance of the law—"You shall be holy, for I, Yahweh your god, am holy." The great document of this type is the "Holiness Code" in *Leviticus* 17-26.¹⁶ Akin to it are the law on the priests and levites in *Numbers* 18:1-24 and the directions for establish[203]ment of the cult, *Exodus* 25-31:17.¹⁷ But even in the "Holiness Code" it is sometimes possible to see, in the light of the material already presented, that originally anonymous laws which spoke of Yahweh in the third person have been adapted to the present first person form.

Moreover, something similar appears in *Deuteronomy*. The earliest part is the code in chs. 12-26 and 28. Here the speaker is for the most part anonymous.¹⁸ There are numerous passages in the first person, mostly exhortations "to keep and do all this commandment which I command you this day," or the like,¹⁹ but the speaker does not identify himself nor say anything which, apart from the narrative framework, would identify him. The framework, however, has been built into the code and from the framework it is clear that the speaker is Moses. Not only are there numerous passages referring to the conquest of the land as future,²⁰ but the speech is located in trans-Jordan (12:10) and the speaker identified as the prophet who, at Horeb, was the intermediary between Yahweh and the people (18:16ff.). But this last passage is unique. In the other historical references—to the Ammonites (23:4ff.), Miriam (24:9), Amalek (25:17), the servitude in and deliverance from Egypt (13:11; 16:1ff.; etc.)—there is no reference to Moses although legend gave him a large part in the events referred to and although the references mostly belong to the hortatory and explanatory elements of the code, the elements that look most like additions. The lack of direct identification is particularly striking by contrast with the frequency with which the later strata of Deuteronomic material—the introductions and conclusions with which the code is now surrounded—[204] make clear that Moses is the speaker²¹ and

¹⁵ Verses 26-32.

¹⁶ Interrupted only by the anonymous laws on lamps and shewbread, 24:2-10.

¹⁷ The "Covenant Code", *Exod* 20:23 - 23:19, has been so much worked over that its text now presents no clear pattern.

¹⁸ The colophon, 28:69, is clearly a gloss.

¹⁹ Thus 12:28; 13:1, 19; 15:5, cf. 15, 19:9; etc.

²⁰ So 12:9, 29; 17:14; 18:9; 19:1; etc.

²¹ So especially in *Deut* 1-3; 5; 9; 10. But also, though less frequently in 6; 7; 8, 11.

explicitly attribute the law to him.²² The identifications extend even into the adjacent books: Joshua is provided with a “book of the law of Moses” to read to the people and to inscribe on the stones of a monumental altar on Mt. Ebal (*Joshua* 8:30-35), and the claim of Mosaic authorship is extended by later editors to the whole priestly law.²³

This evidence from *Deuteronomy* seems to confirm that from the priestly material. In both the sorts of verses in which the attributions occur and their distribution alike indicate that originally anonymous laws have been attributed to individual authorities—either Yahweh or Moses—and have been given pseudo-historical settings.

Let me anticipate several objections to this argument.

First, if these changes in person of the verbs are the result of deliberate editorial alteration to identify the speakers, why were they not carried through consistently? The answer is, I think, that the editors were not aware of the possibility of literary and historical criticism. They wanted only to identify the laws as given by Yahweh or given by Moses. For this purpose it was enough to indicate the speaker in the framework or, at most, to change the first or last sentence to make clear who was or had been speaking. Once the deity or the prophet was identified as the giver of the law, the law could be copied out in its old, familiar wording. There was nothing in it, after all, that flatly contradicted the identification, and the inference that might be drawn from references to the deity in the third person did not occur to them. [205]

Second, alterations between first person and third person constructions and between references to Yahweh and references to the prophet as the speaker are constant in the prophets. Zephaniah, Micah and Amos speak at one moment in their own persons, at the next in that of Yahweh, and the like occurs, though less frequently, in most of the genuine prophetic works. It is also found in the magical papyri and in the *Hermetica*, and is a phenomenon of mystical thought in general: “I am thou and thou art I.” Is it not then a mistake to use this same phenomenon, when it occurs in the laws, as evidence of editorial alterations? Not necessarily. The laws are a different literary form and reflect a different mental condition. Changes of person are not customary in them and when they do occur they follow a uniform pattern—they are concentrated at the beginnings and ends of the laws and in certain types of material (explanatory and hortatory) which on

²² So 1:1ff.; 4:44ff.; 27:1, 9, 11; 28:69; 31:9ff., 24ff.; etc.

²³ Num 36:13, a colophon. For the present text of Ezra “the law of Moses” and “the law of Yahweh” are evidently identical, Ezra 7:6, 10. The more reliable firman of Artaxerxes refers to Ezra’s law as “the law of the god of the heavens” sc. Yahweh, Ezra 7:12. Evidently the priestly terminology prevailed.

intellectual grounds also seem secondary. Finally, the supposition that they are due to alteration of the text fits an understandable historical development. In the prophets changes are common, no such pattern emerges, no such development can be discerned. Accordingly we shall leave the prophets aside, but see in the laws evidence for a deliberate pseudohistoricizing process.

Third, how can this process be reconciled with the common notions of the history of Israelite law? Is it conceivable that the law was not from the first thought to have been given by Yahweh and by Moses? How can passages in *Deuteronomy* be understood as polemic against the priestly legal tradition if the Deuteronomic code was "found" by the priest of the Jerusalem temple and if the priestly legislation is, as commonly believed, half a century or more posterior to the finding of the Deuteronomic code? To these questions the answer is simply that theories must be tailored to fit the facts, not vice versa. That the laws were not originally attributed to Yahweh or Moses is—for [206] many laws—not only possible, but likely. The early desert code—"He who smiteth a man that he die shall surely be put to death" (Exod 21:12) and the like—is patently anonymous tribal law. Laws that go back to ancient Mesopotamian originals, laws that came from the shrine of El of the Covenant at Shechem or from Beth-El, were certainly not at first attributed to Yahweh, nor to Moses. The questions when and by whom Palestinian law was first "Yahwized" and "Mosaized" are therefore not only legitimate, but necessary, and it seems that in these apparent editorial changes we have indications of the dates of at least parts of the process. That the Deuteronomic law was launched by (one group of?) the Jerusalem priesthood, would suggest that some other group of priests, either in Jerusalem or elsewhere, was behind the priestly legislation, but there is no point in dogmatizing about these questions until the facts about the process are clear.

How early did the process begin? Attempts to date the elements of the priestly material are notoriously speculative; the surest evidence is the close relation of the language to that of Ezekiel. With the deuteronomic code we are on safer ground. That it was the document "found" in the temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem in 621 B.C. is the common and well-grounded opinion. But what was the original form of the code?

This brings us back to the question of Delitzsch: Is *Deuteronomy*, then, a forgery? We have now progressed from simple misattribution, through misattribution supported by alteration of the texts, to the point at which we can speak of forgery proper—the composition of a work intended *ab initio* to be falsely attributed. In writing such a work the author may have believed that his composition expressed the true teaching of the man to whom he attributed it, and he may have

included much traditional material which he thought came from the pretended author, but these [207] considerations would not alter the fact that he knew he wrote the work, and he knew that the pretended author did not.

The evidence for and against supposing *Deuteronomy* 12-26 a forgery has already been partly presented. For the supposition are the facts that as the text stands the speaker in one passage (18:16ff.) identifies himself as Moses and in a number of other passages locates the speech at the time and in the area of Moses' traditional leadership. Against the supposition are the facts that these indications are rare and indirect, that most of them occur in verses which are intellectually secondary (explanatory or hortatory), that many opportunities for identification of the speaker are neglected, and that it is now generally recognized, on other grounds, that the code has been considerably interpolated, especially with hortatory material.²⁴ A further consideration is the fact that the code was not introduced as the work of any individual or group, but was "found" in the temple by the priest. This was later a well known method for the introduction of forgeries.²⁵ It is presumable that this finding was connected with pretensions of antiquity and consequent authority—otherwise why not present the work as a new composition, which its language, approximately that of Jeremiah, proves it was? But the story of the finding and introduction of the law, in *2 Kings* 22-23, speaks of the work simply as, "the book of the law" (*2 Kings* 22:8, 11) and "the book of the covenant" (23:2, 21) and the authority behind it is Yahweh (22:13ff.), he even may be represented as the author (22:19). It is only the concluding editorial comment which declares that there was no earlier king like Josiah who "returned to Yahweh with all his heart and with [208] all his soul and with all his might, according to the whole law of Moses" (23:25). In sum, *non liquet*. It is possible, indeed likely, but not certain, that the Deuteronomic code was the most influential forgery in the history of the world.

If a forgery, it must have been also one of the earliest in Israelite literary tradition. Ancient poems pretendedly spoken by legendary heroes and heroines (Jacob, *Gen* 49; Balaam, *Num* 23-24; Deborah, *Judges* 5) belong in a different category. Some prophetic oracles may have been forged before the late 7th century, but the dating of such material and the distinction between forgery and mere misattribution are highly subjective. With the work of the Deuteronomic school and the closely related interpolations of Jeremiah in the 6th century and

²⁴ So G. von Rad, *Deuteronomiumstudien*², Göttingen, 1954. For the general acceptance of von Rad's conclusions in this matter see, e.g., H. Ringgren, "Literarkritik."

²⁵ W. Speyer, *Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike*, Göttingen, 1970 (*Hypomnemata* 21), 128 and note.

later we are on firmer ground. The imitations of the styles are *prima facie*, but not conclusive, evidence of intent to deceive.

This is the time—the neo-Babylonian and Persian periods—to which we were led earlier by the evidence for misattribution of anonymous works. Both misattribution and forgery now appear as aspects of a process of historicizing clearly related to the Deuteronomic emphasis on history as the evidence for Yahweh's choice and rulership of Israel, and to the Deuteronomic belief that divine rewards and punishments will be given through historical events. Plenty and famine, health and pestilence, peace and war are all to be explained as consequences of divine approval or displeasure, which in turn are consequences of human observance or transgression of the divine law. Of course this belief was not peculiar to this period, nor to Israel. It appears already in Amos and in Hesiod, and is conspicuous in Egypt in the "Demotic Chronicle." But in the seventh century, with the rise of the Assyrian empire, history suddenly became of unprecedented importance for the Israelites. With the other little states of the Syro-Palestinian coast, they found themselves involved in historical processes quite [209] beyond their control, which threatened them with complete annihilation. Then the sudden collapse of Assyria, the sudden rise and fall of Egyptian power in Asia, the sudden triumph of Babylon and the consequent destruction of Jerusalem, brought home to them as never before the power of Yahweh as the controller of history and the importance of history as the manifestation of the will of Yahweh. Accordingly it is not surprising that the prophets of this period are primarily concerned with Yahweh's role in history, that Yahweh's ability to foretell the course of history is for *II Isaiah* the conclusive proof that he is the one true God,²⁶ that the god of *Deuteronomy* is primarily the god who shaped Israel's history, that the Deuteronomic school collects the people's legends and records and shapes from them a coherent ethnic history, that hitherto anonymous laws, prophecies and literary works are now located in this historical structure, and that new material is invented to fill out the structure and supply whatever elements are needed.

Once this pattern of pseudo-historical thought had been created it was perpetuated and extended. So in the postexilic period the forgery of prophecies went on apace. With the work of the Chronicler we encounter the production of bogus legal documents, beginning with Cyrus' decrees permitting the return of the exiles and financing the rebuilding of the temple.²⁷ As might be expected, the author imitated

²⁶ *Isaiah* 42:9; 43:8ff.; 44:6; etc. Compare the importance of prediction for the contemporary prestige of the Delphic oracle, Herodotus 1.46-55; etc.

²⁷ *2 Chronicles* 36:23; *Ezra* 1:2-4; 6:3-5. *Samuel* and *Kings* already summarized or quoted royal letters, including some the author could never have seen: *2 Sam* 11:15; *1 Kgs*

[210] the protocol of Persian royal decrees; some scholars have therefore believed his compositions authentic. But the fact that nothing seems to have been done to carry out these decrees suggests that they were not issued, but invented. Eighteen years later Haggai could say that not one stone had been set on another in the temple of Yahweh (2:15). With *Ecclesiastes* we have a new phenomenon—a work written in a style associated with a well-known (legendary) author, but deliberately not attributed to him. The legendary author is in this case Solomon, whose 3000 proverbs were already known to 1 Kgs 5:12 and to whom the canonical book of *Proverbs* had already been attributed. But the author of *Ecclesiastes* does not claim to be Solomon. He calls himself in Hebrew Kohelet (which is probably as near as classical Hebrew could come to “Everyman”)²⁸ and he invites comparison with Solomon by his claims to have been a king in Jerusalem, acquired all wisdom, perhaps experimented in magic, certainly lived in luxury, been a successful builder, enjoyed great wealth, and indulged in all sorts of sexuality.²⁹ Was this a bid for the misattribution which his work achieved, or a challenge to the reader to compare this new, disillusioned wisdom with the traditional wisdom of Solomon and decide which was wiser? The same problem—protective imitation or deliberate challenge—is posed by the *Wisdom of Solomon*, especially by chs. 7-9. Their reminiscences of the account of Solomon in *1 Kings* 3-11 are unmistakable, but did the author wish his work to be thought Solomon’s autobiography, or to be contrasted, as an example of holy wisdom, with the shady record of the traditional wise man? The [211] notion of a challenge is more likely because here again the author did not call himself Solomon, though he could easily have done so. The text is not itself pseudepigraphic, but the book has been made so by misattribution.

This state of affairs is typical of most of the so-called “apocrypha and pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament,” as well as of the late canonical romances. The framework of *Job*, *Jonah*, *Ruth*, *Esther*, the stories in *Daniel* and additions to it (*Susanna*, *Bel et Draco*), *1 Esdras*,

21:8ff.; 2 Kgs 5:6; 10:2f, 5f.; 19:9-14. Chronicles followed and extended the practice. The line between summary and quotation is almost invisible. All these products may be attributed to the narrator’s invention. They are, like conversations, speeches, prayers, etc., characteristics of ancient dramatic narrative rather than forgeries. But the Cyrus decrees could have been—and *Ezra* 6 claims that one was—used as legal precedents. This is something different.

²⁸ The normal form of the root is the *hiphil*, “to assemble” (transitive). The *qal*, therefore, should be the intransitive, “be assembled”, and the feminine participle, since a feminine referent is not to be found in the context, should be an abstract, something like “assembledness, membership in the assembly” (δῆμος?).

²⁹ Eccl 1:12f., 17; 2:1-12; cf. 1 Kgs 3; 5-7; 10-11.

Judith, *3 Maccabees*, the *Life of Adam and Eve*, the *Martyrdom of Isaiah*,³⁰ the *Enoch* and *Noah* stories (as distinct from the revelations inserted in them)³¹—all these belong to a genre which may loosely be called “the edifying romance” and none is pseudepigraphic. Works apparently pseudepigraphic do occur in the form. *Tobit*, for instance, pretends at the beginning to be the memoirs of its hero, but the total lack of embarrassment with which the pretense is dropped in the middle of the story (3:7) shows that it was never intended to be taken seriously. It is no more a pseudepigraphon than is the romance of Achilles Tatius, where the convention of narrative in the first person is maintained throughout. That the original intention of *Esther* was not much more serious is suggested by the absence of pseudepigraphy from the Hebrew text. Had the author been seriously concerned for propaganda he would surely have included transcripts of the Great King’s edicts in favor of the Jews (the Greek version supplied them). To the same class belongs the Qumran *Genesis Apocryphon* where, as in *Tobit*, first person and third person narratives alternate in what is essentially a romance. To the same class, also, belong the *Testaments* [212] of the *Twelve Patriarchs*, though in some of them moral romance gives way to pure moralizing or to eschatological prophecy. That such romance was not limited to Israelite literature and that literary works could cross ethnic frontiers is shown by the framework of Ahikar: The sayings themselves are anonymous, the romantic frame begins in the third person, but changes to the first. It was read by the Jews in Elephantine and was admired by the author of *Tobit*, who made Ahikar Tobit’s nephew (1:21). More serious than these, but not wholly free of romance, the first two books of the *Maccabees* are not pseudepigrapha, but anonymous. So are the great majority of the works found at Qumran. The anonymous prayers attributed to Azariah and Manasseh and the anonymous psalms attributed to Solomon have already been mentioned. The *Song of the Three Children* has been made a pseudepigraphon by the insertion of only one verse (88) which breaks the sequence of the thought; originally it was anonymous. From all this it is clear that among the so-called “Old Testament pseudepigrapha” the truly and originally pseudepigraphic works are a small minority.

Of this minority the most numerous group are letters and these are of two types. In *1*, *2*, and *3 Maccabees* and in the Greek additions to *Esther* we find careful imitations, in form and content, of Greek official letters of the hellenistic period; there are more of this sort in

³⁰ Or, *Testament of Hezekiah*, supposing the common dissection is in the main correct.

³¹ One might add other works (like *4 Maccabees*) here excluded because by literary form they belong to the Greco-Roman rather than the Israelite literary tradition.

Josephus. As far as form goes these do not belong to the Israelite literary tradition. I mention them only because they are found, as foreign bodies, in larger works which do belong to that tradition; thus they testify to the cultural syncretism of the new age. The letter of Darius in *Daniel* 6:26-28 and that of the Jerusalem community in 1 *Baruch* carry on the tradition of the forged decrees of Cyrus and the other interpolated or forged official documents of near eastern style in *Chronicles*. Besides these, however, the letter of [213] Baruch, the letter of Nebuchadnezzar, and the letter of Jeremiah show us the rudiments of epistolary form imposed on, respectively, a confession of sins, a second confession combined with a miracle story and homiletic additions, and a diatribe against idols. These extensions of the letter form immediately remind one of Greek practice and may well be due to Greek influence, though the content—confession of sins, and so on—comes from Israelite tradition. The combination of confession of sins and miracle story is again found in the Qumran *Prayer of Nabonidus* which, with *Job*, *Ahikar*, and the Cyrus prophecies of *II Isaiah*, is interesting as one of the rare examples of adoption of a non-Israelite hero into the Israelite literary tradition.³²

Next in frequency to letters, among the preserved Israelite pseudepigrapha of the period before 70, come prophecies: *Daniel* 7-12, the remains of the book or books of Noah, most of *I Enoch*, perhaps the original form of *2 Enoch*, and the pre-70 apocalypses in *2 Baruch*³³ and *4 Ezra*.³⁴ These form the bulkiest and most striking body of pseudepigrapha from this period. Their characteristics, as opposed to earlier Israelite prophecy, have often been described and discussed—extended narration by the prophet speaking in the first person, explanations by angels, opening of the heavens, periodization of history, expectation of major cosmic changes, messiahs, leaders of the powers of evil, and related phenomena. Many foreign influences—Persian, Mesopotamian, Egyptian, and Greek—can be found, but I think it clear that the structures, as structures, both in literary form and in most of their essential ideas, are developments of the native Israelite tradition. Their antecedents [214] are *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel*, especially *Ezekiel*. Their authors' practice of pseudepigraphy is also derived from the Israelite tradition, particularly from the interpolations and additions to the books of the prophets. The choice of figures other than the major prophets may be explained in part by the fact that the prophets had their books already. What they had to say was known; new revelations should be put in the mouths of new,

³² Ruth, I believe, is the only non-Israelite heroine to have a book to herself before 70. Asenath and Thecla belong to a later age.

³³ *2 Apoc. Bar.* 27-30:1; 36-40; 53-74.

³⁴ *4 Ezra* 4:52-5:13a; 6:13-29; 13.

but prestigious, speakers. It may be, too, that some awareness of the danger of stylistic and historical criticism played a role here. To write a book of Baruch, Enoch, or Noah was easier than to write one of Isaiah or Jeremiah, because no genuine writings of these pseudepigraphic heroes existed to serve as standards of comparison.

However, this consideration did not prevent the forging of additional works for the greatest of the prophets, Moses. Such are *Jubilees* and the Qumran *Speech of Moses* (1 Q 22). These do show some awareness of the stylistic problem and attempt to meet criticism by imitation of various elements (unfortunately discrepant) of Pentateuchal style. In a general way, all of these Israelite pseudepigrapha imitate, more or less, Biblical style. That this was deliberate imitation, not the mere consequence of writing in Hebrew or Aramaic, can be seen from the difference between these and the legal and exegetic works of Qumran, the *Fasting Scroll*, and the earliest elements of the *Mishnah*, which show that new, non-Biblical, Hebrew and Aramaic styles were available.

In summary, then, we can say that Israelite literature was originally and customarily anonymous. When interest in history became acute in the 7th and later centuries B.C. a considerable number of anonymous works were falsely attributed to famous historical figures or to Yahweh conceived as a historical figure (that is to say, as acting in history). In many cases such false attribution was supported by changes in the text, usually minor. At the same time [215] and for much the same reasons deliberate forgery, that is, the writing of new works with the intention of passing them off as compositions of authors other than their own, appears. The first great representative of this genre is probably, but not certainly, the Deuteronomic code (Deut 12-26 and 28), written shortly before 621 B.C. Its original attribution to Moses is dubious, but it was almost certainly intended to be passed off as an ancient document. For the next three centuries imitators of the Deuteronomist, the various prophets, and the priestly laws were active and a good deal of their work is preserved in the Old Testament.

The intensification of Greek influence after Alexander's conquest seems to have brought no essential change. Romances about legendary heroes and heroines flourished, but these had already begun in the Persian period and usually were not pseudepigraphic. Even when they were pseudepigraphic, the use of a false name was merely a literary device, not taken seriously. The forgery of letters became more popular, especially of letters by alien rulers which might have importance as legal precedents. This may reflect Greek influence; so may the extension of the epistolary form to serve new purposes. But the major pseudepigraphic forms of the period between Alexander and Titus—apocalyptic visions and Mosaic legal revelations—were

direct outgrowths of the earlier Israelite tradition. It was typical of that tradition, too, that pseudepigraphy did not become the usual literary form, but remained occasional. The major religious pseudepigrapha—*Enoch*, *Noah*, *Jubilees* (and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, a romance associated with them) are interconnected and seem to be the products of a single group, or at most of closely related groups, and definitely sectarian, not representative of the literature or of the religion as a whole. The bulk of the literature of the Israelite tradition, throughout this period, seems to have remained, as it was before, anonymous.

CHAPTER SIX

II ISAIAH AND THE PERSIANS¹

[415] The similarity of elements in II Isaiah to elements in Cyrus' proclamation concerning his conquest of Babylon was first pointed out by Kittel in 1898.² Kittel noticed only a few of the parallels—that Yahweh calls Cyrus his friend, has chosen him to do his will, has taken him by the hand and called him by name to be ruler. He then turned to the question of how these parallels could be explained, pointed out that the proclamation must have followed the conquest, argued that the prophecy preceded it, and concluded that neither could be directly dependent on the other, since Cyrus, the later author, would not have drawn on the work of II Isaiah. Therefore he supposed both were dependent on what he called "the Babylonian court style," i.e. both said of Cyrus the things which were said of a King of Babylon.

Since Kittel's work there has been little study of the relationship of the texts; the most important work has been Gressman's support of the hypothesis of dependence on a "Babylonian court style" by citation of parallels from neo-Babylonian documents for the terms and concepts which Kittel had pointed out, and one or two more.³

This is unfortunate, because the relationship of the texts is much closer than thus indicated. The proclamation of Cyrus consists of two parts: The first half speaks of Cyrus in the third person and contains a theological justification of his conquest of Babylon, from the viewpoint of the Marduk priesthood; the second half, the proclamation proper, is uttered by Cyrus in the first person and contains an appeal for support by the Babylonian populace. This appeal is based not only on theological grounds (Marduk's support of him and his of Marduk), but principally on the ground of his record: The inhabitants of Babylon have been well treated, peace has been maintained, tribute is pouring into Babylon, the subject peoples and their gods have been sent home, and so on. This second half of the inscription must have been composed after Cyrus' conquest of the city, and to this there are almost no parallels in II Isaiah. But the first half of the inscription (though its present form was given it after the conquest) contains propaganda which the Marduk priesthood could have used before the

¹ My thanks are due to Prof. J. Muilenburg, Dr. J. Neusner and Prof. Frye for reading a first draft of this paper and for a number of references and helpful suggestions.

² R. Kittel, "Cyrus und Deuterocesaja," *ZAW* 18 (1898) 149 ff.

³ H. Gressmann, *Der Messias* (1929) (*FRLANT* 19) 59 ff.

conquest to discredit their enemy Nabonidus⁴ and to persuade the people that Cyrus was Marduk's chosen servant. And almost every major element of this first half of the inscription is paralleled in II Isaiah 40-48, but not in the later chapters of II Isaiah.

The parallels are of two sorts: remote and close. The remote parallels show variant forms of one theological structure. In Cyrus' proclamation this is quite simple: The god Marduk was angry with the King of Babylon, Nabonidus, because of Nabonidus' evil deeds; he therefore sought out a just ruler, Cyrus, and empowered him to punish Nabonidus and set Babylon free. In II Isaiah matters are more complicated: The god Yahweh was angry with his people, Israel, because of their evil deeds; he therefore gave them over to the Babylonians for punishment, but the Babylonians overdid it, so Yahweh was angry with them, too; he therefore sought out a just ruler, Cyrus, and empowered him to punish the Babylonians and set Israel free. It is clear that of these two theodicies the Marduk version is the primitive one, the Yahweh version a secondary adaptation to the memories and hopes of the Judean exiles.

More striking than these remote parallels, however, are the close parallels which the two texts show when they describe the god's calling of Cyrus by name, taking him by the hand and subjection of the peoples to him, Cyrus' concern for justice and the god's consequent delight in him, sending him against Babylon, accompanying him as a friend, [416] granting him a peaceful progress, and finally giving him the city.

*Cyrus' Proclamation*⁵

Daily (Nabonidus) used to do evil against (Marduk's) city. He (tormented) its (inhabitants) with a yoke without relief, he ruined them all. Upon their complaints the lord of the gods became terribly angry and (he departed from) their region,

II Isaiah

47:5f. O daughter of the Chaldeans, you showed them (the Judeans) no mercy; on the aged you made your yoke exceeding heavy. 47:6 I (Yahweh) was angry with my people, I profaned my heritage, I gave them into your (the Babylonians') hand.

⁴ The enmity of the Marduk priesthood for Nabonidus is well known from their *Verse Account* of his religious policy, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (hereafter *ANET*), ed. J. Pritchard, 2 ed. (1955), pp. 312b and ff.

⁵ The following translation is that of A. Oppenheim, *ANET* 315b ff. The first few lines, which list the specific transgressions of Nabonidus, are omitted.

(also) the (other) gods living among them left their mansions, wroth that he had brought (them) into Babylon. (Not paralleled in II Isaiah. Cp. Ezekiel 8-11.)

(But) Marduk ... on account of (the fact that) the sanctuaries of all their settlements were in ruins and the inhabitants of Sumer and Akkad had become like (living) dead, turned back (his countenance, his anger abated) and he had mercy (upon them). 40:1f. Comfort, comfort my people, says your God. Speak tenderly to Jerusalem and cry to her that her warfare is ended, that her iniquity is pardoned, that she has received from Yahweh's hand double for all her sins.

He scanned and looked (through) all the countries, searching for a righteous ruler willing to lead him (Marduk) (in the annual procession). 42:6 I am Yahweh, I have called you (Cyrus) in righteousness, I have taken you by the hand and kept you.⁶

(Then) he pronounced the name of Cyrus, King of Anshan, pronounced (his) name to (become) the ruler of all the world. 45:1ff. Thus saith Yahweh to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have grasped to subdue nations before him ... I call you by your name.

He made the Guti country and all the Manda hordes bow in submission to his (Cyrus') feet. 45:14 The wealth of Egypt and the merchandise of Ethiopia and the Sabaeans ... shall come over to you ... and bow down to you.

And he (Cyrus) did always endeavour to treat according to justice the black-headed (people) whom he (Marduk) had made him conquer. 42:1ff. (Cyrus) will bring forth justice to the nations ... He will not fail ... till he has established justice in the earth.

Marduk, the great lord, a protector of his people, beheld with pleasure his (Cyrus') goods deeds and his upright mind (and therefore) ordered him to march against his city Babylon. He made him set out on the road to Babylon, going at his side like a real friend. 42:1 Behold my servant whom I uphold, my chosen, in whom my soul delights; ... he will bring forth justice. 48:14 Yahweh loves him; he shall perform Yahweh's purpose on Babylon. 43:14 I (Yahweh) will send (Cyrus) to Babylon.

⁶ The kingship of Babylon was received annually from Marduk when the god took the King's hand and was led by the King in the annual procession. It is to this that II Isaiah refers. The parallelism to this verse and to the others from 42:1 ff., cited below, is obvious and undeniable. It suggests that at least this "servant poem" refers to Cyrus. Those who do not wish to have any servant poem refer to Cyrus are free to contend that the suggestion is false and that *these* parallels, as opposed to the rest shown in the same list, are accidental. To me, that contention seems implausible, and I see no difficulty in thinking II Isaiah believed Yahweh had more than one servant. For a recent defense of the reference of 42:1 ff. to Cyrus see J. Steinmann, *Le Livre de la Consolation d'Israël* (1960), p. 109, n. 1, and pp. 111-4.

His widespread troops—their number, like that of the water of a river, could not be established—strolled along, their weapons packed away. Without any battle he made him enter his town Babylon, sparing Babylon any calamity. He delivered into his hands Nabonidus, the king who did not worship him (Marduk). All the inhabitants of Babylon as well as of the entire country of Sumer and Akkad, princes and governors (included), bowed to him (Cyrus) and kissed his feet, jubilant that he (had received) the kingship and with shining faces.

Happily they greeted him as a master through whose help they had come (again) to life from death (and) had all been spared damage and disaster, and they worshiped his name.

45:1f. Thus saith Yahweh to Cyrus, whose right hand I have grasped, ... I will go before you.

44:28a (Yahweh) says of Cyrus, My friend.⁷

41:2 (Yahweh) will make his swordsmen (numerous) as the dust, (the arrows of) his bowmen like driven stubble; he will pursue and pass by in peace.

45:2 I will break in pieces the doors of brass and cut asunder the bars of iron.

47:3-10 I will take vengeance (because) ... you (Babylon) said in your heart, I am, and there is none besides me.

cf. 45:14, above.

42:6. I (Yahweh) have given you (Cyrus) as a covenant to the people, a light to the nations, to open the eyes that are blind, to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon, from prison those who sit in darkness.

[417] Most of the themes represented in these parallels occur several times in II Isaiah, but only within chapters 40-48, inclusive.

These parallels demonstrate literary dependence.⁸ That two authors should have said the same thing might be coincidence, but that they should have said *so many of the same things, in the same place, at the same time, and about the same man* goes beyond coincidence. We must agree with Kittel: Either the inscription of Cyrus is dependent on II Isaiah, or II Isaiah on it, or both on a common source; but it is incredible that the Marduk propaganda for Cyrus should have been derived from II Isaiah, while the parallels in II Isaiah, since they prophesy the fall of Babylon to Cyrus, cannot depend on the inscription, written after the fall.

That II Isaiah's prophecy of Cyrus' success was really written before the capture of the city and is not a prophecy *ex eventu* can be seen from the parallels above. They are closest when dealing with the

⁷ Reading *re'i*, with Kittel, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

⁸ This is not to deny that many of the elements they contain are, separately, commonplaces. Gressmann, *loc. cit.*, has shown this for the elements from the Babylonian royal ritual; for the general outline of the theodicy, cp. the Assyrian propaganda reported in 2 Kings 18:22 and 25, and partially accepted by the genuine Isaiah (10:5).

theological background and early stages of Cyrus' campaign. When it comes to the taking of the city, the prophet begins to err. He anticipates a siege and the breaking in pieces of the doors of brass; the inscription reports that the city was surrendered without a battle.⁹ The prophet was inspired to gloat over the coming humiliation of Marduk, who was to be carried away into captivity (46:1f.), and of the women (or, city) of Babylon, who were (or, which was) to be enslaved (47:1ff.). After taking the city, however, Cyrus evidently preferred to disappoint his Judean adherents rather than outrage the population of Babylonia. Accordingly, the inscription reports that the city was well treated and so does the *Verse Account of Nabonidus*, put out by the Marduk clergy, which uses the same metaphor of release from prison as II Isaiah 42:6 (quoted above, cp. *ANET* 315a end). Finally, II Isaiah contains almost no parallels to the second half of the inscription—the proclamation of Cyrus telling what happened after the capture. The only significant points of contact are the return of the captive peoples to their lands and the restoration of their temples—evidently a promise which Cyrus did carry out—and the submission, after the surrender of Babylon, of several Arabian tribes (II Isa 43:3; 45:14, Seba; the Sabaeans).¹⁰ But the conquest of Egypt and Ethiopia which the prophet had promised Cyrus as a reward for deliverance of Israel (*ib.*)¹¹ did not follow in Cyrus' lifetime. All this indicates that II Isaiah was written before the capture of the city and, as Kittel maintained, cannot depend on the present Cyrus inscription.

However, it is impossible to accept Kittel's hypothesis that the common source behind II Isaiah and the Cyrus inscription was merely "the Babylonian court style" (i.e. the royal titles and the references to ritual and theology behind them). This is not adequate because the parallels just described go beyond the content of the so-called court style: They include specific references to Cyrus' campaign and his capture of Babylon. Indeed, this historical program is their chief

⁹In spite of Herodotus' story of a siege (1.190) it is generally agreed that Cyrus took Babylon without a battle, thanks presumably to treason in which the Marduk priesthood was involved. So W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* (1912), I, pp. 146 and 390; B. van Groningen, *Herodotus' Historiën met inleiding en commentaar*, part 3 (1959), pp. 90f.; G. Gray in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, IV (1930), p. 12; A. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (1948), pp. 50f.; J. Liver, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, IV (1962), col. 61 (*s.v. Koresh*).

¹⁰S. Smith, *Isaiah Chapters XL-LV*, London, 1944 (*Schweich Lectures*, 1940) referred these vss. of II Isaiah to Cyrus' subjugation of the Syro-Palestinian coast and western Arabia, before his conquest of Babylonia, but it is unlikely that any such subjugation ever took place. Cyrus' proclamation places the submission of the western nomads after the fall of Babylon. See further Liver, *op. cit.*, col. 59.

¹¹Steinmann, *op. cit.*, p. 120, suggests that Cyrus himself anticipated the conquest of Egypt. His evidence, Herodotus 1.153, is not of the best (see the context!), but the suggestion may be correct. If it be correct, then II Isaiah's prophecy of what Cyrus expected may be another result of the prophet's dependence on Persian propaganda.

concern, the theology, ritual and titles merely justify it. Whence can this common material, with this practical and timely concern, have come?

When the question is stated in this way, the answer seems obvious: This can only be the propaganda put out in Babylonia by Cyrus' agents, shortly before Cyrus' conquest, to prepare the way of their lord. It has often been recognized that II Isaiah's prophecies of Cyrus' triumph, if circu[418]lated in Babylonia before Cyrus took the territory, were *propaganda for the Persians*. The present thesis adds that they were also *Persian propaganda*—not only was the prophet “inspired” by Persian agents, but their inspiration provided him with the content which he shares with Cyrus' proclamation, as well as his general theme.¹² Cyrus was famous for his use of subversion¹³ and is commonly thought to have used it for his capture of Babylon.¹⁴ His agents would hardly have neglected the opportunity offered by disaffected groups like the Judean exiles. And many differences between II Isaiah and Cyrus' proclamation are best explicable as consequences of the Persian agents' adaptation of their message to the interests and hopes of different groups. To the Judeans they represented Cyrus as chosen of Yahweh to punish Babylon and restore Israel; to the Babylonian priesthood they represented him as chosen of Marduk to free Babylon from the tyranny of Nabonidus. Both the prophet of Yahweh and the priests of Marduk were probably somewhat undeceived by what Cyrus actually did after taking the city—administration performance almost never lives up to campaign promises—but, as remarked above, the Babylonian interest was certainly far more important than the Judean, and Cyrus evidently did all he could to placate it, without regard for Judean dreams of vengeance. The disappointment experienced by II Isaiah must have been peculiarly painful to a prophet, so Haller was probably right in connecting it with the disappearance of Cyrus from II Isaiah's prophecies after ch. 48.¹⁵

¹² The more general notion has been worked out most fully by S. Smith, *op. cit.* Unfortunately, his reconstruction of Cyrus' campaigns prior to the capture of Babylon is implausible in a number of details (see above, n. 10, and further in Liver, *loc. cit.*) and his attempts to explain particular passages of II Isaiah as references to incidents of these unknown campaigns have been justly rejected and have unjustly discredited the more general thesis. Cf., however, Steinmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 53 and 101.

¹³ He used it to defeat the Medes, Herodotus 1.127. The story of his troops' entering Sardis where it was not guarded suggested treason to ancient readers (Parthenios, *Erotica*, 22).

¹⁴ See note 9, above.

¹⁵ M. Haller, *Die Kyros-Lieder Deuterocesajas, EYXAPICTHPION* (H. Gunkel *Festschrift*), ed. H. Schmidt (1923), p. 273. I do not endorse the details with which Haller developed his suggestion.

Now if II Isaiah was in touch with Persian agents, he may have got from them other ideas as well as his propaganda on behalf of Cyrus. Such ideas might be identifiable in his works if they had hitherto been rare and comparatively unimportant—even if not unknown—in Hebrew literature. There is little absolute novelty in theological thought, so it is rarely possible to point out the absolutely first occurrence of any important idea, even in the preserved material, or to explain many chance and isolated occurrences. What can be seen clearly and what does require historical explanation is the way in which certain ideas, formerly sporadic and unimportant, suddenly find frequent expression and are made the central concerns of important works. A notorious case of this is afforded by the history of the notion that Yahweh created the world. In the preserved works of Hebrew literature it plays no conspicuous role in those which can be dated by conclusive demonstration before the time of II Isaiah. (As everyone knows, the dating of Genesis 1 and of the Psalms is a matter of dispute; they may be later than II Isaiah.) The notion does occur in occasional prophetic passages like Jer 27:5ff., but such occasional occurrences merely render conspicuous the prophets' usual neglect of the subject. Then suddenly it becomes one of the main themes of II Isa 40-48. But it was not necessary to II Isaiah's primary purpose, which was to prepare the Judeans for their proximate deliverance and convince them that it was Yahweh who would deliver them. For this, all that was needed in the deity was sufficient power to perform the acts proposed. Of course, II Isaiah's conception of Yahweh as the sole, omnipotent, creator God gave absolute assurance to his announcement of the impending deliverance, but it was not necessary to that announcement and cannot be derived from it. His immediate predecessor, Ezekiel, would have made the same announcement without any such cosmological framework. It is true that when presenting this idea II Isaiah several times suggests that it is no new doctrine, but one with which his readers should have been familiar from of old (40:21, 28 etc.). But innovators often claim antiquity for their innovations (cf. Paul in Acts 26:22: "I say nothing but what the prophets and Moses said would come to pass.") And the insistence with which II Isaiah returns to this doctrine again and again indicates that he expected it to be unfamiliar to his readers and not readily accepted nor even understood by them. These considerations make it plausible to see here the effect of some outside [419] influence, new to the Hebrew tradition. And the fact that II Isaiah got his political program from Persian propaganda for Cyrus makes it plausible to look for the source of this new influence in Persian material which, thanks to the victories of Cyrus, was first becoming important in the Mesopotamian world just at this time.

One of Zoroaster's Gathas is Yasna 44, a series of questions addressed to Ahura Mazda, of which the expected answers are "I am" or "I do." Not only is the use of such rhetorical questions a conspicuous peculiarity of the style of II Isaiah, but almost all of those particular questions which make up the cosmological part of the Gatha (vss. 3-5) are either asked or answered in II Isaiah, with Yahweh taking the place of Ahura Mazda.¹⁶

Yasna 44.3:1-2 Next I ask you—tell me rightly, O Lord—who was, at its birth, the original father of justice?

Isaiah 45:8: Let the skies rain down justice I, Yahweh, have created it.

Yasna 44.3.3-5: Who made the routes of the sun and the stars? Who is it, by whom the moon now waxes and wanes? These, and yet more things, I wish to know, O Wise One.

Isaiah 40:26: Lift up your eyes on high and see Who created these? He brings out their host by number, calling them all by name.

Yasna 44.4.1-3a: Next I ask you—tell me rightly, O Lord—who fixed the earth below and the sky of clouds, that it should not fall?

Isaiah 40:12: Who marked out the heavens with a span, enclosed the dust of the earth in a measure? 42:5: Yahweh, who created the heavens ... who spread out the earth. 44:24:I, Yahweh, who created all things, who stretched out the heavens alone, who spread out the earth. 45:12: I made the earth and created man on it; it was my hands that stretched out the heavens and I commanded all their host. 45:18: The creator of the heavens, he is the (one) God; the shaper and maker of the earth, he is the one who established it. 48:13: My hand laid the foundation of the earth and my right hand spread out the heavens.

Yasna 44.4.3b-4: Who has set in place the waters and the plants? Who has yoked their coursers to the wind and the clouds?

Isaiah 40:12: Who measured the waters in the hollow of his hand? 41:19: (I, Yahweh,) will put in the wilderness the cedar, the acacia, the myrtle and the olive. I will set in the desert the cypress, the plane and the pine together. 44:3: I will pour water on the thirsty land and streams on the dry ground.

Yasna 44.4.5: Who is, O Wise One, the creator of right thought?

¹⁶ The following translation of these vss. of the Gatha is based on the translations of J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Zoroastre* (1948), pp. 205ff., and H. Humbach, *Die Gathas des Zarathustra* (1959), I, p. 117. The differences between these translations in particular vss. are not important for the present purpose.

[J. Duchesne-Guillemin, "Religion et politique de Cyrus à Xerxes," *Persica* III (1967-68) 1ff., thinks "right thought" a false translation—it should be "the Good Mind" or "Bonne Pensée"; therefore, he argues, there is no parallel to Isaiah, and the other parallels are all commonplace and insignificant.]

Isaiah 40:13: Who directed the spirit of Yahweh or as his counselor, instructed him? Whom did he consult, who explained things to him and taught him the path of justice and showed him the way of understanding? 45:19: I, Yahweh, speak the truth; I declare what is right.

Yasna 44.5.1-3: Next I ask you—tell me rightly, O Lord—what craftsman made light and darkness, what craftsman made sleep and waking?

Isaiah 45:7: I form light and create darkness; I make, good and create evil. I, Yahweh, do all these things.

Yasna 44.5.4-5: Who made morning, afternoon and evening, to indicate to the intelligent his task?

These last verses are not paralleled in II Isaiah; cp. Ps 104:23.

The above parallels hardly suffice to suggest literary dependence of II Isaiah on Yasna 44. But they do suggest relationship to the same tradition. The question as to the ultimate source of this tradition cannot be discussed in this paper.¹⁷ But it can be argued that the tradition, whatever its ultimate source, came to II Isaiah from the Persians and in a form similar to that in Yasna 44. The similarity of form is scarcely concealed by the fact that in II Isaiah the questions to the deity have been remade into rhetorical questions addressed to the reader, or direct statements made by the deity *motu proprio*. And that the questions came to II Isaiah from the Persians is indicated by the fact that in the 15 chapters of II Isaiah the cosmological material, like the political propaganda, is concentrated in chs. 40-48. In these chapters the fact that Yahweh created the world is often and expressly asserted; in the subsequent chapters, though it may be supposed, it is not explicitly mentioned save in 51:13ff. So the cosmological material, which has Persian parallels, and the political material, which had a Persian source, are found almost exclusively in the same section of the book. Moreover, in that section, they are most often found in close connection. Thus:

42:5-6: Thus says the God Yahweh, who created the heavens and stretched them out, who spread forth the earth and what comes from it, ... I am Yahweh, I have called you in righteousness; I have taken [420] you by the hand and kept you; I have given you as a covenant to the people, ... to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon (cf. *ANET* 315a, end).

¹⁷ Humbach, *op. cit.*, II. 53, says that the questions probably come from an old catechetical tradition of which traces are also found in the Vedas; R. Frye, in a letter to the writer, suggests that the source may have been Mesopotamian.

- 44:24-8: I am Yahweh, who made all things, who stretched out the heavens alone, who spread out the earth ... who says of Cyrus, He is my friend and he shall fulfill all my purpose.
- 45:1-8: Thus says Yahweh to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have grasped to subdue nations before him ... I will go before you ... I will break in pieces the doors of bronze and cut asunder the bars of iron ... that you may know that it is I, Yahweh, the God of Israel, who call you by your name.... I gird you, though you do not know me, that men may know ... that there is none besides me; ... I form light and create darkness; I make good and create evil; I am Yahweh who do all these things. Shower down, O heavens, from above, and let the skies rain down justice; let the earth open, that salvation may sprout forth, and let it cause righteousness to spring up also. I, Yahweh, have created it.
- 45:12-13: I made the earth and created man upon it; it was my hands that stretched out the heavens and I commanded all their host. I have aroused him in justice and I will make all his ways straight; he shall build my city and set my exiles free.
- 48:12-15: I am the first and I am the last; my hand laid the foundation of the earth and my right hand spread out the heavens ... Yahweh loves him; he shall perform his purpose on Babylon and his arm shall be against the Chaldeans. I, even I, have spoken and called him; I have brought him and he will prosper in his way.

Thus we have two closely connected themes, both concentrated in the same eight chapters of a fifteen-chapter work, one of them—the political propaganda—absolutely new to the Hebrew tradition and certainly derived from the Persians, the other—the cosmology—never before so important in the Hebrew tradition, but found in Persian material and there expressed in a form strikingly similar to the one it has here. Given these facts it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the cosmology, as well as the political propaganda, came to II Isaiah from the Persians.

To Professor Elias Bickerman I owe the observation that the connection of cosmology and political propaganda is continued in later Persian material, for instance, in the inscription of Xerxes (*ANET* 316 b ff.): “Ahuramazda is the great god who gave (us) this earth, who gave (us) that sky, who gave (us) mankind who made Xerxes, the king, (rule) the multitudes (as) only king.” On this basis, Prof. Bickerman suggests that the source of the material common to II Isaiah and the Cyrus inscription may have been a Persian prophecy promising Babylon to Cyrus in the name of Ahuramazda, the creator of heaven and earth. II Isaiah’s insistence that Yahweh is the creator

might thus be seen as reaction, but, reaction or not, its form and presumably its content have been shaped by the Persian tradition.

Particularly impressive is the passage from ch. 45, vss. 1-8, summarized above. This begins with an address to Cyrus and promises to give him Babylon, then goes on to guarantee the promise by declaring that its maker, Yahweh, is the only God and the creator. Of his creations, seven are listed (vss. 7-8): Light and darkness, good ("peace") and evil, justice which comes down from the heavens, and salvation and righteousness *which spring up from the earth*. In early Zoroastrianism Ahura Mazda seems to have been the creator of seven supernatural entities, and prime among his creations were light and darkness, the good spirit and the evil spirit,¹⁸ and justice, while the last of the seven were immortality and wholeness, which one is tempted to equate with II Isaiah's "salvation and righteousness," since the Persian concepts are associated with the waters and the trees, which spring up from the earth.¹⁹ The peculiarity of the expression in II Isaiah (of which Ps. 85.12 is probably an echo, as Duhm remarked)²⁰ is made clear by contrast with Hosea 2.23f., which may have inspired it. In Hosea the blessings are natural—rain from above and corn and wine and oil from the earth. In II Isaiah they have been transformed into supernatural entities. The influence of Persian thought would explain the transformation.

How far such influence is to be traced in II Isaiah is a question which cannot be opened in this paper. If II Isaiah was in touch with the Persians and was influenced by them, then a number of the aspects of his work—the violent opposition to false gods, the emphasis on the truth of the divine utterance, and yet others—recall motifs conspicuous in the Gathas. If this paper be thought to have made a strong case, such matters will require further investigation. [421]

Finally, it should be said that to have established the existence of an influence is not to have explained why the influence was influential. The reasons for which II Isaiah chose to take up, recast and develop the Persian material are probably to be sought, not in the material itself, but in the apologetic needs of the Yahwist community in Babylonia, and in the development of devotional rhetoric within the Israelite tradition.²¹ At all events, the question of their nature has been deliberately excluded from this discussion.

¹⁸ R. Zaehner, *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism* (1961), pp. 50 f.

¹⁹ J. Darmesteter, *The Zend-Avesta, Part I, The Vendidad* (1880), (*Sacred Books of the East*, IV), lxxi. Notice the association of waters and plants in Yasna 44.4.3b, quoted above.

²⁰ B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*,³ Göttingen, 1914 (*GHAT* III.1), *ad loc.*

²¹ A development discussed in "The Common Theology of the Ancient Near East" (above, chapter 2).

CHAPTER SEVEN

EAST MEDITERRANEAN LAW CODES OF THE EARLY IRON AGE

[38] Professor Ginsberg's absolute dominion over the vocabulary and text of the Hebrew Bible are such that when scholars in this field speak of paying tribute to him the metaphor may almost be taken literally: he has done so much to elucidate the text that a share of its products is owed him as a legal debt. If so, the present article may be justified by Isa 45:14—tribute shall be brought also from overseas. While exegesis must always be based primarily on the Hebrew text, it is enriched by contributions from alien cultures.

This principle is familiar, and much has been done to uncover the sources of biblical material in earlier civilizations; an outstanding example is Professor Ginsberg's work in Ugaritic. Equally rich opportunities are afforded by the study of the gentile world contemporary with the composition of the biblical books, for those books reflect not only the ideas of earlier ages, but also the concerns, and the social and political circumstances, of their own.

Their own age—mainly the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries B.C.—resembled in many respects the high middle ages of the tenth to twelfth centuries A.D. in western Europe; it saw the flowering of a new civilization grown up after barbarian invasions had destroyed the great culture of an earlier age. The destruction of the late Bronze Age culture had perhaps been more sweeping than that of the Roman; in most of the eastern Mediterranean countries the old forms of writing, as well as the old literatures, had been almost wholly lost, whereas in western Europe the Latin alphabet and much of Latin literature survived. On the other hand, the centers of the older culture that held out in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and a scattering of north Syrian and Cilician cities were stronger and more influential in the Mediterranean world than was the Byzantine empire in relation to western Europe. But to pursue the comparison further would hardly be useful. It serves to characterize in general the age of the Israelite monarchies. We have now to look at the legal developments of that age, not only in Israel and Judah, but in all the eastern Mediterranean countries where new cultures were developing or old ones were being made over.

Even the new cultures were based to some extent on the survival of urban centers or at least of bodies of relatively settled population that carried on legal traditions attested already in the great Bronze Age codes. The influence of such traditions (not, of course, of the codes

themselves!) on Greek law has been studied in detail and doubtless exaggerated by Mühl;¹ their influence on the law codes of the OT has been exaggerated by a whole literature,² but should not therefore be denied. We must remember, however, that we are dealing here with something quite different from the influence of the late Roman codes on modern European law. Admittedly the code of Hammurabi, from about 1775 B.C., is separated from the Deuteronomic code of 621 B.C. by an interval about equivalent to that which separates Deuteronomy from the Codex Justinianus of 529 A.D., or the latter from the Code Napoleon of 1804. But Justinian knew Deuteronomy and Napoleon knew both Justinian and Deuteronomy—for that line there is a continuous, demonstrable cultural and literary tradition—while we have no evidence and no reason to believe that the compiler of the Deuteronomic code knew the Code of Hammurabi.³ [39]

The parallels between these two codes are presumably to be explained by the survival of bronze age elements in the laws of Palestinian city states like Jerusalem which were incorporated into the kingdom of David without loss of their traditional order.⁴

Besides exaggerating the influence of Bronze Age codes on those of the early Iron Age, neglect of the temporal, political, and cultural gulf between the two ages has distracted attention from the new legislative activity of the early Iron Age and has concealed the extent and probable uniformity of the new legislation. Each of the newly developing states had to have its own laws, and in each these were based in part on the earlier laws of the country as preserved by the survivors, in part on the practices of the invaders, in part on the needs of the new situations and decisions of the new rulers. Hence arose new legal systems which eventually were given written forms in new codes. For knowledge of these codes we depend on the accidents of literary tradition and archaeological discovery. These give us, for the most part, only glimpses of what was going on. But we do learn of a considerable number of codes from the end of the eighth, the seventh, and the sixth centuries; we can see and, considering the economic developments of the time, we can understand that this was a period of

¹ M. Mühl, *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen und althellenischen Gesetzgebung*, 2nd ed. (Aalen, 1963) = *Klio Beiheft* 29.

² Bibliography in O. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 3rd ed. (Tübingen, 1964) (hereafter Eissfeldt), 282, 291f., 310.

³ This is not to deny that the Code of Hammurabi continued to be copied in Mesopotamia. The influence of its formulae on laws of the Persian and even of the Parthian period is remarked by M. Meuleau, *Mesopotamien in der Perserzeit*, in *Fischer Weltgeschichte*, 5, *Griechen und Perser*, ed. H. Bengtson (Frankfurt a. M., 1965) (hereafter Meuleau), 351f.

⁴ Jebusites were still landowners in Jerusalem after the Davidic take-over, 2 Sam 24:18ff.

general legal revision and innovation; we should therefore do well to consider all these codes as members of a single class, united not by direct interdependence, but as different, albeit similar, adjustments to a common set of circumstances. The purpose of this paper, therefore, is simply to point out the existence of this class *as a class*, to list the members known to me, and to indicate the evidence for certain elements of their legislation that seem to me significant for their time.

In Egypt we hear of legal reforms by Bokchoris (720-715)⁵ and Amasis (568-525),⁶ and of a codification under Darius (522-485).⁷ Pirenne reports a fragment of a code on contracts from this period, but not precisely dated.⁸ In Palestine we have the three codes of which at least fragments are preserved in the Pentateuch: the 'Covenant Code' in Exod 21-23 (its date is disputed and we shall come back to it), the

⁵ Diodorus 1.79.1 (borrowers who have not signed bonds may clear themselves by denying the debt on oath); 94.5 (laws on royal prerogatives and on contracts). Diodorus' reports are defended by J. Pirenne, *Histoire de la civilisation de l'Égypte ancienne, troisième cycle, de la XXI^e dynastie aux Ptolémées* (Neuchâtel, 1963) (henceforth Pirenne), 89ff.; Drioton and J. Vandier, *L'Égypte*, 4th ed. (Paris, 1962) (henceforth Drioton-Vandier) are more skeptical, but find evidence of legislation from the beginning of the Ethiopian period, and perhaps to be attributed to Bokchoris, permitting small landowners to mortgage and sell their properties, p. 587, cf. 544. E. Seidl, *Ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte der Saiten- und Perserzeit* (Glückstadt, 1968) = *Ägyptologische Forschungen* 20 (henceforth Seidl), finds details of Diodorus' account confirmed by the preserved documents (pp. 44, 65) but no evidence for a substantial change under Bokchoris in forms of establishing or denying indebtedness (p. 84). Further opinions in A. Burton, *Diodorus Siculus, Book I, a Commentary* (Leiden, 1972) = *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain*, 29 (henceforth Burton).

⁶ Diodorus 1.95.1, again defended by Pirenne, 165ff. Drioton-Vandier, 587ff., accept the report of Herodotus 2.177 that Amasis introduced a law requiring annual report of income. Seidl finds a considerable change in Egyptian law datable to the period of Amasis—especially a decline in the use of oaths—but he objects that this is in private law whereas Diodorus speaks of a reform primarily in public administration (*die Verwaltung*). Diodorus, however, says *hon historousi ta peri tous nomarchas diataxai kai ta peri ten sympasan oikonomian tes Aigyptou*. Since the nomarchs were, *inter alia*, the legal authorities before whom private transactions were often ratified, this may cover private procedure too.

⁷ Diodorus 1.95.4, confirmed by the verso of the 'Demotic Chronicle' papyrus (Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 215), ed. W. Spiegelberg, *Die sogenannte demotische Chronik* (Leipzig, 1914) = *Demotische Studien* 7 (henceforth Spiegelberg), 30ff. This confirms also Diodorus' report that Darius' codification was made with the cooperation of the priests. Classic is the discussion by E. Meyer, 'Ägyptische Dokumente aus der Perserzeit,' *Sitzungsberichte*, Berlin 16 (1915), 287ff. (hereafter Meyer), esp., 308ff. Against N. Reich, 'The Codification of the Egyptian Laws by Darius,' *Mizraim* 1 (1933), 178ff. (hereafter Reich), see E. Bresciani, 'La Satrapia d'Egitto', *Studi Classici e Orientali* 7 (1958), 154 and n. 6.

⁸ Found at Tounah el-Gabal, Pirenne, 276 and note 77, citing *Chronique d'Égypte* 14 (1939), 278f. Pirenne supposes the fragment comes from the code of Darius; an article from it, which he quotes, deals with the leasing of farm land; the landlord is to provide the grain for sowing and to get it back before the rent is given. [Whether this should be called a code is dubious; see G. Hughes, "The Demotic Legal Code of Hermopolis West," *Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Bibliothèque d'étude* 45 (1975)—a reference I owe to E. Bickerman].

Deuteronomic code in [40] Deut 12-26 and 28, of which the basis was almost certainly the book 'found' in the Jerusalem temple in 621 B.C., and the 'Holiness Code' in Lev 17-26, of which the date is again disputed but which stands so close linguistically to the Book of Ezekiel that the burden of proof lies on those who would deny their approximate contemporaneity.⁹ The Persian government sent Ezra to Jerusalem in 458¹⁰ to enforce a (written) law of his god which he had in his possession (Ezra 7:14), and which does not seem to have been identical with any of the known Old Testament documents.¹¹ From Mesopotamia we have a fragment of a Neo-Babylonian collection of laws.¹² From Persia Darius' references to 'my law', documentary references to 'the king's law', and parallels in Darius' inscriptions to the code of Hammurabi, have led some scholars to hypothecate the issuance of a royal code shortly after 519¹³—that is to say, at the same time as Darius ordered the codification of Egyptian law, which is supposed to have been begun in 519 and finally approved in 495.¹⁴ Only half a century after these codes comes the traditional date of the *Twelve Tables* in Rome.¹⁵

It is from Greece, however, that we have most traditions about legal codification in these centuries, as well as fragments of a number of codes. Besides the possibly legendary Lycurgus¹⁶ we hear of Zaleucus in Locri Epizephyrii,¹⁷ dated in the 660's, and Charondas of Catana in

⁹ The directions for reestablishment of the Jerusalem cult, in chs. 40-48 of Ezekiel, are a code of special character and dubious authorship and date; we shall leave them aside.

¹⁰ M. Smith, *Palestinian Parties and Politics that Shaped the Old Testament* (N.Y., 1971) (hereafter *Palestinian Parties*), 119-23.

¹¹ It seems to have had a ritual calendar in which the feast of booths almost immediately followed the beginning of the new year (Neh 7:72; 8:1f., 13-17) and was itself followed on the twenty-fourth of the first month by a great fast (Neh 9:1).

¹² Translated by T. Meek in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, ed. J. Pritchard, 2nd ed. (Princeton, 1955) (henceforth *ANET*) 197f. Laws on the responsibilities of tenants and landowners, terms of sale for property and slaves, theft, dowry (at least five laws) and inheritance.

¹³ References in R. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* (Cleveland, 1963), 100; references, parallels, and hypotheses in A. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago, 1948) (hereafter Olmstead), 119-34; essential hypothesis accepted by Meuleau, 352. Meuleau would accept, as fairly certain elements of the content, laws on tariffs, sales of slaves, deposits, and jurisdiction.

¹⁴ Reich, 180.

¹⁵ *Fontes Iuris romani anteiusitiani*, eds. S. Riccobono et al., 2nd ed. (Florence, 1941) (hereafter Riccobono), I (Leges), 23ff., with a considerable bibliography of the attackers and defenders of the traditional account of the origin of the code. After preliminary rules on legal actions the *Twelve Tables* turn first to laws on collection of debts.

¹⁶ Recently discussed by W. Forrest, *A History of Sparta* (London, 1968), 40ff., who argues for the historicity of Lycurgus and would date his work in 'the early seventh century' (p. 60).

¹⁷ Aristotle, *Politics* 2.12.6f. (1274a) and frag. 548, Rose; Ephorus in Strabo 6.1.8; Eusebius, *Chronicon*, Olympiad 28, dates him in 663. See the discussion by F. Adcock, 'Literary Tradition and the Early Greek Code-Makers,' *The Cambridge Historical*

Sicily,¹⁸ a generation later, Pheidon of Corinth,¹⁹ Philolaus of Corinth,²⁰ in the first half of the seventh century, Pittacus of Mitylene²¹ (c. 650-570), Androdamus [41] of Rhegium,²² and Draco²³ and Solon²⁴ of Athens, active about 624 and 594 respectively, not to mention more shadowy figures like Thales of Crete, Onomacritus of Locris²⁵, and Epimenides.²⁶

The literary tradition about this legislation is supported by archaeological evidence. A fragment of a stela from Chios contains a collection of constitutional laws; it was inscribed about 575-550 B.C.²⁷

Journal 2 (1927), 95ff. (henceforth Adcock) esp. pp. 100f.; K. von Fritz in *Paulys Real-Encyclopadie* (= *RE*) s.v. Among his laws reportedly (Strabo, loc. cit.) were provisions simplifying contracts and fixing penalties. Adcock would assign to him a Locrian law reported by Aristotle, *Politics* 1266b, prohibiting sale of an individual's land (except in dire need).

¹⁸ Aristotle *Politics* 2.12.7f. (1274a); discussion by Adcock 101f.; Niese in *RE*, s.v. Although Aristotle (loc. cit.) thought nothing peculiar to him but the penalization of false witnesses, Niese calls attention to the rule that his laws were to be learned by heart. Theophrastus, frag. 97 end, Wimmer, says he denied legal recourse to lenders who lent without security.

¹⁹ Aristotle, *Politics* 2.6.13 (1265b) calls him one of the oldest of the lawgivers, and says he tried to arrange that the number of landed properties should remain equal to the number of citizens.

²⁰ Aristotle, *Politics* 2.12.8ff. (1274a-b) attributes to him laws on adoption to keep the number of family plots of land constant.

²¹ Aristotle, *Politics* 2.13 (1274b), only laws, not a constitution, cf. Diodorus 9.11.1ff.; Stobaeus *Florilegium* 44.22, etc.; F. Schachermeyr in *RE* s.v., with additions 20.2 (1950), 2557f. Theophrastus, frag. 97, Wimmer, credits him with a ruling that real estate could be sold only in the presence of the civil authority. Schachermeyr's summation (*RE* 20.1.1869) runs as follows: 'Im allgemeinen dürfte die Zielrichtung der Gesetze die nämliche gewesen sein wie bei Solon und den Tyrannen: Sie galt der Überwindung der Wirtschaftskrisis (die Überwachung der Kaufverträge durch die Beamten mag von P. zum Schutz des kleinen Mannes angeordnet worden sein), der bürgerlichen Zucht, und wandte sich auch gegen den um sich greifenden Luxus.'

²² Aristotle, *Politics* 2.14 (1274b); laws on homicide and women's inheritance of property.

²³ Aristotle, *Politics* 2.13 (1274b) and *Constitution of Athens* 3.1; 4.1ff.; 7.1; 41.2: In his time the laws were first written down. On the apparent contradictions between Aristotle's statements, not to mention the other sources, see J. Miller, 'Drakon 8', *RE* s.v., and M. Levi, *Commento Storico alla Respublica Atheniensium di Aristotele* (Milan, 1968), 2 Vols. = Testi e Documenti per lo Studio dell'Antichità 19, on the passages cited.

²⁴ See E. Ruschenbusch, ΣΟΛΩΝΟΣ ΝΟΜΟΙ (Wiesbaden, 1966) = *Historia Einzelschriften* 9 (hereafter *Nomoi*). In his preserved poems Solon prides himself particularly on his refusal to become a tyrant, his release of citizens enslaved for debt and his cancellation of mortgages on land, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, ed. E. Diehl, 3rd ed. (Leipzig, 1949), *Solo* frag. 24 and the comment of Plutarch, *Life of Solon* 15.5ff.

²⁵ Both in Aristotle, *Politics* 2.12.7 (1274a), etc.

²⁶ O. Kern, 'Epimenides 2,' in *RE* 6.1 (1907), 173ff. s.v. Wholly legendary figures like Cecrops of Athens and Minos of Crete are of course irrelevant. I deliberately exclude Pythagoras and philosophic legislation as a different set of problems, and fifth-century and later legislators as after the period here discussed (though they often show continuance of the same concerns, as do the later strata of priestly legislation).

²⁷ Recently republished by R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1969), No. 8 (1), with bibliography.

From Gortyn in Crete comes the famous 'Code' inscribed in the fifth century, perhaps about 480-450 B.C.²⁸ This is thought by its latest editor, Willetts, to be a tabulation of statutory legislation amending prior—possibly seventh century—written laws on various topics.²⁹ In the sanctuary of Marazà at the site of ancient Locri Epizephyrii about 30 bronze tablets containing what appears to be the ancient law of Locris were discovered in 1959.³⁰ From Athens, finally, we have considerable fragments of the late fifth century recasting or recopying of the laws of Solon and some of those of Draco.³¹

In 1927, Adcock³² made a strong case for distinction between two bodies of tradition about the early legislators—that down to and including Aristotle, which is 'reasonably consistent, matter-of-fact, and credible', and the secondary tradition, after Aristotle, which 'has three main characteristics: (a) the dates of these lawgivers go adrift and they are brought into connexion ... with philosophers in defiance of chronological probability; (b) their laws take on an ethical not to say moralizing complexion, and the matter-of-factness... found ... in laws cited in inscriptions disappears; (c) laws are now attributed to this lawgiver, now to that'.³³ This secondary tradition he explains as the result of the intention to represent philosophy as the source of statecraft, the influence of Plato, the fashion of moralizing, and 'the unscrupulous disregard of historical truth in the pursuit of literary or philosophical ends'³⁴ (what is now described as 'making the material relevant'). This secondary tradition is represented in Posidonius, Cicero, Diodorus, Iamblichus, Diogenes Laertius, and others.³⁵

Accepting Adcock's distinction as a working hypothesis we may disregard the later Greek tradition and now survey what can be known from early material about this archaic Greek legislation that arose between the mid-eighth and the early fifth centuries. At the same time we must recall what is known of Egyptian and Mesopotamian laws in this period, to see what common traits may be found in all the material

²⁸ So R. Willetts, *The Law Code of Gortyn* (Berlin, 1967) = Kadmos, Supplement I (hereafter Willetts), 8.

²⁹ Willetts, p. 9. But neither does the text of the code read like that of a commentary or collection of amendments, nor does Willetts' commentary indicate what laws he thinks were amended.

³⁰ Council for Old World Archaeology, Survey I (1959) Area 4, p. 7, citing the *New York Times*, Jan. 22, 1959. [These now seem to be rather contracts (leases of land from the temple?); see A. de Franciscio, "Stato è società in Locri Epizefiri," *L'archivio dell'Olympion Locrese*, 1972—a reference I owe to E. Bickerman].

³¹ Those of Solon have been studied in *Nomoi*; on Draco, see E. Ruschenbusch, 'ΦΩΝΟΣ,' *Historia* 9 (1960), 130ff. (henceforth *Phonos*).

³² Op. cit. (above, n. 17), 95f., 102f.

³³ Adcock, 102.

³⁴ Adcock, loc. cit.; he goes on to cite the account of Charondas' work in Diodorus 12.11ff. as 'the most notable illustration of these characteristics'.

³⁵ Adcock thinks its main source was Hermippus, the pupil of Callimachus (p. 106).

and what generally [42] effective causes may be supposed to account for them.

Commentators on individual codes or legislators have often connected this legislation with the changing social and economic conditions of the time—the increase of trade, the increasing difference between the rich and poor, the increasing supply of and opportunities for venture capital; hence, more loans, more selling out and enslavement of insolvent debtors, and the growth of social discontent. For Egypt, Pirenne argues strongly—or at least warmly and at length—that the reforms of Bokchoris are to be seen ‘as the consequences of grave social conflicts provoked by the indebtedness of the lower classes,’³⁶ and he sees the essential of Amasis’ work as liberation of the peasantry from control of the temples and their establishment as independent proprietors or tenants of their lands, obligated to pay only taxes to the state or rent (but not services) to the temples.³⁷ From the evidence described above (notes 5 and 6), it would seem that the legal reforms of Bokchoris and Amasis necessitated clear written evidence to establish indebtedness (so perhaps favoring borrowers who had got their money informally, before these requirements were imposed, and could now deny their debts), but also made it easier for small landowners to mortgage and sell their properties, thus increasing the opportunities for capital investment at the expense of the peasantry. (It is to be expected that in such a changing society some legislation from time to time should favor the capitalists.)

Mesopotamian laws against usury seem to Meuleau explicable at least in part by the Persian government’s policy of hoarding precious metals. In Susa alone Alexander found 270 tons of gold and 1200 tons of silver—the undistributed yield of taxes which had to be paid in money. Hence the price of capital in Mesopotamia steadily rose during the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods. Interest rates rose 10% during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, more than 20% during those of Cyrus and Cambyses, 40% to 50% by the end of the fifth century.³⁸

The explanation is persuasive and is not seriously discredited by the fact that the laws against usury often antedate the Persian period. Presumably the Persian policy did not in this respect differ fundamentally from that of the Babylonians before them, or of the Assyrians before the Babylonians. All these empires had been essentially capital collecting concerns, had steadily drained off the

³⁶ Pirenne, 89.

³⁷ Pirenne, 165ff.

³⁸ Meuleau, 343, where he also discusses the development of banking from the seventh century on.

wealth of their subjects, and had thus aggravated the situation these laws are thought to reflect.

So little is known of Persian law or of the codes the Persians sponsored in Jerusalem and Egypt that hypotheses are hardly worth while. The most that can be said is that two of the topics Meuleau would assign to Darius' law—sale of slaves and deposits³⁹—and the rental terms assigned by Pirenne to the Persian code in Egypt⁴⁰ deal with subjects relevant to the social changes of the times. So do three of the first four preserved provisions of the Neo-Babylonian laws.⁴¹ Again it would hardly seem an accident that collection of debts stands first among the particular actions—as opposed to rules on legal procedure, perjury, etc.—in the *Twelve Tables*. But the *Twelve Tables* belong to a later period and the Mesopotamian evidence is inconclusive.

In Greek law, on the other hand, the evidence is clear and widespread. Clearest of all are, of course, the explicit statements of Solon, but Zaleucus' limitation on the alienation of landed property,⁴² Charondas' denial of legal validity to loans not correctly documented,⁴³ Pheidon's attempt to keep the number of citizens equal to the number of plots of land,⁴⁴ Philolaus' attempt to fix the number of family plots of land,⁴⁵ Pittacus' limitation of the conditions under which land could validly be sold,⁴⁶ are all most easily explicable as attempts to protect [43] the old peasantry from dispossession by the new capitalists. So understood, they support each other and testify to a wide concern with this problem in the archaic Greek world.

Further evidence of this concern is clear in the code of Gortyn (published about half a century after the city's coinage began—as Willetts remarks,⁴⁷ some causal connection is to be presumed). The code begins⁴⁸ with the rules for enslavement, requiring trial before seizure, penalizing the seizure of free men, etc.—evidently seizure, presumably by creditors, was the most urgent question of the day. The law on slaves leads to family law and so to inheritance. The law on inheritance (VIf.) is largely concerned to limit the rights to mortgage and to ensure the succession of entailed property to members of the

³⁹ Above, n. 13.

⁴⁰ Above, n. 8.

⁴¹ Above, n. 12.

⁴² Above, n. 17.

⁴³ Above, n. 18; the similarity to the law of Bokchoris (reported by Diodorus, above, n. 5) is suspicious, but the suspicion falls on Diodorus or his source and strengthens the case for Charondas' law as the model necessary for the later report.

⁴⁴ Above, n. 19.

⁴⁵ Above, n. 20.

⁴⁶ Above, n. 21.

⁴⁷ Op. cit., 9.

⁴⁸ Willetts, pp. 39ff. I cite by Willetts's columns.

family. To keep property within the family, heiresses (like the daughters of Zelophehad in Num 36) must practice endogamy (VIII). The consequences of debt, especially encumbrment of property and seizure of individuals, fill up most of the remaining columns (IX-XI). Willetts in his commentary⁴⁹ is led to suppose that illegal seizure for alleged debt must have been a common abuse. Note also the specification of the proper claims of a man who ransoms a slave sold abroad (VI. 46ff.). The code as a whole is clear evidence of the concerns expressed by Solon and implied by the other legislation reviewed above.

In all this I have said almost nothing of the Israelite codes because the parallels between them and this material are so obvious. In the light of this legislation, can it be supposed an accident that the first provisions of the 'Covenant Code' deal with the release of Israelite slaves who have been purchased by other Israelites?⁵⁰ The well known biblical provisions for release and ransoming of slaves, periodic cancellation of debts, restoration of farm lands to the original owners, fixed distributions of food to the poor, and so on, are all cut from the same piece of cloth as the laws and social programs of archaic and classical Greece and the same patterns run through them. This I already argued in *Palestinian Parties* 139ff. Here I have tried to show (as far as possible, given the extremely fragmentary state of the evidence) that these patterns are probably not peculiarities of Greece and Israel, but are products of the social and economic situation prevalent all around the eastern Mediterranean in the archaic period (late eighth to early fifth centuries). This period has a character of its own, being a distinct stage in the unique historical development from the chaos left by the invasions at the end of the Bronze Age towards the highly developed cultures of the Persian Empire and of Classical Greece. Though overshadowed—at least politically—by its great successors, its individuality is not to be overlooked, and the documents it produced should be interpreted in the light of its own concerns and characteristics, and be understood primarily by reference to each other.

⁴⁹ P. 78 on XI.24f.

⁵⁰ Exod 21:2ff. The title in 21:1 indicates that the preceding ritual rules are not part of the code.

PART III
ANCIENT JUDAISM

CHAPTER EIGHT

TERMINOLOGICAL BOOBYTRAPS AND REAL PROBLEMS IN SECOND-TEMPLE JUDAEO-CHRISTIAN STUDIES

[295] Let me begin with some reasons for not presenting this paper: In the first place, there is a prejudice in favor of any established terminology; from infancy we have been trained to believe that what we have been taught is right. Moreover, this belief is convenient. Secondly, to discuss the established terminology one has to use it, so the discussion involves a sort of begging the question, what the rabbis called *šbat be šbat*. Finally, those who may to some extent agree with me will want to go on to the question, what can be done about the faults of the terminology? But there is little likelihood that the established usages can soon or greatly be changed. Consequently I shall probably get some blame for wasting time.

Nevertheless, the present system seems to me so unfortunate that I want to try to describe some of the damage it does, and to indicate an alternative conceptual structure by which I think our studies could be better oriented.

First, let us look at our terminology for the sources. We commonly describe the Jewish and Christian books of this period (which, for convenience, I shall extend to about the end of the first century A.D.) as either “biblical” or “extra-biblical.” “Biblical” books are classified as “Old Testament” and “New Testament,” while the “extra-biblical” are apt to be called “post-biblical,” “intertestamental,” “pseudepigrapha,” etc. “The Apocrypha” are a little, second-class canonical group of not quite definite content, a sort of theological *demi-monde*, while “apocryphal,” when [296] not referring to members of this group, is a term of abuse implying that the user disbelieves, or at least dislikes and wants to discredit, the document referred to.

This common usage conceals the fact that there is no such thing as “the Bible.” There are many different “Bibles,” accepted by many different religious organizations, but it hardly needs arguing that the question of what was or is accepted by the Samaritans or the Ethiopians or the Mormons or the Council of Trent or the sanhedrin of Yabneh has no importance for questions about the original significance of books written before their times. On such matters the Holy Ghost was not a reliable source of information.

Hence to classify the finds at Qumran, for instance, into “biblical” and “extra-biblical” books is to commit a gross anachronism which,

having been committed, has concealed from many scholars the question of the actual relations between the texts found there. Probably no one would deny that the Qumran sect (or the several sects from which works somehow got into the Qumran manuscripts) did distinguish between books of what they thought greater or less legal authority, supernatural inspiration, sanctity, etc. But we should not assume that their judgments about these matters coincided with those of the rabbis of Yabneh. Given the Qumran remarks about “those who plaster the wall” and “those who seek after smooth things,” there seems a strong likelihood that their opinions would have differed. Consequently we should not assume that the Qumran authorities thought Genesis more sacred than Jubilees—indeed, the reverse is probable. And for practical legal questions the Damascus Document may have taken precedence of both, as Mishnah and Talmud take precedence of Old Testament texts in Jewish law. Undoubtedly, too, the Qumran sectarians revered the biblical prophets, but they also thought they themselves could do better. The secrets hidden in the prophetic texts had been revealed to the teacher of righteousness (pHab. vii 4f.); his followers were the instruments of further revelations given in their study groups, and were pledged to obey everything “that might be revealed” [297] “from time to time” (1QS ix 13). The author of the Hodayot repeatedly claims prophetic inspiration. What evidence, then, have we for supposing that whenever Qumran texts speak of “the prophets” they refer only to those canonical in the present Hebrew Bible? Given such uncertainties, grouping of the texts by literary types—legendary, legal, prophetic, etc.—would have given a better impression of the Qumran literature *as the sectarians saw it* than would the division into our anachronistic categories of “biblical” and “extra-biblical.”

These categories cannot be defended by the argument that the “biblical” texts belong to an older literary period, the others are “post-biblical” or “intertestamental.” “Post-biblical” is defensible only from a Jewish point of view; the New Testament texts, undoubtedly “biblical” by ordinary standards, are of course later. Even if they are left out of consideration, “post-biblical” is hard to defend: Daniel and Esther may be later than Jubilees and the Temple Scroll. “Intertestamental” is not equally bad; it is worse. It suggests that this literature can be arranged on a single line leading from one Testament to the other, whereas in fact there were many different lines of development, some running counter to others. Moreover, we need a term to describe all of this sort of literature, not only that preserved in Qumran, but also the works of the same sort that continued to be produced long after the completion of the texts eventually canonized in the New Testament. The closest relatives of the Hodayot, for

instance, are the Odes of Solomon; the early apocalypses, visions of Enoch, and testaments of the patriarchs are the first examples of lines that run far down into the Middle Ages. "Intertestamental," therefore, will not do. Neither will "pseudepigrapha." Many of these texts (indeed, most of those at Qumran) are not pseudepigraphic, while many biblical texts are so (see my article in *Pseudepigrapha I*, chapter 5 above).

In sum, the current terminology is unsatisfactory because it tries to describe the material by reference to a [298] criterion, canonicity, which is both ambiguous and, for questions of origin and original significance, irrelevant.

Given such confusion in the description of the sources, we should not be surprised to find even more confusion in the historical terms based on the sources. Here the worst causes of trouble are the "sectarian" terms and their subdivisions. "Late Judaism" (*Spätjudentum*) I mention only to dismiss; the application of such a term to the Judaism of two thousand years ago should have immediately been laughed out of usage. The best to be said in its defense is that, by its survival, it warns us against those foolish enough to use it.

"Hellenistic" and "Palestinian" Judaism are more pretentious contenders because they seem to be supported by impressive bodies of evidence. On the one side are commonly marshaled the LXX, the Letter of Aristeas, Philo, the remains of the other so-called "hellenistic Jewish authors," and those Greek works of Israelite forms—in common parlance, "apocrypha and pseudepigrapha"—usually assigned to the diaspora. The impression these give is supported by the great predominance of Greek in Jewish inscriptions outside Palestine and by many miscellaneous diasporic archaeological remains. On the other side are set Ben Sira, the lost Semitic originals of many other works from the latter days of the Second Temple, the great predominance of Hebrew and Aramaic at Qumran, their less marked (roughly 65/35) predominance in Judean inscriptions before 70, Josephus' report that he first wrote his *War* in Aramaic and needed secretarial help to put it into decent Greek, and the development of rabbinic Judaism in the years after 70. Neither of these lists is anything like exhaustive; both are intended merely to indicate the sorts of extent of the evidence that has led to the common distinction of "hellenistic" or "diasporic" from "Palestinian" Judaism.

This distinction has been particularly mischievous because it has led to much circular argumentation. On the basis of supposedly Semitic or Greek traits, works of unknown origin have been attributed to Palestine or [299] Alexandria (Alexandria being the central dump for works of allegedly "hellenistic" Judaism) and these attributions have

then been used as further evidence for the supposedly different characters of the Judaism of these different localities. Thus the field is now encumbered by a mass of so-called “knowledge” that is really clotted conjecture, and this pseudo-knowledge has contributed to seriously one-sided pictures of Palestinian Judaism. The most influential were probably those of George Foot Moore and of Bousset from whose *Kyrios Christos* came Bultmann’s attempt to dismiss as secondary everything in the Gospels that he could represent as “hellenistic.” “Hellenistic” is a particularly unfortunate term because of its ambiguity; it had better be used to refer to the historical period, B.C. 323-30.

As soon as one looks more closely at the above mentioned bodies of evidence they disintegrate, and so does the case for a general distinction between Palestinian and diasporic Judaism. First of all, what is “diasporic”? Does “Palestine” include Ptolemais, Sepphoris, Sebaste, Tiberias, Scythopolis, Caesarea, Apollonia, Antipatris, Azotus, Ascalon, Anthedon, Gaza—to mention only the bigger places? Was the Judaism in these “Palestinian” or “diasporic”? Next the authors: The Septuagintal translation (of the Pentateuch only) was reportedly made in Alexandria and the report by “Aristeas” is presumably Alexandrian. Most will dismiss without thinking what he also reported, that the translators came from Palestine. As for the translation of the other books, the field is free and the presence of Greek translations even at Qumran should warn against the assumption that they could not have been made in Palestine. Ben Sira indeed wrote in Hebrew and his work was translated by his grandson when the latter went to Egypt, but the grandson’s Greek had presumably been learned in Palestine. Of the so-called “hellenistic Jewish authors” half a dozen—Eupolemus and “pseudo-Eupolemus,” Cleodemus-Malchus, Theodotus, Philo the elder, and one of the authors used in Sibyllines III—have plausibly been assigned to Palestine. On the other hand, a diasporic work [300] gives us the most dramatic glorification of martyrdom to preserve purity (4 Macc, from Antioch). Again, the most picturesque miracle stories to demonstrate the sanctity and divine protection of the Jerusalem temple, those of 2 Macc, are commonly assigned to the diaspora, because the author was Jason of Cyrene. But the fact that Jason came from Cyrene does not prove that he worked only there (cp. Menippus of Gadara and Paul of Tarsus), and the letters prefixed to 2 Macc do prove that our text came to Egypt from Palestine. As for the inscriptions, what they prove is that there were plenty of Jews in Judea who preferred Greek to any Semitic language, and a few in the diaspora who preferred Hebrew or Aramaic to Greek. Archaeologically, the rarity of iconic decoration in Judea (but not in the rest of Palestine) before 70 is indeed remarkable,

but even in Judea and Jerusalem itself there are some exceptions—the tomb of Jason, for instance (*ʿAtiqot* 4).

All in all the evidence seems to indicate that while Hebrew and Aramaic elements were more frequent in Palestine, and especially in Judea, and while Greek elements were more frequent elsewhere in Roman territory, nevertheless, the range of possible variations was everywhere roughly the same. Even rather extreme variants turn up where we should least expect them, e.g. substantial evidence for Essene influence has been found in the Epistle to the Ephesians (Kuhn, *NTS* 7.334ff.). It would not be implausible to suppose that a few aristocrats in Jerusalem had the sort of Greek education and philosophical attitude that we find in Philo. Although Josephus' Greek was none too good, his rival, Justus of Tiberias, was much better at home in the language (Josephus, *Vita* 40 and 340) and was remembered in philosophical literature for one of his anecdotes about Plato (Diogenes Laertius 2.41).

Consequently the common *in toto* distinction of "Palestinian" from "diasporic" (not to mention "hellenistic") Judaism is simply unjustified. One can speak only of a difference *a potiori*, and of a few particular groups which, so far as we can judge from the preserved evidence, seem to have been peculiar to one or [301] another district, for instance, the circle around the Onias temple in Egypt, or the Therapeutae, *perhaps* the baptist groups in the Jordan valley, and so on. Sometimes such groups can be connected with unique figures—John "the baptizer," Simon "the magician" (*magos*), Judas of Galilee, Jesus of Nazareth.

Nobody thinks of excluding Judas of Galilee and his followers from accounts of first century Judaism, though their practice of killing without trial not only gentiles, but even Jews of whom they strongly disapproved, would seem to have put them rather far outside ordinary interpretations of Jewish law. Promiscuous murder might be thought to indicate a more serious break with Jewish tradition than did healing on the Sabbath or eating with publicans and sinners. But Judas' followers were saved from schism by suicide, while the success of Jesus' followers has made "Christianity" a category distinct from "Judaism." Consequently, in spite of the recent fashion of declaring that "Jesus was a Jew," it is rare to find an account of first-century Judaism which recognizes that Christianity was one of its most important forms. Conversely, how many accounts of early Christianity treat it as an exceptional form of first-century Judaism? What goes for the movements goes also for the men. The only Pharisee about whom we are really well informed is St. Paul, but how many accounts of Pharisaism have taken account of him? John the Baptist and Simon *Magus*, too, are commonly treated as peripheral figures of

“Christianity,” not as evidence of the various forms of Judaism—this although “Christianity” as such did not come into existence until John was dead and Simon’s connection (if any) with the followers of Jesus had probably been terminated.

But Simon was a Samaritan. And what were the Samaritans? The destruction of the Gerizim temple in Hyrcanus’ time is most plausibly understood as an attempt at religious *Anschluss*: Thereby the Samaritans would be forced to bring their sacrifices to Jerusalem and subject themselves to the Hasmonean High-Priesthood, which evidently considered them as potential *Ioudaioi*—adherents [302] of the Judean cult. How many of them consented to enter the fold? How many refused and resorted to surreptitious sacrifices without a temple, or contented themselves with synagogue worship? We have no way of telling. Josephus distinguished “Samaritans” as an ethnic group, and was contemptuous of them as he was of Idumeans and Galileans, who by this time were undoubtedly “Jews”—i.e., adherents of the Jerusalem cult—but whom Josephus often distinguished from *Ioudaioi* when he used the latter term to mean (territorial) “Judeans.”

It is time to tear away this cobweb of nomenclature and try to see the facts it conceals. We have to do with the gradual extension through the Greco-Roman world (and through Arabia, Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Iran, which are usually ignored) of a peculiar cult and its associated literary, legal, and social traditions.

Part of the literary tradition was the legend that the cult had once been peculiar to a single family—allied tribes are often linked by such familial legends. This legend has persisted to the present: Christians, like Jews, are still theoretically one family, “the Israel of God.” However, already in antiquity the members of this theoretical family seem to have showed no significant physical uniformity. I do not recall any ancient reference to a man’s being recognized, from his physical appearance, as a Jew, except when the recognition was an inference from circumcision. (And even circumcision was not specific; it occurred among Arabs and Egyptians.) We can be reasonably sure that in the Greco-Roman period the followers of this cult had been so diversified by intermarriage, adoption, conversion, and adherence, that its spread cannot be considered as that of a single genetic stock.

The one thing common to all forms of the cult was the god called Yahweh, Yah, Iao, etc., who was often associated with various titles and epithets—Elohim, Adonai, Sabaoth, He who hears prayer, He whose name is blessed, etc. Most of these epithets, in one place or another, seem to have been hypostatized as independent but associated deities. [303] Yahweh might also be associated with other gods, of whom a long list could be compiled from Old Testament times on. His most famous associate, of course, was to be Jesus. In a few

systems of the sort usually called “gnostic” Yahweh appears as an inferior god, and he so appears, too, in a good many unsystematic magical texts. He was also included in various syncretistic expressions of late Roman paganism, for instance the famous Clarian oracle; “I declare Iao to be the highest god of all, the Hades for winter, Zeus of beginning spring, Helios of summer, and splendid Iao of autumn” (Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.18).

To what extent such theological effusions implied worship is uncertain, but there is no question that the worship of Yahweh by pagans was ancient and extensive. Ezra proudly records the offerings made to Yahweh by the Persian emperors; the refusal of the Jerusalem temple staff to accept sacrifices offered by the Romans was the official beginning of the revolt of A.D. 66 (Josephus, *War* 2.409). Therefore to discuss the spread of this cult in terms of “the extension of Judaism”—whatever one means by “Judaism”—is to discuss only one part of a complex process. The neglected part of this process, which badly needs study, was an important factor in the extension of declared “Judaism,” since Dio Cassius reports that the name *Ioudaioi* was commonly applied to whatever men followed Jewish customs (37.17.1).

This report illustrates our need for another study—that of the ancient definitions of “Jew” and “Judaism,” with careful attention to the different users of the terms and the circumstances of the usage. We have already seen some of the ambiguities of the terms in antiquity—the fluctuation between religious and territorial usage (the Idumeans were *Ioudaioi* because adherents of the Jerusalem temple, but not *Ioudaioi* because not natives of Judea), the fluctuation between references to temple adherence and reference to general religious pattern (the adherents of the Onias temple were *Ioudaioi* by general pattern, in spite of their rejection of Jerusalem), the uncertainty as to which variations of the pattern, and how many of its [304] elements, are referred to. (Were the Samaritans *Ioudaioi*, or the Christians, or the *sebomenoi*? And so on.) An even more serious difficulty results from the modern specialization of “Jew” to refer to the adherents of rabbinic Judaism and their descendants, plus a few minor groups—the Karaites, the Falashas, and the like. Because of this modern usage, students of first century “Judaism” commonly take for granted that, even though rabbinic Judaism had not yet developed, something very like it was the common form of the religion, at least in Palestine, and all other groups are to be seen as divergent from this primitive stock. An extreme of absurdity is reached from this notion when the Judaism of the high-priestly families of the Jerusalem temple itself, who are supposed to have been mostly Sadducean, is represented as a divergence from pretentendly “normative” Pharisaic Judaism.

This simply begs the question: What actually were the beliefs and observances of “the average Palestine Jew”—if there was any such animal—before 70? We have reports in rabbinic literature and in Josephus’ later works that most people followed the rulings of the Pharisees (N.B. *not* that they “were Pharisees”), but these reports are suspect as self-interested. Josephus knew nothing of this when he was writing his earlier works; by the time he came to his later he had himself become a follower of the Pharisees. Moreover, his claims about their influence are contradicted by his reports about the course of events, in which they repeatedly appear as advocates of persons and policies that failed to gain general support. The later rabbis, for their part, had an obvious, practical interest in representing their spiritual ancestors, the Pharisees, as already enjoying the sort of authority they themselves hoped to achieve. Accordingly, neither rabbis nor Josephus can be trusted on this matter. We had better think of pre-70 Judaism simply as the sum of its known parts, plus other elements of which we know little more than that they existed, plus yet more elements of which even the existence is now unknown. To make students aware of this special [305] meaning of “Judaism” is one of the most difficult aspects of presenting the subject.

What we do know of the various forms of Judaism before A.D. 70 is derived mainly from their literary remains. Therefore, another question that needs looking into is the relation between the cult of Yahweh and the Israelite literary tradition. Unfortunately, the study of this literary tradition is dominated by and neglected for the study of the various canonical anthologies made from it—i.e., the different Old and New Testaments. What we need is a history of the literature as a whole, a history based not only on what has been preserved, but on the evidence of what has been lost, and tracing not only the development of characteristic Israelite forms and themes, but also the various combinations and developments that resulted when this literary tradition came into contact with that of Greece. The beginnings of this work—to the end of the Persian period—have often been attempted, but I do not know of any adequate history of the Israelite literary tradition in the Greco-Roman world.¹ Such a history would have to place the development of important new forms—e.g., the gospel—in proper context, explore the ways in which Israelite content was adapted to Greek forms and so changed them (as, for instance, in the Pauline “epistles”), and follow out the resultant combinations and

¹ Johannes Hempel in *Die althebräische Literatur und ihr hellenistisch-jüdisches Nachleben* (Wildpark-Potsdam: 1930), at least saw the problem and in his title promised to deal with it. However, the fifteen pages (180-194) he gave to the period from Nehemiah’s retirement to the completion of the Gospels do little more than list some of the works he should have studied.

compromises to their issuance in the new literary forms characteristic of the Middle Ages (for instance, the new histories, beginning with that of Eusebius, produced by the fusion of Israelite and Greek historical conventions and concerns).

There is so much to be done here that I hesitate even to mention the other fields for research, for instance, the study of Israelite legal traditions and their adjustments to and influences on their Greek and Roman counterparts, or the similar study of liturgical traditions. I hope that what has been said will at least suggest my desiderata for investigation of the cult of Yahweh in the Greco-Roman period. The investigation should take account of all the evidence, and should not impose on any part of it categories and distinctions which were developed only in [306] later times. What was indefinite must carefully be kept indefinite. Indeed, the gradual development of the later categories is one of the most important topics of the study and is only now beginning to receive the attention it deserves. Here the McMaster project is an example of what needs to be done. As such projects are gradually completed and their results assimilated, it is possible that the maleficent effects of our inherited terminology may to some extent be corrected.

Postscript: In the light of the discussion elicited by this paper and of problems raised by several other papers at the Congress I should like to add a further desideratum for research in this field. As far as possible the topics studied should be specific and clearly defined or definable; abstract terms and enormous subjects should be avoided. For example, account of ascents into the heavens and of means to ascend can be discussed with useful precision; so can conversations with angels, predictions of impending disasters, etc. But no good is likely to come of attempts to decide just which combinations of these and other elements constituted, *at that time*, an "apocalypse"—especially since, before A.D. 70, no writer of any work now called an apocalypse ever used this title for his composition. Similarly, discussions of the "gnosticism" of those who never called themselves "gnostics," the "mystical religion" of those who never spoke of any, and such like great, unsubstantial generalizations, are verbose inanities. At present we need precise accounts of the preserved data.

CHAPTER NINE

PALESTINIAN JUDAISM IN THE FIRST CENTURY

[67] “R. Simeon the son of R. Jehosadak asked R. Samuel bar Nahman, ‘Since I hear you are an expert in homiletic exegesis, tell me, whence was light created?’ He replied, ‘The Holy One, blessed be He, wrapped himself in it [i.e., the light] as in a white garment, and the splendor of his glory shone from one end of the world to the other.’”

This saying from *Bereshit Rabba*¹ might serve as an allegorical history of ancient Christianity: the God of ancient Israel clothed himself in the white garment of a Greek philosopher and became “the light of the world.”

But might it not also be a history of ancient Judaism? Did not Judaism, in the same period, undergo the same Hellenization to achieve a similar expansion? Here we enter upon controversial ground.

With regard to Diasporic Judaism, there is no doubt of the Greek garment; the question is whether the deity whom it clothed was still the God of ancient Israel. Into this question we shall not enter.

As to Palestinian Judaism, there is no serious doubt that the deity was still the God of ancient Israel, but the notion that he was ever clothed in a Greek garment is a matter of dispute. This dispute concerns not only the concept of the deity, but the entire picture of [68] ancient Palestinian Judaism. It goes even so far as to call into doubt the classical distinction between Palestinian and Diasporic Judaism. It asks whether this contrast does not reflect the present differences between two bodies of source material (the Rabbinic and the Diasporic) rather than the ancient differences between those parts of Judaism which the sources describe. If our reports were written by extremists from the two ends of Judaism (and handed down by groups even more extreme than the writers), they may be describing the same thing in different terms, and the classical dichotomy may be due to our ignorance of the ancient average, middle ground.

Some aspects of Diasporic Judaism suggest this: Marcel Simon, in his book, *Verus Israel*, has recently emphasized that the Jews of the Diaspora gave up the Septuagint for Aquila’s Greek translation of the Old Testament—a change of immense significance, since it shows that they were willing to sacrifice the superior Greek style of the Septuagint in order to get a text of which the only advantage was that it preserved the peculiarities which justified Rabbinic exegesis. Harry

¹ Gen. Rab. 3:4, ed. Theodor, pp. 19 f.

Wolfson, in his monumental *Philo*, has demonstrated the amazing extent of agreement between Philo and the Rabbis. There is no doubt that the picture of Judaism derived from the Roman imperial inscriptions and from the remarks of classical authors agrees in its main outlines with the picture derived from Rabbinic literature.

Now this evidence of Rabbinic influence in the Diaspora is more than matched by evidence from Palestine that Judaism there was profoundly influenced by Hellenism. Just at present, the most famous body of such evidence is composed of the documents newly discovered near the Dead Sea. It is too early to attempt any detailed interpretation of these, but they certainly show many parallels with the thought of Hellenized Jews like Paul, and they prove conclusively that Greek books were in the library of this extremely legalistic, ultraconservative Jewish community. Hardly less famous are the archaeological discoveries, especially of Bet Shearim and of the synagogues. Bet Shearim was the most famous burial ground of Rabbinic Judaism. Its remains show that it was freely adorned with drawings and, less freely, even with statues carved in relief, that most [69] of the inscriptions written there were in Greek, and that some of them contained such commonplaces as, "Be of good courage, no one is immortal." The synagogues show us a similar use of animal and human forms in high relief, and tell us that the human and, sometimes, the animal forms were later chipped away, but carefully, so that the rest of the carving would not be damaged. They show us, further, the use of conventional representations of the pagan sun god as the central ornament in the mosaic floors of a number of synagogues. This ornamentation has been known for some time, but its significance was not demonstrated until Erwin Goodenough, in his epoch-making *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, pointed out the amazing parallels between these synagogue floors and the magical amulets on which the sun god frequently appears with the titles *Iao* (i.e., YHWH) and *Sabaoth*. These parallels, in turn, enabled Professor Goodenough to make an extremely strong case for his identification of Jewish sources in many sections of the magical papyri, so that we are almost forced to accept as a product of Judaism an invocation of Helios in which he is hailed as "first and most happy of aeons and father of the world."

This identification of source material is a fascinating but hazardous business which has added a great deal, if not to our absolute knowledge, at least to our plausible guesses, about the varieties of ancient Judaism. Since our concern is the Hellenization of Palestinian Judaism, we shall pass over works of doubtful origin, like the Jewish material found by Wilhelm Bousset in the Apostolic Constitutions, and turn our attention to the undoubtedly Jewish and probably

Palestinian sources of many of the pseudepigraphic writings preserved by Christians. The Ascension of Isaiah contains a source from the time of Herod the Great which shows us a group of prophets living in the wilderness beyond Bethlehem, going naked, eating herbs only, and denouncing Jerusalem as Sodom. Such asceticism is certainly not in the Israelite tradition. The Assumption of Moses contains a similar denunciation of the priesthood of the Second Temple and calls its sacrifices vain, but has great reverence for the Temple itself. It also denounces a group of rulers who claim to be just, but who will not let common people touch them for fear of [70] pollution, and who devour the goods of the poor. Other such examples could be found, but enough has been said to show that this evidence requires a careful revision of the common notion that Palestinian Judaism was substantially free of Hellenistic influence.

The first step in estimating what the Hellenistic influence actually was is to determine the extent of the use of Greek. The preponderance of Greek in the inscriptions at Bet Shearim has already been noted. They show us the state of affairs from the late second century on. For the first century, we get most information from the Jewish ossuaries, on which about a third of the inscriptions are in Greek. For the yet earlier period, the evidence has been summed up by William F. Albright, who is an ardent advocate of Aramaic influences, but who admits in his *Archaeology of Palestine* that there was a real eclipse of Aramaic during the period of the Seleucid Empire. He remarks that scarcely a single Aramaic inscription from this period has been discovered except in Transjordan and Arabia, and that inscriptions in Jewish Aramaic do not appear until the middle of the first century before the Common Era.

It used to be argued, however, that observant Jews kept themselves apart from this Hellenized world around them, and either knew no Greek at all or, at least, knew no Greek literature, so that their thinking about religion was not touched by Greek influence. This notion, however, has now been completely refuted by the works of Saul Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine* and *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*, which have demonstrated, once for all, that many Jews in Rabbinic circles not only knew Greek, but read the Bible in it and prayed in it. Further (and of even greater significance), they have demonstrated that the terminology for at least one of the most important forms of Rabbinic legal exegesis is derived from the Greek name for the same sort of argument: *gezera shawa* translates *sunkrisis pros ison*. Since even here, in the Holy of Holies of legal exegesis, so basic a term could be taken from Greek, it seems only plausible to suppose that the amazing string of parallels to Greek exegetic and scribal procedures, which Professor Lieberman also demonstrates, was

due largely to Hellenistic influence. So we must suppose that early in its history the scribal study of the Law under[71]went a period of profound Hellenization. This supposition would accord with the archaeological evidence for the extreme Hellenization of Palestine during the later Persian and Ptolemaic periods, and with the belief that the upper classes of the priesthood, which then controlled the exposition of the Law, were particularly Hellenized. Perhaps it should be remarked in passing that Ben Sira made foreign travel for the purpose of study a duty of the good scribe. His opinion is clearly in accord with the practice of many Hellenistic philosophers.

We conclude, then, that Palestine in the first century was profoundly Hellenized and that the Hellenization extended even to the basic structure of much Rabbinic thought. This requires us to reconsider the question: How were those first-century Rabbis, who appear as authorities in Rabbinic writings, related to the whole of Palestinian Judaism? What part in the general history of the times did they and their scholars play?

First of all, it must be said that they were not unopposed. The Palestinian Talmud reports that at the time of the Exile there were twenty-four sorts of heretics in Palestine. Whatever the heretics believed, they certainly did not agree with the Pharisees and they almost certainly claimed to be Jews. Many of them were probably Jewish Christians, and certain Christian writers (especially Justin, Eusebius, and Epiphanius) tell us something of their many varieties.

Nor was Jesus the only religious leader whose followers established separate sects. John the Baptist also started a sect: some of his followers did not transfer their loyalty to Jesus, but maintained that John had been the true prophet, Jesus the false. Jacques Thomas, in his careful study, *Le Mouvement baptiste en Palestine*, has shown that John's group was only one of a great number of sects—some Jewish, some Christian, and some, perhaps, neither—which flourished in Palestine from the first century on and were characterized not only by the use of washing as a sacrament but also by the adoption of ascetic practices and, frequently, by the belief in a supernatural being who visited earth from time to time, in various incarnations, to reveal the will of God. It should be noticed that this belief appears [72] very early in Christianity. To Justin, for example, Jesus is not the first appearance of the Logos—it had appeared before, for example, to Abraham at Mamre. A similar belief about John the Baptist was early developed by his followers. Whether Jesus or John actually made such claims it is hard to say, but we have good reason to think that Simon Magus (a Samaritan teacher who also founded a sect and who, like Jesus, is said to have been a disciple of John) actually did claim to be a divine power come down to earth. This divine power was often described as “the

true prophet," and it is probably not insignificant in this connection that both Josephus and Acts tell us of the many prophets who arose in this period and led many astray. They were not insignificant cranks with one or two followers. One of those mentioned by both Josephus and Acts had thousands of followers and was only put down by the Roman forces in a major battle on the Mount of Olives.

Of course, not all baptist sects followed this theological pattern, and John's group presents similarities also to the Essenes, whom Josephus recognized as Jews, but whose strange practices included not only ritual bathing but the use of secret books filled with magical names and of prayers addressed to the sun. We have already noticed the position which the sun came to occupy in Jewish magic and Jewish synagogues during the fourth century. That magic flourished also in the earlier periods is hardly to be doubted. Most women, according to Tannaitic tradition, practiced magic; and magic, as Professor Lieberman has remarked, was not merely a few superstitious practices, but an actual cult, of which Professor Goodenough has shown the complicated theological ramifications.

At the opposite extreme from the magicians were the Jews who had gone over entirely to Hellenistic rationalism and who were accused of being Epicureans. Whether these were actually members of the clear-cut and hidebound Epicurean school, or merely individuals accused by popular opinion of atheism, we cannot be certain. But there is no doubt that their neighbors in rationalism, the Sadducees, were a definite sect and undeniably Jewish—they furnished many of the high priests and were an important party in the Sanhedrin. Yet they attacked as Pharisaic superstitions the beliefs in angels and [73] spirits, the life after death, and the divine governance of human events.

Even within the Pharisees there were divisions. We know from Josephus and the New Testament of one sect, the Zealots, which appeared as a separate group early in the first century, when its members embraced doctrines requiring civil disobedience. We know from Talmudic evidence that in the conflict between the houses of Hillel and Shammai the Law became two Laws, and the later tradition which miraculously declared them both the words of the Living God is no less suspicious than the later Christian tradition which brought Peter and Paul into perfect concord.

Finally, Palestine was not devoid of Jews from the Diaspora and these, too, formed separate communities. The only synagogue inscription we have from Jerusalem comes from a Diasporic synagogue in which a Christian preached. Communities of Jews from Alexandria, Babylonia, Tarsus, Cyrene, and Cappadocia are suggested by the funeral inscriptions of Joppa. The Acts lists, as resident in Jerusalem, Jews from Galilee, Parthia, Media, Elam, Mesopotamia,

Cappadocia, Pontus, the Roman province of Asia, Phrygia, Pamphylia, Egypt, Cyrenaica, Rome, Crete, and Arabia.

But all these groups which we have discussed so far were undoubtedly minority groups. (A little magic may have been practiced by almost everybody, but the adepts were probably few. As for the Pharisees, their very name—separatists—declares their relation to the whole.) The average Palestinian Jew of the first century was probably the *'am ha-areš*, any member of the class which made up the “people of the land,” a Biblical phrase probably used to mean *hoi polloi*. There are any number of passages in which the Mishna and Tosefta seem to take it for granted that the average man passing in the street, the average woman who stops in to visit her friend, or the average workman or shopkeeper or farmer is an *'am ha-areš*. The members of this majority were not without religion. They certainly did not observe some rules laid down by the Pharisees, and at a later period they were said to hate the Pharisees even more than the gentiles hated the Jews; but they had their own synagogues (though the Pharisees said that anybody who frequented them would come [74] to an early death), they kept the Jewish festivals, and they even observed some of the more serious purity regulations. So even with them we have not reached the end of the varieties of first-century Judaism, for we have said nothing of the worldly Jews—the Herodians, tax gatherers, usurers, gamblers, shepherds, and robbers (by the thousands) who fill the pages of the Gospels, the Talmuds, and Josephus.

How, then, are we to account for the tradition which makes the Pharisees the dominant group? First, no doubt, by the natural prejudice of the Rabbinic material. This point hardly needs elaboration: the sayings of the Rabbis were, of course, recorded by and for their followers. Even if the sayings were completely unbiased and the record absolutely accurate, the mere concentration of interest in the group concerned would make them bulk out of all proportion to the rest. In the second place, however, there are the statements of Josephus, attributing to the Pharisees a predominant influence with the people. To understand these we must recall the career of Josephus and the situation in which he wrote.

Josephus was a member of the priestly aristocracy and in his later period claimed to have been a Pharisee. Reportedly, the alliance of aristocrats and Pharisees which was in control during the early days of the war made him commander of some Jewish forces in Galilee, though Simeon ben Gamaliel, the leader of the Pharisaic group, later tried to have him removed. When his forces were defeated he surrendered to the Romans and hailed Vespasian as the universal ruler whom Jewish tradition had prophesied would arise from Palestine. When Vespasian fulfilled this prophecy by becoming

emperor, Josephus was set at liberty and taken into Roman service, first in Jerusalem as interpreter during the siege, and later in Rome. Here he wrote his *Jewish War* in the service of Roman propaganda: its purpose being to persuade the Jews of Mesopotamia that nothing should be done to help the Jews of Palestine, and to persuade Jews everywhere that the Palestinians had brought their ruin upon themselves by their own wickedness; that the Romans were not hostile to Judaism but had acted in Palestine regretfully, as agents of divine [75] vengeance; and that therefore submission to Roman rule was justified by religion as well as common sense.

For this service Josephus has often been denounced as an apostate from Judaism. He was not. Submission to the Romans and recognition of Vespasian as destined emperor certainly did not, in and by themselves, constitute apostasy, for these very same acts are attributed by Rabbinic tradition to the leader of the Pharisaic revival, R. Johanan ben Zakkai. Clearly, then, the question of Josephus' loyalty to Judaism must be settled by other considerations. And there is positive evidence that he remained, even in Rome, an admitted and convinced Jew. He wrote a defense of Judaism against the grammarian Apion, and this at a time when defenders of Judaism were probably not in favor. In the reign of Domitian, who seems to have been hostile to Jews, he wrote his major work, the *Jewish Antiquities*, of which the main concern was to glorify the Jewish tradition. His loyalty to that tradition, therefore, is hardly to be questioned.

But to which group within the Jewish tradition was he loyal? Here a comparison of the *War* with the *Antiquities* is extremely informative. In the *War*, written shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem, Josephus still favors the group of which his family had been representative—the wealthy, pro-Roman section of the priesthood. He represents them (no doubt correctly) as that group of the community which did all it could to keep the peace with Rome. In this effort, he once mentions that they had the assistance of the chief Pharisees, but otherwise the Pharisees hardly figure on the scene. In his account of the reign of Salome-Alexandra he copies an abusive paragraph of Nicholas of Damascus, describing the Pharisees as hypocrites whom the queen's superstition enabled to achieve and abuse political power. In his account of the Jewish sects he gives most space to the Essenes. (Undoubtedly he was catering to the interests of Roman readers, with whom ascetic philosophers in out-of-the-way countries enjoyed a long popularity.) As for the others, he merely tags brief notices of the Pharisees and Sadducees onto the end of his survey. He says nothing of the Pharisees' having any influence with the people, and the only time he represents them as attempting to exert any in[76]fluence

(when they ally with the leading priests and other citizens of Jerusalem to prevent the outbreak of the war), they fail.

In the *Antiquities*, however, written twenty years later, the picture is quite different. Here, whenever Josephus discusses the Jewish sects, the Pharisees take first place, and every time he mentions them he emphasizes their popularity, which is so great, he says, that they can maintain opposition against any government. His treatment of the Salome-Alexandra incident is particularly illuminating: he makes Alexander Janneus, Salome's husband and the lifelong enemy of the Pharisees, deliver himself of a deathbed speech in which he blames all the troubles of his reign on the fact that he had opposed them and urges his wife to restore them to power because of their overwhelming influence with the people. She follows his advice and the Pharisees cooperate to such extent that they actually persuade the people that Alexander was a good king and make them mourn his passing!

It is almost impossible not to see in such a rewriting of history a bid to the Roman government. That government must have been faced with the problem: Which group of Jews shall we support? It must have asked the question: Which Jews (of those who will work with us at all) can command enough popular following to keep things stable in Palestine? To this question Josephus is volunteering an answer: The Pharisees, he says again and again, have by far the greatest influence with the people. Any government which secures their support is accepted; any government which alienates them has trouble. The Sadducees, it is true, have more following among the aristocracy. (We may guess that they were better represented at the Roman court and that Josephus was trying to answer this objection.) But they have no popular following at all and, even in the old days when they were in power, they were forced by public opinion to follow the Pharisees' orders. As for the other major parties, the Essenes are a philosophical curiosity, and the Zealots differ from the Pharisees only by being fanatically anti-Roman. So any Roman government which wants peace in Palestine had better support and secure the support of the Pharisees.

Josephus' discovery of these important political facts (which he [77] ignored when writing the *Jewish War*) may have been due partly to a change in his personal relationship with the Pharisees. Twenty years had now intervened since his trouble with Simeon ben Gamaliel, and Simeon was long dead. But the mere cessation of personal hostilities would hardly account for such pointed passages as Josephus added to the *Antiquities*. The more probable explanation is that in the meanwhile the Pharisees had become the leading candidates for Roman support in Palestine and were already negotiating for it. This same conclusion was reached from a consideration of the Rabbinic

evidence by Gedalyahu Alon in his *History of the Jews in Palestine in the Period of the Mishna*. He concluded that the Roman recognition of the judicial authority of the Rabbinic organization in Palestine came after the fall of Domitian, but had been a matter of negotiation even in Domitian's time and, when it came, was an official approval of an authority which had already existed *de facto* for some time. This theory, and the tradition that Jewish relations with Rome underwent some strain in the latter days of Domitian, would perfectly explain the content and tone of those passages of the *Antiquities* which insist on the influence of the Pharisees with the people.

Such motivation does not, of course, prove that Josephus' statements are false, but it would explain their falsity if that were otherwise demonstrated. Without attempting conclusive demonstration, three points may be noted:

First, as we have seen, there is much evidence that during the first century a great deal of Palestinian Judaism was not Pharisaic.

Second, the influence of the Pharisees with the people, which Josephus reports, is not demonstrated by the history he records. John Hyrcanus was not afraid to break with the Pharisees, and none of the succeeding Maccabees except Salome and the puppet Hyrcanus II felt it worth while to conciliate them. As to their relations with Herod, Josephus contradicts himself; but if Herod had the support of the Pharisees it did not suffice to secure him popularity, and if they opposed him they were not strong enough to cause him serious trouble. During the first century of the Common Era, the only ruler [78] who consistently conciliated them was Agrippa I. If, as Josephus says, they were for peace with Rome, their influence failed to maintain it. After the war broke out, they formed only one party in the coalition upper-class government, which held the initial power in Jerusalem for a short time, but was ousted by groups with more popular support. All this accords perfectly with the fact that Josephus in his first history of the war never thought their influence important enough to deserve mention.

In the third place, even Josephus' insistence on their influence "with the multitude" implies a distinction between them and the people whom they influenced. Evidently, the "multitude" were the majority and they were not Pharisees. In one instance, where Josephus speaks of the Pharisees as refusing to take an oath of loyalty to Herod, he sets the number of them at "more than 6000." The passage is not absolutely conclusive because another seems to contradict it and assert that the oath was taken, but the most plausible explanation would seem to be that which takes the passages as contradictory rather than complementary and understands 6000 as the (approximate) total

number of the Pharisees. The Essenes, by the way, numbered about 4000, according to Josephus' estimate.

How, then, are we to understand the position of these 6000 Pharisees vis-à-vis the mass of the Jewish population, that is to say, in what category of the population were they classed: were they clergy or laity? Was it a profession to be a Pharisee, or an avocation?

Here the danger is obviously that of imposing modern categories upon ancient society. Many would say there is even a danger of imposing ancient categories on a part of ancient society which they do not fit, of classifying the Pharisees in categories which belong to Greek and Roman society, not to Palestinian Judaism. This charge has been brought particularly against Josephus, who consistently describes the major Jewish sects, including the Pharisees, as philosophic schools. In this he is supported by agreement with Philo and with the ancient Christian writers who describe the Jewish sects. But it is customary to say that in using this description he is trying to explain the sects to his gentile readers, who had nothing like them in their society. The easiest way to give them a general idea of what [79] the Pharisees did was to call them "philosophers," just as, nowadays, the simplest way to explain a guru is to call him a "father confessor." The people who maintain this view hold not only that all Pharisees were primarily Pharisees (a very strong position) but also that the Greco-Roman society produced nothing really like them, so that, although others may have thought of them in its terms, the Pharisees themselves never did so. Now this latter position is a particular application of the general notion that Palestinian Judaism was practically untouched by Hellenistic influences. We have already seen that general notion to be false; here we may adduce a number of reasons for doubting this particular application as well.

First of all, it must be remembered that Judaism to the ancient world was a philosophy. That world had no general term for *religion*. It could speak of a particular system of rites (a cult or an initiation), or a particular set of beliefs (doctrines or opinions), or a legal code, or a body of national customs or traditions; but for the peculiar synthesis of all these which we call a "religion," the one Hellenistic word which came closest was "philosophy." So when Judaism first took shape and became conscious of itself and its own peculiarity in the Hellenized world of the later Persian Empire, it described itself with the Hellenic term meaning the wisdom of its people (Deut 4:6). To the success of this concept within Judaism the long roll call of the wisdom literature bears witness. Further, the claim was accepted by the surrounding world. To those who admired Judaism it was "the cult of wisdom" (for so we should translate the word "philosophy" which they used to describe it), and to those who disliked it it was "atheism," which is

simply the other side of the coin, the regular term of abuse applied to philosophy by its opponents.

It is therefore not surprising that Jews living, as Palestinian Jews did, in the Greco-Roman world, and thinking of their religion as the practice of wisdom, should think of the groups in their society which were distinguished by peculiar theories and practices as different schools of the national philosophy. That the groups also thought thus of themselves is shown by a vast number of details, of which the following are a few examples. Their claim to authority was put [80] in the form of a chain of successors by whom the true philosophy had been handed down. Elias Bickerman in his article, "La Chaine de la tradition pharisienne," has demonstrated the parallel between this list (in *Abot*) and the lists alleged by the philosophic schools, and has remarked that the Greek and Pharisaic lists differed from those of the priestly "philosophies" of the barbarians in being lists of teachers, not of ancestors. He also mentions, apropos of the "houses" of Hillel and Shammai, the fact that "house of so-and-so" is a form of reference to a philosophic school founded by so-and-so; and he shows that both the Greek and the Jewish philosophic schools justified their peculiar teachings by claiming accurate tradition from an authoritative master. Not only was the theory of the Pharisaic school that of a school of Greek philosophy, but so were its practices. Its teachers usually taught without pay, like philosophers; they attached to themselves particular disciples who followed them around and served them, like philosophers; they looked to gifts for support, like philosophers; they were exempt from taxation, like philosophers; they were distinguished in the street by their walk, speech, and peculiar clothing, like philosophers; they practiced and praised asceticism, like philosophers; and finally—what is, after all, the meat of the matter—they discussed the questions philosophers discussed and reached the conclusions philosophers reached. Here there is no need to argue the matter, for Professor Wolfson, in his aforementioned classic study of Philo, has demonstrated at length the possibility of paralleling a philosophic system point by point from the opinions of the Rabbis. Now one, or two, or two dozen parallels might be dismissed as coincidental: all men, by virtue of mere humanity, are similar and life presents them with similar problems; it is not surprising, therefore, that they should often and independently reach the same answers. But parallels of terminology are another matter, and here we come back to Professor Lieberman's demonstration that some of the most important terms of Rabbinic Biblical exegesis have been borrowed from the Greek. This is basic. As indicated above, the existence of such borrowings can be explained only by a period of profound Hellenization, and once the existence of such a period has been hypothecated it is plausible to

attribute to it also the astounding [81] series of parallels which Professor Wolfson has shown to exist between the content of philosophic and Rabbinic thought.

In sum, then, the discoveries and research of the past twenty-five years have left us with a picture of Palestinian Judaism in the first century far different from that conceived by earlier students of the period. We now see a Judaism which had behind it a long period of thoroughgoing Hellenization—Hellenization modified, but not thrown off, by the revival of nationalism and nationalistic and antiquarian interest in native tradition and classic language (an interest itself typically Hellenistic). As the Greek language had permeated the whole country, so Greek thought, in one way or another, had affected the court and the commons, the Temple and the tavern, the school and the synagogue. If there was any such thing, then, as an “orthodox Judaism,” it must have been that which is now almost unknown to us, the religion of the average “people of the land.” But the different parts of the country were so different, such gulfs of feeling and practice separated Idumea, Judea, Caesarea, and Galilee, that even on this level there was probably no more agreement between them than between any one of them and a similar area in the Diaspora. And in addition to the local differences, the country swarmed with special sects, each devoted to its own tradition. Some of these, the followings of particular prophets, may have been spontaneous revivals of Israelite religion as simple as anything in Judges. But even what little we know of these prophets suggests that some of them, at least, taught a complex theology. As for the major philosophic sects—the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes—the largest and ultimately the most influential of them, the Pharisees, numbered only about 6000, had no real hold either on the government or on the masses of the people, and was, as were the others, profoundly Hellenized.

This period of Palestinian Jewish history, then, is the successor to one marked by great receptivity to outside influences. It is itself characterized by original developments of those influences. These developments, by their variety, vigor, and eventual significance, made this small country during this brief period the seedbed of the subsequent religious history of the Western world.

CHAPTER TEN

THE IMAGE OF GOD:

NOTES ON THE HELLENIZATION OF JUDAISM, WITH ESPECIAL
REFERENCE TO GOODENOUGH'S WORK ON JEWISH SYMBOLS¹

I. Hellenization in Disguise

[473] Discussions of the hellenization of ancient Judaism often take for granted that any material for which precedent can be found in the Old Testament is therefore independent of hellenistic influence. This supposition neglects the fact that rabbinic literature is almost entirely homiletic and legal. Preachers and lawyers must find proof-texts in certain books which are authoritative for their purposes. But they do not necessarily get their ideas from those books to which they must go for their proof-texts. The history of Biblical and legal exegesis bristles with examples of texts which have been made to bear meanings their authors never thought of. Consider two rabbinic instances: Ben Azzai uses the text, "This is the book of the generations of *Adam*," as an excuse to argue that the Law is the basic principle of *human* society. R. Jeremiah b. Le'azer uses the text, "Male and female he created *them*" as an excuse for teaching that when God created Adam he created *him* androgynous.² Clearly, it would be mistaken to say that because these rabbis found the texts in the Bible they must also have found the ideas there.

What holds for preachers and lawyers holds also for translators. The Hebrew text of the Bible is in a number of places obscure beyond understanding. Therefore any understandable [474] translation of those places must be a reading into them of ideas supplied by the translator. Where the translator got his ideas is a question which cannot be settled at all by the fact that he read them into the Hebrew text. Thus when the LXX turned the obscure Hebrew, '*ehyeh 'asher 'ehyeh*,'³ which the Targums did not attempt to translate, into the clear Platonism, "I am the one being," then, even though the resultant Being did retain the gender of the Biblical God,⁴ there is no doubt that we are looking at a hellenization of the Biblical religion.

¹ The content of this paper was originally delivered in three lectures given in 1955 at the Hebrew Teachers' College, Boston.

² Gen. Rab. 8.1 (ed. Theodor, p. 55 and parallels). On the former see my note in *HTR* 48 (1955), 51.

³ Exod 3:14.

⁴ Cf. J. Freudenthal, "Are There Traces of Greek Philosophy in the LXX?" *JQR*, 2 (1890), 220. F. is mistaken in supposing that *to on* is Stoic rather than Platonic and his explanation of an Alexandrian translation of the third century B.C. by the influence of

Therefore it is often unjustified to cite the proof-text used by a preacher, or the LXX's remodelings of the Hebrew, as evidence that the ideas thus introduced are signs of Jewish tradition rather than hellenistic influence.

Of course, proof texts sometimes do happen to contain the ideas attributed to them. But even when they do, *the taking up and development of ideas by later writers may be evidence of outside influence.*

For example, let us consider the notion that man is made in the image of God. It appears in the Old Testament in two places in Genesis,⁵ in the second of which it is added as an explanation to a law making murder a capital offence. There is no doubt that in both these places the detail is, at very least, pre-[475]exilic. Since later Biblical tradition became much opposed to physical anthropomorphism, to anything which would suggest that a statue of any sort could be in any respect a faithful likeness of the deity, it is surprising that this material survived. It is even more surprising to find it taken up by a number of rabbis and used by them not only to justify capital punishment for murder, but also to argue the dignity of man in general and to blame those who abstain from the procreation of children because they diminish the image (sc. the number of images?) of God.⁶

Now the purposes for which these rabbis used these proof texts are closely related to the culture of the Greco-Roman world. It was in that world that the notion of human dignity was given its classical development by the Stoics, and it was in that world that the practice of asceticism was spreading in the second and third centuries A.D. when these rabbis attack the consequent abstinence from procreation. So the motives of their statements are explicable by the influence of the Greco-Roman environment,⁷ but what of the form? Why should these

Palestinian exegesis of the third century A.D. is not plausible. Note also his final argument (p. 222), "Who would venture to ascribe to the Soferim, Onkelos and Pseudo-Jonathan a knowledge of systems of philosophy which could only be acquired after a long devotion to their study?" No one, surely, supposes that the translators of the Old Testament were trained philosophers. But it is supposed that Greek philosophy had a large, albeit indirect, influence on the *Weltanschauung* of most thinking men (among whom were many rabbis) in the ancient world. As evidence against this latter supposition there is no importance whatever in F.'s demonstration that the translators of the LXX neglect the technical, philosophic senses of certain words. And even concerning trained philosophers, argument from this fact would be dangerous. For instance, it would prove Philo ignorant of philosophy, since, as Wolfson has shown, he is generally indifferent in his use of philosophic terms. H. Wolfson *Philo* (Cambridge, 1947), i. 102 ff.

⁵ 1:26f. and 9:6.

⁶ Tosepta Yebamot, 8 end; cf. Yeb. 63b; Abot, 3. 14.

⁷ This is not to say, of course, that all Jewish ascetics were necessarily imitators of Greek examples. Asceticism, like mysticism, is a psychological phenomenon which can appear

rabbis have chosen to rest their teaching on a proof text so apparently alien to our common notion of Jewish doctrine?

The explanation is to be found in a number of passages of the midrashim, where this thought is directly related to the contemporary importance of the images of the Greco-Roman rulers. In Leviticus Rabbah 34.3 a story is told of Hillel. On one occasion when he was about to leave his disciples, they said to him, “‘Rabbi, where are you going?’ He said to them, ‘To perform a commandment.’ They said to him, ‘What is this commandment?’ He said to them, ‘To bathe in the (public) bath.’ They said to him, ‘Is this a commandment?’ He said [476] to them, ‘Yes. If the man who is appointed to take care of the images of kings, which (the gentiles) set up in their theatres and circuses, scours them and rinses them, and they provide his livelihood, and not only that, but he occupies an important place among government officials; then we, who were created in the image and in the likeness (of God) ... a *fortiori*.’” Substantially the same story appears in Abot de R. Nathan⁸ as a comment on the words, “And let all thy acts be for the sake of Heaven.”⁹

In the Mekilta¹⁰ we read, “The text implies that anyone who sheds blood is held to be guilty of diminishing the divine image. (Murder is thus rebellion against God, as shown by a) comparison: A human king entered a province and the citizens set up portraits of him and made images of him and struck coins (bearing) his (likeness). But after a time they overthrew his portraits and broke his images and canceled the coins and (thus) diminished the likeness of the king. (Was not this tantamount to rebellion?). Thus anyone who sheds blood is held to be guilty of diminishing the divine image, for it is said, ‘Whoso sheddeth man’s blood, by man shall his blood be shed, for in the image of God made He man’” (Gen 9:6).¹¹

in any religion, and appears in most without being the result of outside influence. What shows the influence of the surrounding world, therefore, is not the *recurrence* of asceticism, but the *increase of its importance* in the second and later centuries A.D., to which these rabbinic statements testify and which is clearly part and parcel of the change of the Greco-Roman environment. This distinction between precedent (which is often unimportant) and active influence (which is usually contemporary) is the point to be made by this section of the paper.

⁸ Text B, ch. 30, ed. Schechter, fol. 33b.

⁹ That is, of God.

¹⁰ Bahodesh, Jethro, 8, on Exod 20:16 (ed. Lauterbach, 2.262) repeated in Yalqut S. 1.299.

¹¹ [The comparison came more easily, doubtless, because of the widespread pagan notion of the king as the image of God—see the passages collected by Nock in H. I. Bell, A. D. Nock, Herbert Thompson, *Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus*, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 17 (1931), p. 41 of the separate pagination].

Again in Debarim Rabbah¹² the establishment of the cities of refuge is explained by the following parable: "It is like (the case of) a carver who was making an image of the king. While he was working on it, it broke in his hands. The king said, 'Had he broken it for some purpose of his own, he should have been put to death. As things are, since he broke it unintentionally, let him be condemned to the mines.' So the Holy One, Blessed be He," laid down Gen 9:6 as the rule and provided the cities of refuge for the exception.

Similarly, Exodus Rabbah¹³ comments on the text of Gen 9:6 with the words, "It is like (the case of) a man who struck the image of the king and was brought into court. The king said, 'Have you not read in my ordinance that any one who touches my [477] image is to be put to death. Why did you not spare yourself?' So if a man kills a Jew it is as if he destroyed the image of a king, and he is judged and (if found guilty) has no (chance of) life, because man was created in the likeness of the ministering angels."

The conclusion of this last story is particularly interesting because Gen 9:6 says bluntly, "Because in the image of God He made man", and all the rest of the above-quoted stories end with quotation of this text. Further, it is clear that the argument of the story in Exodus Rabbah requires the antithesis between the king and God, not the ministering angels. So the unexpected appearance of the angels is clearly the result of a posterior revision, by which the force of the argument is weakened.¹⁴

Another instance of such revision for the same purpose is the Targum to Ps 82:6, which changes "I have said, 'Ye are gods, and all of you sons of the Most High'" to, "I have said, 'Behold, you are reckoned as angels (*malakaya*), and all of you as angels (*'anglë*) of the Most High'". Similarly, the statement of Deut 34:6, that the Lord buried Moses, which was taken literally by the Mishnah,¹⁵ is understood later to mean that the ministering angels buried him.¹⁶ These examples, which could easily be multiplied, prove the opposition which was eventually encountered by the notion that man was the image of God. Thus they justify our surprise at seeing the

¹² 2.21, repeated in Yalqut S. 1.829.

¹³ 30.12 [in some editions 30.16] (end).

¹⁴ It is possible that the use of the ministering angels in place of God as referents for biblical anthropomorphisms was originally a mark of an allegorizing—as opposed to a literalist—school of Palestinian exegesis. So A. Marmorstein, *The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God, II, Essays in Anthropomorphism* (Oxford, 1937) (*Jews' College Publications*, 14), pp. 46 ff. and 140. However, it cannot be original here, since the force of the argument depends on the parallel between the mortal and the divine rulers (*melek basar wedam v. Melek malke hammelakim*).

¹⁵ Sotah 1, end.

¹⁶ Midrash Tanna'im, 3.26 (ed. Hoffmann, p. 18).

notion developed by the rabbis of the Greco-Roman period, and confirm our hypothesis that such development must have been due to the influence of the cult of the statues of civil rulers.

In contrast with this later opposition, the early interpretations of Gen. 1:26f. and 9:6¹⁷ show no significant concern to palliate or [478] refute these statements that man is the image of God.¹⁸ Only with the medieval commentators do apologetic and philosophical explanations appear.¹⁹ Indeed, the rabbinic tradition sometimes went to the extreme of anthropomorphism: Not only did it make the notion of man's likeness to God as physical and detailed as possible (it included circumcision among the distinguishing marks of the Deity),²⁰ but it took the likeness as proof of the potential perfection of man and taught that Adam before the fall and the righteous in the world to come realized this perfection and were rightly, therefore, to be worshipped by the angels: We read in Baba Batra 75b, "Rabba said R. Johanan said, 'The righteous are destined to be called by the name of the Holy One, blessed be He, for it is said, "Everyone who is called by my name, him have I created, formed and made that he should also share my glory"'."²¹ [479]

"R. Samuel bar Nahmani said R. Johanan said, 'Three are called by the name of the Holy One, blessed be He, and they are these: The

¹⁷ So far as represented by the entries for these verses in A. Hyman, *Torah hakketubah wehammesurah* (Tel Aviv, 1937-40), 3 vols.

¹⁸ There are occasional traces of such a concern, e.g. the Jerusalem Targum adds *min qodam* between *demut* and *yahweh* in Gen 1:27 (but it translates the relevant words literally in 1:26 and 9:6, as do Onkelos, the LXX and the Peshitto, which also translate 1:27 literally). Contrast this indifference with the concern expressed by a long string of early comments on 1:26, to explain the plurality of "Let us make man." On the other hand, there was early and frequent opposition to anthropomorphism, see the material collected by Marmorstein, *Doctrine*, 2:28ff. and 54 f.—which could easily be increased. Marmorstein's supposition that in Palestinian Judaism there were two schools of thought, one which took the anthropomorphisms of the Bible literally, another which allegorized them, is not improbable, but the evidence he has advanced to identify the members of the schools is far from conclusive. He may be right in seeing a dramatization of a dispute about this matter in The Martyrdom of Isaiah (the Jewish section of the Ascension, according to Charles) where the wicked King Manasseh represents the adherents of the opinion that God is not visible.

¹⁹ Beside the Miqra'ot Gedolot, ad loc., see the striking contrast in Midrash haggadol on Bereshit (ed. Margulies) between the early material on these verses and the comments of the medieval editor.

²⁰ Wherefore Adam was created circumcized: Abot de R. Nathan, text A, 2 (6b), repeated in Yalqut S. 1.16 and 2.261, cf. The Dialogue of Athanasius and Zacchaeus, 10 (ed. F. Conybeare, *Anecdota Oxoniensa* (Oxford, 1898), p. 7); Justin, Dialogue, 114, Baba Batra 58a and Rashi, ad loc. and the material collected by Marmorstein, *Doctrine*, ii.50 f. Marmorstein's conclusion is (p. 52), "The material quoted ... leaves no doubt that there was a school in Judaism, and an important one, too, that believed in a God who accompanies man in human form and shape". See G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkavah Mysticism*, 36ff.

²¹ Isa 43:7. This translation of this and the following biblical verses is deliberately forced to indicate the interpretations put upon them by the rabbinic contexts.

righteous and the Messiah and Jerusalem. The righteous, as we have just shown. The Messiah, for it is written, "And this is his name, which he will be called, The Lord Our Righteousness."²² Jerusalem, for it is written, ... "And as for the name of the city, the Lord is its name".²³... R. Elazar said, 'The trishagion will be said before the righteous as it is said before the Holy One, blessed be He'." In a later passage in the Tanhuma²⁴ and in the condensation in Bereshit Rabbati²⁵ this potential divinity and predicted worship are presented as the direct consequences of man's being the image of God. So it is in the Latin life of Adam (13ff.), where, after Adam's creation, the angels are ordered to "worship the image of God."²⁶

On the other hand, there is another passage in the Tanhuma,²⁷ beginning, "The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Israel, 'I am not as flesh and blood'. A human king does not permit men to be called by his name, as you know, for whenever one man wants to accuse another he calls him Augustus so-and-so, and (effectively) kills him. But Israel are called by the name of the Holy One, blessed be He. He is called God, and He called Israel Gods, for it is written, 'I have said, "Ye are Gods"'".²⁸ The concluding promise is again that of worship by the attribution of holiness, probably the recitation of the trishagion. Here the deification of the just is to be the result of their being called by the name of God and thereby identified with him in nature or office.

(Both traditions as to deification—that by form and that by name—were known to Paul, who evidently attributed considerable importance to the choice between them, for he goes out of his [480] way to insist that although "Messiah Jesus" was "in the form of God" yet "he did not think equality with God something to be grasped at, but ... humbled himself ... wherefore God, in return, exalted him exceedingly and gave him, as a free gift, the name which is above every name," so that he should be worshipped by angels, men and demons, and all "should confess that Jesus, Messiah, is The Lord."²⁹)

²² Jer 23:6.

²³ Ezek 48:3.

²⁴ Ed. Buber, in the supplement to Shalah, 39a.

²⁵ Ed. Albek, p. 19.

²⁶ This notion played a large part in the Life of Adam and Eve, see Kahana's edn. 10; 33.5; 35.3, etc. L. Wells, in Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, ii. 137, note on ch. 12, refers to parallels from the Koran and Moses *haddarshan*.

²⁷ Ed. Buber, Qedoshim, 37b.

²⁸ Cf. John 10:34. The inevitable rationalizing and moralizing interpretation of such material appears in Sifre Deb. 49 (on 11.22) and parallels. Direct opposition to the literal interpretation—which argues that there was one—appears in Bereshit Rabbah 90.2 (1100f.) and Ruth R., Int. 1.

²⁹ Phil 2:5-11. A similar opposition to the notion that Adam was to be worshipped by the angels as the image of God is found in Bereshit Rabbah 8.10 (63f.). Here, as above, the worship offered to him was the trishagion. This is explained by an article by E. Peterson, "Polemik gegen die Mystiker," *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 61 (1947), 339f.,

For our purpose at the moment, the important thing is the agreement of both traditions in arguing from pagan practice. The first passages quoted show that the prominence given by the rabbis to the notion of man as an image of God and as a divine being to be worshipped by the angels reflects the influence of the cult of the statues of the rulers of the hellenistic world and the [481] Roman Empire.³⁰ So, too, the notion that the righteous will be deified by being given the name of God has been shown, by the last passage, to have been related by the rabbis to the deification which rhetoricians represented as effected by the imperial title. Unquestionably, both these notions had deep and ancient roots in magical practice, and certainly the Bible contained some texts which could be made to justify them. But the passages quoted argue strongly that the *development* of these notions and the *selection* of these texts was due to the influence of contemporary pagan practice.

In such instances as these the preacher who comes to the Bible looking for a proof text happens to find a good one, one which really says what he wants said. But this does not alter the fact that *he finds it because he looks for it, and he looks for it because of the practices or ideas which have become important in the world around him.*

Peterson's observations are so much in point that I summarize them here: The Qedushah in Apostolic Constitutions, 7.35.3 (a section of Jewish origin) is followed by a string of blessings including several which emphasize that none is holy save God. 1 Sam 2:2-3 is used as a proof text, and its context is a polemic against *megalorremosyne* which could be understood as referring to heretics who attributed holiness to themselves. If the prayers in Apostolic Constitutions have this polemic purpose, they follow the Qedushah because that was the favourite prayer of Jewish mystics (Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 19) and it was presumably such mystics who claimed such holiness. Several Jewish magical prayers (*PGM*, 1.12, lines 196ff.; 112, lines 1167ff.; cf. 90, line 522) and Poimandres 1.31 suggest that the recitation of the Qedushah was conceived as a means of invoking the deity or a result of union with him. The angels in 3 Enoch 35. 6 are restored to their original form by the recitation of the Qedushah; presumably the mystics held that man was, too; i.e. he became once more the image of God. Accordingly, the recitation of the Qedushah was much loved in the second century (Finkelstein, *JQR* 56 (1925), 31) and the polemic of the Jewish source of the A.C. probably dates from that period. Thus far Peterson. Add to his evidence the polemic passages cited in the preceding note. There is an interesting parallel between *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, ed. K. Preisendanz (Leipzig, 1928 and 1931), 2 vols. (hereinafter=*PGM*), vol. 1, p. 90 (no. IV, line 522): *hagiois hagiastheis hagiasmasi hagios* and the saying quoted in Shemot Rabbah 38.8 (of Aaron): *yabo' qadosh wiyyikkane laqqadosh wiyyaqrib lipne qadosh wiyyekapper 'al qedoshim*. Note also the statement in Way. R. 24.8, that when the angels crown God with the triple crown of the trishagion he transfers two of the crowns to the head of Israel. The Jewish tradition as to the effect of the recitation of the trishagion deserves a special and thorough study.

³⁰ There are many other passages in which this influence is clear, even though not explicit, e.g. Debarim Rabbah, ed. Lieberman, p. 93: "R. Joshua b. Levi said, 'An angelic escort goes before a man and the criers cry out before him. And what do they say? "Make way for the image of the Holy One, blessed by He."'" This must reflect pagan practice so familiar that there was no need to specify it.

Therefore, when we discuss the influences at work on a religion we must look first of all to the world around it, its immediate environment.³¹

II. The Evidence

For the study of Greco-Roman Judaism it is most needful to keep all the different sorts of evidence in mind at the same time. Many works on the subject have gone astray because the authors [482] built on the one or two sorts of evidence each happened to know, and neglected other material which would have shown that even the evidence considered had a significance somewhat different than that supposed. It may be worth while, therefore, to list and to comment briefly on the major bodies of evidence.

To begin, as every study of Judaism must begin, with the Bible. It must be remembered that the latest books of the Old Testament are products of the hellenistic age. Greeks had ruled Palestine for almost two centuries before Daniel was written, and Greek influence had been at work there for centuries prior to the advent of Greek rule.³² It is therefore at least plausible to attribute such traits of the later Old Testament books as the shift of concern from the nation to the individual and the increase in importance of the concept of wisdom to that great shift in ways of life and thought which prepared for Alexander's conquest.

More certain evidence of hellenization are, of course, the Greek translations of the Bible. The preserved fragments of many different versions show that the translation of parts of the Old Testament into Greek was a process which kept recurring through a long period.

³¹ If this principle seem a truism scarcely worth stating, the excuse for its statement may be found in the present popularity of explanations of details of Judaism by reference to the religions of ancient Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia and Persia. Undoubtedly the Bible does show appropriation and adaptation of material from all these sources, but it is extremely implausible to attribute to *ancient* or *local* or *peripheral* influences any characteristic of Maccabean or later Judaism which can be explained by reference to the *contemporary* and *universal* and *immediate* influence of hellenistic culture. Moreover, the factor of fashion has to be considered: While the Greeks might dabble in oriental religions and, occasionally, affect native ways, the adoption of Greek ways became, for the natives, the height of fashion (and the means of advancement). Therefore when we find what look like Greek ways appearing in the native religions, it is likely that they result from such adoption.

³² O. Sellers, *The Citadel of Beth Zur* (Philadelphia, 1933), summarizing the results of his excavation of this site, just south of Jerusalem, says, p. 10: "Foreign influence, even when the Persians were ruling, was largely Greek. Coins and pottery patterns came from the West, rather than from the East." Again, p. 41: "Culturally, from the early part of the fifth century Palestine was dominated by Greece. The few objects showing Persian influence are almost negligible." Substantially these same results are yielded by all the archaeological finds of this area and period.

However begun,³³ it was certainly carried on in Palestine, by and for Palestinians,³⁴ and by and for both Jews and Samaritans.³⁵ Palestinian rabbinic literature knows of Greek translations and sometimes approves and uses [483] them³⁶; fragments of them have been found in the manuscripts of the Qumran sect and the material found in Origen's time near Jericho (and plausibly attributed to the Qumran group) contained at least one or two Greek translations of parts of the Old Testament.³⁷ Now the Qumran group seems to have been a sort of hyper-orthodox, self-enclosed ghetto. If, even in such a place, there were some people who could read the Bible better in Greek than in Hebrew, we are justified in arguing *a fortiori* about the linguistic condition of the rest of Palestine.

After the Bible and its Greek translations come the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, some of them originally written in Greek, all of the rest translated into it (some of the translations being made in Palestine).³⁸ The hellenistic elements in their content have often been discussed.³⁹ Next to these come the books of the New Testament and those of the Qumran sect and the rabbinic literature of the second and later centuries. The hellenization of the Christians will hardly be disputed. In particular the epistles of the New Testament certainly come from Greco-Roman models, in so far as they were not created *ad hoc* to meet the needs of particular situations. Further, the collecting of a particular man's letters is typical of the Greco-Roman world. But the members of the Qumran group also cast their thoughts into hellenistic forms, and so did the rabbinic teachers. The commentary, in particular, is probably a form of hellenistic origin since it is the natural expression of the sort of learning which was typical of the hellenistic

³³ Clem. Alex., Strom. 1.150.1f. (= 22, end), quotes from Aristobulus a statement that Greek translations of parts of the Old Testament had been made before Alexander's conquest of the Persians (omitting *kai*, with Stählin).

³⁴ The translations of Aquila, Symmachus and possibly Theodotion were made either in Palestine or by Palestinians. Cf. S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine* (N.Y., 1942), pp. 2 and 17 ff.; H. Swete, *An Introduction to the OT in Greek* (Cambridge, 1914), pp. 31-53. That Theodotion, although originally from Asia Minor, worked in Palestine, is suggested by the tradition that makes him an Ebionite.

³⁵ R. Devreese, *Int. à l'étude des MSS. grecs* (Paris, 1954), p. 130, n. 6.

³⁶ Lieberman, *Greek*; E. Bickerman, "Some Notes on the Transmission of the LXX", *Alexander Marx Jubilee Vol.* (English section, N.Y., 1950), pp. 164-5.

³⁷ *Revue Biblique* (1956), p. 54; Swete, *Introduction*, pp. 53-6. That yet other Greek texts of the Old Testament circulated in Palestine is proved by their appearance in other Judean manuscript finds, cf. D. Barthélémy, "Redécouverte," *Revue Biblique*, 60 (1953), 18ff.

³⁸ For example, the Greek version of Esther, made in Jerusalem in the time of Alex. Jannaeus, E. Bickerman, "Notes on the Greek Book of Esther," *Proc. Amer. Acad. Jewish Res.*, 20. (1951), 108, 114.

³⁹ See the refs. in R. Pfeiffer, *History of NT Times* (N.Y., 1949), under the individual books.

world.⁴⁰ Moreover, Lieberman has shown⁴¹ that the exegetic methods of the rabbis were [484] remarkably similar to those of the Greeks and, in several important instances, their terminology was certainly borrowed from Greek sources.⁴² Similarly, the new form of Jewish law code which appears in the second century A.D. is probably to be explained by connection with the codification of Roman law which was progressing at the same time. A code which grew solely from previous Jewish tradition would presumably have been much closer in form to earlier Jewish codes, notably Deut, which the sectarian documents did imitate.⁴³ Moreover, there are a number of parallels, both of substance and of form, between the Mishnah and the Roman codes.⁴⁴

All the works hitherto mentioned—the later Biblical books, the Greek translations of the Bible, the apocryphal and pseudepigraphic literature and its Greek translations, and the works of particular sects (including the rabbinic)—all these represent one strand of evidence, that which may be called the Biblical tradition, of which further examples are to be found in the Targumim, the earliest Jewish and Samaritan prayers, the Christian and Samaritan pseudepigrapha and such minor works as the Fasting Scroll and the Testament of Solomon, as well as some Jewish works preserved only in non-Jewish sources—the Jewish liturgical elements in the seventh and eighth books of the Apostolic Constitutions,⁴⁵ some of the prayers in the magical [485]

⁴⁰ Schmid-Stählin, *Gesch. d. gr. Lit.*, 6th edn., II. i.256.

⁴¹ *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (N.Y., 1950), pp. 20-82 and especially pp. 58-60 and 69.

⁴² Ibid. *gezerah shawah* is a translation of the Greek *sugkrisis pros ison*; the Hebrew term for numerical symbolism is *gematria* (= *geometria*) and that for interpretation of words as groups of initials is *notarikon*.

⁴³ Notably the Manual of Discipline and the Damaskusschrift. The imitation extends not only to wording and style, but also to structure; e.g. the combination of historical and juridical material in a single document: The Damaskusschrift begins like Deuteronomy with a history of the recent vicissitudes of the true Israel.

⁴⁴ A formal parallel between Abot and Digesta 1.2 is alleged by B. Cohen, "Peculium in Jewish and Roman Law", *Proc. Amer. Acad. Jewish Res.*, 20. (1951), 135ff. Cohen has demonstrated many particular parallels in points of content, and other evidences of Jewish knowledge of Roman law, see his articles in the *Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Vol.*, the *Alex. Marx Jubilee Vol.*, the *Mélanges Isidore Lévy*, etc. More general parallels of form are also to be found. Of these, the preservation of minority opinions is of very great importance and is in striking contrast to the earlier Jewish and Near Eastern tradition.

⁴⁵ W. Bousset, *Eine jüdische Gebetsammlung*, *Nachrichten*, K.G.W. (Göttingen, 1915), pp. 435ff.; E. Goodenough, *By Light, Light* (New Haven, 1935), pp. 306ff. (on which A. Nock's comments in *Gnomon*, 13 (1937), 163, n.1, though even Nock's knowledge is not so complete as to justify his statement that the expression "having attained remission of transgressions by means of the initiation" is "not possible in Hellenistic Judaism," see p. 486). [However, Nock justly observed in a letter to me (Oct. 17, 1958) that since books seven and eight of the Apostolic Constitutions certainly contain a strong dosage of Christianity, we are not entitled to ascribe to Judaism elements which lack any Jewish parallels. Ascription and denial would be equally hazardous].

papyri,⁴⁶ and so on, all of them obviously shot through with hellenistic traits.

In contrast with these, the second great body of the evidence consists of the works written by Jews in the pagan literary tradition—mostly in the tradition of profane literature, though occasionally in the form and perhaps sometimes even in the spirit of pagan religious documents. The chief preserved examples of the profane sort are, of course, the works of Philo and Josephus, of which not the hellenization, but the essential Judaism, requires demonstration.⁴⁷ The chief examples of the religious sort are the Sibylline Oracles. Were these written to impress Jews or pagans? If pagans—they show a Jewish missionary propaganda prepared, like Paul, to adopt pagan forms of expression and make itself all things to all men. If Jews—they show that Jews were so likely to be reading pagan oracles and to be impressed by the authority of a pagan prophetess, that it was worth while for a Jewish preacher to disguise himself as a pagan prophetess in order to reach his fellow Jews.

A third great body of evidence is that composed of references to Jews and reminiscences of Jewish works in non-Jewish authors. Beside the great number of references (and the very few literary reminiscences) scattered through pagan literature, this class includes the vast bulk of Christian and early Moslem [486] material, within which special attention is required by the series of works *adversus Iudaeos*, the works of the heresiologists, the references in Roman legal material, the liturgical reminiscences, and other equally diverse and

⁴⁶ On which E. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* (New York, 1953ff.) (Bollingen Series, 37), ii. 153ff. and A. Nock's comments, *Gnomon*, 27 (1955), 558ff. An interesting point is raised by Nock's remarks (p. 570) on a charm which he thinks cannot be Jewish, because it is part of a technique to obtain Eros as a familiar spirit. He admits, however, that "it might be the work of a Jew who had wholly or partly abandoned tradition." Now it is not to be supposed that most Jewish magicians limited their supernatural associations to Yahweh, nor that, when they had resort to lesser powers, they thought themselves, or were thought, to abandon Judaism. If a Jew could be supposed to invoke Beelzebub, he could be supposed to invoke Eros. Just what is meant by abandoning tradition? Eros appears on the carved synagogues of Palestine and the Jewish catacombs of Rome; cf. Clementine Homilies, 5.21. [On this Nock commented that even if the spell was composed by a Jew, it still could not be used as evidence for a mystery supposedly performed in "regular" synagogues. What, if anything, beside the daily prayers, went on in "regular" synagogues—whatever they were—is very hard to tell, but as to Jewish magicians invoking pagan deities, the *Sefer Harazim* now recovered from Geniza fragments by Prof. Margalioth contains an invocation of Helios in Greek transliterated into Hebrew, undoubtedly written by a Jew who was steeped in the Old Testament and a master of the Hebrew style of his times (probably 4th c. A.D.).]

⁴⁷ Such a demonstration has been given in Philo's case by H. Wolfson, *Philo* (Cambridge, 1947), 2 vols. For Josephus' loyalty to Judaism see my article "Palestinian Judaism in the First Century" (see above chapter nine).

specialized bodies of data.⁴⁸ Of all these, the works of the heresiologists and the early disputations against the Jews are the most informative (though perhaps the least reliable). They show a Judaism difficult to reconcile with the traditional picture of orthodoxy and strikingly marked by Greco-Roman influences.⁴⁹

Finally there is the archaeological material, which falls into two great groups: one which is properly literary (and can be classed as archaeological only by the accident of its finding)—the papyri, the Dead Sea documents and the like; another which is properly archaeological, in the sense that any writing on the objects is subordinate to the objects themselves, as explanations of their functions or the like. Here belong both individual objects—gems, coins, glassware, pottery, ossuaries, sarcophagi and so on—and the complexes of data yielded by excavations, which have brought to light a great number of structures—tombs, catacombs, synagogues, forts, palaces—and even whole settlements (Qumran) and towns (Gezer, Samaria, Sepphoris). The bulk of this properly archaeological material is composed of objects completely hellenistic in form.

Of these four bodies of evidence—the works of the Biblical tradition, the Jewish literature of pagan style, the testimonia concerning Jews, and the archaeological material—no one is complete by itself. Each must be constantly supplemented by reference to all the others. And each carries with it a reminder that the preserved material—even when accessible—represents [487] only a small part of what once existed. By their very existence, they demonstrate how much has been lost; by the variety of the material they preserve, they prove the extent of our ignorance and tacitly warn of the danger of supposing that what is not to be found in them was never to be found at all.

This supposition would be dangerous in any field of ancient studies, but it is especially dangerous in the study of Judaism, because Jewish material has come down to us heavily censored. The censorship has been double—an external censorship by Christian authorities and a domestic censorship by Jews. (The domestic censorship we have seen above, at work in Exodus Rabbah, in the material collected by

⁴⁸ The best single survey of this literature is still that in J. Juster *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain* (Paris, 1914), i.31-179. For the earlier classical literature see E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüd. Volkes*, 3/4 edn. (Leipzig, 1901), i.41-74 and 106-11.

⁴⁹ The Jew Trypho in Justin's *Dialogue* begins a philosophical dispute in which he hears without protest that the Pharisees are a *hairesis* (like the Sadducees, Genistoi, Meristoi, Galileans, Hellenianoi and Baptists) whose members no one speaking accurately would call Jews (80.4), and that the Jews maintain God does not accept sacrifices made in Jerusalem, but only prayers offered in the diaspora (117.2). Justin was a native Palestinian. The Judaism described by Epiphanius—another Palestinian—is even more surprising.

Hoffmann as Midrash Tannaïm, and in the Targum on Psalms.) What material we have, is only such as got through this double sieve.⁵⁰ Yet even this preserved material, as we have seen, testifies *consistently* to the hellenization of ancient Judaism. What, then, would have been the testimony of the material which has disappeared? We cannot be sure.

However, it is a suggestive fact that the objections in the third century to books of haggadah were much more violent than anything now preserved in such books would seem to excuse. Rabbi Joshua b. Levi said that those who wrote such books, or who read them, would have no share in the world to come.⁵¹ R. Hiyya bar 'Abba said their hands should be cut off.⁵² R. Ze'ira calls their works 'books of magic'.⁵³ What can have justified such expressions? Perhaps the many parallels which still exist between haggadic statements and expressions in the magical papyri⁵⁴ are, like the shards on a tell, mere scattered indications of what has been destroyed.

III. The Archaeological Evidence and the Work of Goodenough

With these possibilities in mind, let us turn to the work of E. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*.⁵⁵

As to the usefulness of the work there is, of course, no [488] question. Goodenough has performed an invaluable service by bringing together a great mass of the archaeological evidence. From now on his first three volumes, in particular, are an indispensable introduction to the study of the physical remains of Greco-Roman Judaism (and no serious study of the religion can safely neglect its physical remains).

As to the significance of these remains, Goodenough finds that most of the religious Jews in the Greco-Roman world (which for him includes, as it did in fact, Palestine) were primarily concerned about salvation, by which they meant spiritual peace in this life and the assurance of happiness hereafter.⁵⁶ To describe this salvation they certainly used the language of the mystery religions and to achieve it, he thinks, they may have adopted some of the mystery rites,

⁵⁰ What has disappeared in the relatively short period since the Middle Ages is suggested by S. Lieberman's book *Sheqi'in* (Jerusalem, 1939).

⁵¹ J. Shabbat, 16.1 (15c).

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ J. Ma'aser, 3.10 (51a).

⁵⁴ For examples see the last section of this essay.

⁵⁵ New York, 1953ff. (Bollingen Series, 37).

⁵⁶ Goodenough could have supported this opinion with a number of passages from rabbinic literature, for instance, Abodah Zarah 19b: "R. Alexandri (went about) crying, 'Who wants life? Who wants life?' All the world came flocking to him, saying to him, 'Give us life!' He said to them" (Ps 34:13ff.). R. Alexandri here begins like a typical Greek street-corner philosopher.

particularly those involving a cup of wine which brought some special blessing. They gave a mystic interpretation to the Sabbath and the festivals and called those who agreed with them 'initiates', as contrasted with those who did not. That some Jews went further than this, Goodenough says, is possible, but unsubstantiated. Moreover, even those who went this far did not necessarily abandon the Law. Most Jews, like Philo, must have continued to observe the commandments as they knew them from Scripture and from their local traditions. They did so because of their loyalty to the group, because they thought these commandments valuable as spiritual discipline, and because they attributed to them allegorical meanings. It was this allegorizing and mystical Judaism which they expressed in the symbols they put on religious objects. Outside Palestine such expression was generally free to use animal and human forms; inside Palestine it was limited to vegetable and geometrical symbols by the Pharisees, who were able to enforce this limitation from the rise of the Maccabees to the destruction of the Temple, and whose rabbinic successors continued to exert great influence until the fall of Bar Koseba. After 135, however, the successors of the [489] Pharisees were reduced to an isolated clique and the popular mystical religion had its hands free in the decoration of the synagogues of Galilee and the catacombs of Beth Shearim as well as of those in Rome and North Africa. Only with the Middle Ages did the followers of the rabbinic tradition, from their base in Babylonia, succeed in converting most Jews of the Mediterranean basin to the Judaism of the Talmud. Thus Goodenough.

It is inevitable that so comprehensive a theory should lay itself open to attack from many sides. That the Pharisees, even during the short periods when they were certainly in power, could have controlled the decorative art of the whole country seems impossible. That after the fall of Bether the rabbis were reduced to an unimportant clique is contradicted by the implications of a vast number of stories in rabbinic literature and by the provisions of Roman law, which from the time of Constantine, at least, granted the Jewish Patriarch the same rank as the foremost Christian clerics and empowered him to send out representatives to "exact" tribute from the synagogues.⁵⁷ Along with the theory of the isolation of the rabbis goes a false notion of rabbinic Judaism as almost free of Hellenization. This often results in the supposition that Hellenistic material must be contrary, or at least alien, to rabbinic influence.

In considering the work as a whole, however, it seems less important to justify these criticisms in detail than to ask how far, if

⁵⁷ Codex Theod. 16.8.13-17.

justified, they would affect the theory. For the theory is not a unit. The role assigned to the Pharisees, for instance, is unnecessary to the interpretation of the symbols. The Pharisees and their successors, though undoubtedly important, were only one branch of the religion; therefore Goodenough may be right in refusing to force the interpretation of the archaeological material to accord with rabbinic dicta. The final truth or falsity of the theory as a whole, therefore, can be determined only by careful reconsideration of all the evidence. It is a great merit of the work to have facilitated such reconsideration, not only by collection of the archaeological material, but also by emphasis on important facts which that material, when collected, and only when collected, reveals. [490]

The first of these facts—which we should never have expected even from the Greco-Roman literary remains—is the wide extent of iconic decoration from the second century on. Of course, there were some references to iconic decoration in the literature: even Herod Agrippa I, the friend of the Pharisees, had in his palace at Caesarea statues of his daughters.⁵⁸ But hitherto such details could be treated as exceptional. Now that the material has been collected it appears that decoration with human figures was customary even in Jewish religious buildings. The second and third century catacombs of Rome show Victory crowning a youth, Fortuna pouring a libation, cupids, adolescent erotes, and so on.⁵⁹ A similar catacomb is reported near Carthage.⁶⁰ The second or third century synagogue of Capernaum had over its main door an eagle, carved in high relief. Over the eagle was a frieze of six naked erotes, carrying garlands. Inside was not only a frieze containing human, animal and mythological figures, but also a pair of free-standing statues of lions, probably in front of the Torah shrine.⁶¹ The synagogue of Chorazin, of about the same date, had similar statues and a frieze showing vintage scenes of the sort traditionally associated with the cult of Dionysus.⁶² Remains of some dozen other synagogues scattered about Palestine show traces of similar carved decoration.⁶³ There are human figures in high relief in the second-to-fourth century catacombs of Beth Shearim.⁶⁴ From the same period the synagogue of Dura shows a full interior decoration of frescoes representing Biblical scenes.⁶⁵ From the fourth and fifth century synagogues of Palestine we have half a dozen mosaic floors,

⁵⁸ *Antiquities*, 19.357.

⁵⁹ Goodenough, ii.4-44.

⁶⁰ *Id.* 2.63-8.

⁶¹ *Id.* 1.181-92.

⁶² *Id.* 1.193-9.

⁶³ *Id.* 1.199-225.

⁶⁴ *Id.* 1.89-102.

⁶⁵ *Id.* 1.227-32.

and there is reason to believe that in about half of them the central panel was occupied by a picture which, if not found in a synagogue, would be recognized as a representation of the sun god driving his chariot.⁶⁶

So long as these remains were studied one group at a time, they might be explained as heretical. This is now impossible. On the other hand, it is dangerous to explain them as orthodox first, because the meaning of orthodoxy is uncertain for this [491] period, second, because the carved decoration of the Galilean synagogues shows deliberate mutilation: human and animal figures have been chipped away carefully, so as to leave the rest of the carving undamaged.⁶⁷ Similarly, the eyes of some figures in the Dura synagogue have been gouged out, but the rest of the faces left unmarked.⁶⁸ Again, a sarcophagus in Beth Shearim was broken up in ancient times, probably because it showed Leda and the swan and other carved figures.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, the date of the mutilations in the carved synagogues is a matter of dispute. Those who maintain that carved decoration was always permitted by orthodox Judaism can blame the destruction on the Moslems. But if these synagogues housed orthodox Judaism, then it must have been somewhat different than it is pictured by the rabbinic literature.⁷⁰ This is true even of Dura, where the decoration looks most nearly orthodox. At Dura, in the south doorpost hole, under the plaster, was a small, irregular cavity, containing the bones of one human middle finger and the end bone of another; in the sockets of the smaller door were found several human teeth.⁷¹ If the finger bones had sufficient flesh attached to them when they were placed there they would have rendered everyone in the building unclean.⁷² This, however, can scarcely have been the object of the person who put them there—if we can judge by rabbinic law, for it held such uncleanness to be general in gentile lands, where graves are not marked and there is no assurance that a man may not at any moment walk above one.⁷³ Therefore this is probably no mere question [492] of

⁶⁶ Id. 1.239-62.

⁶⁷ Goodenough, 1.184-9; 193-6; 201-4; 206; 208.

⁶⁸ Goodenough, in a note to me, compares Rosh Hashshana 24b, where to "put out the eye" of a figure on a ring means to disfigure it so that it will no longer occasion the suspicion that it is an object of reverence.

⁶⁹ Id. 1.138.

⁷⁰ For the upshot of the rabbinic evidence see B. Cohen, "Art in Jewish Law", *Judaism* 3 (1954), 165ff.

⁷¹ Goodenough, i.228.

⁷² 'Oholot, 2.1.

⁷³ 'Oholot, 18.6. Further, even rabbinic tradition contains some elements which show an amazing indifference to this consideration, e.g. the story that Solomon brought the coffin of David into the Temple (Pesiq. Rab. 2, ed. Friedmann 6b, & parallels). Instead

uncleanness: Goodenough is probably right in saying that these bones were put in the building deliberately, by the builders, in some sort of "foundation ritual."

This, therefore, is the first problem which Goodenough's work reveals: On the one hand, rabbinic literature shows us the rabbis exercising a wide influence, and its evidence is confirmed by that of Roman law. On the other hand, the preserved archaeological material shows us details which look very different from what the rabbinic literature would lead us to expect. How can these two bodies of evidence be reconciled? Elements of the eventual reconciliation (if any) may be suggested by what has been said above: A great deal of rabbinic literature has not been preserved; the great bulk of non-rabbinic Jewish literature has been lost; most of the written material which *has* come down to us is preserved in late manuscripts which have passed through a double censorship. We have seen above several cases where such censorship deleted from rabbinic material references to the human form as an image of God. Compare the removal of human and animal forms from the synagogues.

Another point made clear only by Goodenough's work is the chronological sequence and change in the styles of decoration. Roughly speaking, the most important datable material falls into three great groups. First is the Palestinian material of the first centuries B.C. and A.D.; next come the great catacombs both in Palestine and in the Diaspora, and the carved synagogues in Palestine, which are typical of the second and third centuries A.D. (contemporary with these is Dura, which is the first example of a transitional group of synagogues); finally come the synagogues with extensive mosaics, principally, but not exclusively, in Palestine and mostly in the fourth and fifth centuries.⁷⁴

The first group—the Palestinian material of the first centuries B.C. and A.D.—is characterized by the almost total absence of animal and human figures. It comes principally from the big tombs around Jerusalem, from ossuaries and lamps found mostly in tombs, and from the Maccabean coins. Since the [493] ossuaries and elaborate tombs could be afforded only by the rich and the coins show the choice of government officials, this material probably represents *principally* the taste of the Sadducees and the Herodians. This may partly account for the predominance—especially in the tombs—of vegetable decoration

of polluting it, this produced the descent of the heavenly fire. Can this story, or the practice of Dura, have been influenced by the Christian use of the remains of martyrs?

⁷⁴ While the magical gems with *Iao*, *Sabaoth* and the like cannot be dated certainly, most of them come from the third to the fifth century A.D. and from the eastern half of the Roman Empire, especially Syria and Egypt.

which is reminiscent of contemporary Roman style.⁷⁵ Similar Roman influence has been remarked in the Herodian coin types⁷⁶ and in the *opus reticulatum* of the Herodian palace at Jericho, for which Italian architects and builders were imported.⁷⁷ Roman or otherwise, there is no question that vegetable and geometric decoration makes up almost all the Jewish art of this period, and that the most significant thing about this art would seem to be its *apparent* (which here does not mean *certain*) lack of significance.

Yet even some of the elements of this style of decoration seem to have had, sometimes at least, some symbolic significance, as signs of good luck or of a hope for better things either in this world or hereafter. Goodenough seems justified when he argues that some such significance must have been attached sometimes to the representation of a wine-jar or cup, sometimes with a vine growing out of it. As he points out, jar and vine together were found on an amulet placed between the thighs of a female figure in an undisturbed Jewish grave of the late Roman period in [494] Gezer, and a design on an amulet so used is presumably significant.⁷⁸ There are also one or two ossuaries on which the sort of chalice from which the vine customarily grows has been added, more or less inexpertly, to the ready-made decoration.⁷⁹ Such deliberate addition does look meaningful. Another such symbol may have been the lily, since Goodenough has shown that lilies also were added inexpertly to ossuaries⁸⁰ and we shall meet them presently in another connection. Apart from these, however, the most striking characteristic of the art of this period is its apparent insignificance.

⁷⁵ Goodenough, 3, nos. 22-32. The commonest element is an architrave decorated with triglyphs and with rosettes, wreaths, bull's-eyes, or other round objects in the metopes (nos. 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32). This appears also in Pompei: H. Beyen, *Die Pompejanische Wanddekoration* (Haag, 1938), I, Tafeln, nos. 82, 83; L. Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis* (Leipzig, n.d. (1929)), figs. 60, 77, 79. In Goodenough, 3.26 the metopes are left blank, as they are, e.g. in Curtius, fig. 43. The wreath and rosette of the lower element of Goodenough 3.31 are strikingly similar to those of the *ara pacis*, Curtius, fig. 80, cf. L. Curtius, *Das Antike Rom* (Vienna, n.d. (1944)), no. 157. The same type of wreath appears in Pompei, Beyen 6a-c, 77, 87. The use of two vines growing from a group of three acanthus leaves, which appears in Goodenough 3.22 and 23, also appears on the *ara pacis*, Curtius, *Antike Rom*, nos. 154, 155, 158. The pyramid of Goodenough 3.27 recalls, of course, the pyramid of Cestius (a Neopythagorean?), Curtius, A.R., no. 177; the concave cone of 3.28 appears in Pompei: Beyen nos. 56-8=Curtius, W.P., figs. 70, 74. Thus almost all the motifs found in these monuments appear in contemporary Roman art.

⁷⁶ J. Meyshan, "The Coinage of Agrippa the First," *Israel Explor. J.*, 4 (1954), 186ff.

⁷⁷ J. Kelso and D. Baramki, *Excavations at NT Jericho* (New Haven, 1955) (Annual ASOR, 29-30), 5b and 10a-11a.

⁷⁸ Id. 1.166 [A. D. Nock suggests that the jar was to protect against thirst in the hereafter (letter of October 17, 1958).]

⁷⁹ Id. 3.155 and perhaps 157.

⁸⁰ Id. 3.192 and perhaps 175.

This makes more important the fact established by Goodenough, that the next period—chiefly the second and third centuries A.D.—shows the sudden and widespread appearance of forms much more likely to be symbolic. These forms, as Goodenough remarks, are of two classes: first come those drawn from contemporary pagan art—eagles and other birds, erotes, victories, mythological figures like sirens and centaurs, lions and so on, which appear on both the Roman catacombs and sarcophagi and the carved synagogues of Galilee. These are the most puzzling part of the whole body of material. It is difficult to conceive of a form of ancient Judaism which would symbolize some point of its belief or practice by a carved representation of a band of erotes, but it is equally difficult to conceive of a Jewish congregation of which the leaders, choosing decorations for their synagogue, with all the range of conventional Greco-Roman decoration to choose from, should choose by mere aesthetic preference to put six naked, adolescent erotes over the main entrance. In more abstract terms; if the objects are insignificant it is very difficult to explain why they were chosen, but if they are not insignificant, what can they possibly signify?

Here the discussion is complicated by the fact that these objects are among those customarily represented by classical art, and their significance in classical art is also a matter of dispute.⁸¹ [495] There is agreement that they were interpreted philosophically by the Pythagoreans and Stoics and by some small religious groups of lower social standing.⁸² It is agreed, too, that on some monuments, at least, these common objects are used as symbols of the philosophical or religious interpretations attached to them.⁸³ On the other hand, it has been tacitly assumed that they are used on many other monuments as pure decoration or with exclusively secular meanings. This assumption is not beyond question. Every action in the ancient world had its appropriate deity—as the word *venery* still testifies⁸⁴—and it is not to be taken for granted that the figures in the wall decorations of Pompei,

⁸¹ See especially F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains* (Paris, 1942) (H.-C. de l'Etat fr. en Syrie et au Liban, *Bibl. Arch. et Hist.*), p. 35 and A. Nock, "Sarcophagi and Symbolism", *AJA*, 50 (1946), 140ff., summarized in his review of Cumont, *JRS*, 38 (1948), 154ff. Further, C. Hanfmann, *The Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks* (Cambridge, 1951), 2 vols.; Nock's review of Goodenough, in *Gnomon* 27 (1955), 558ff., and the literature cited in these works.

⁸² Nock, *AJA*, 50.169, finds evidence for lower class resort to allegorization in Hippolytus' report of the Naasenes, *Philosophumena*, 5.1ff.

⁸³ E.g. in the underground basilica in the Porta Maggiore, Nock, *AJA*, 50.168; cf. M.-J. Lagrange, review of J. Carcopino, *La basilique pythagoricienne* (Paris 1926), in *RB*, 36 (1927), 599ff.

⁸⁴ E.g. *kai ta Demetros kai ta Aphrodites* = "both eating and sexual gratification," Diog. Laert. 6.69; cf. the remarks of R. Marcus, "Jewish and Greek Elements in the LXX," *L. Ginzberg Jubilee Volume* (English Section, New York, 1945), pp. 232-3.

for instance, merely because they were not worshipped, were therefore wholly without religious significance.⁸⁵

However, if it be granted that such a thing as wholly secular art did exist in the ancient world, and if many of the apparently Dionysiac remains be described as secular, it will follow that secular and religious art often represented the same objects in the same way. Therefore the connotations—as opposed to the significance—of the one can scarcely have been absent from the other. As Cumont says with reference to Dionysiac scenes, “it would be absurd to suppose” that they could have been used without knowledge of their common mythological significance.⁸⁶ [496] Therefore any estimate of the significance of such motifs when they appear in Jewish material must explain them either by the supposition of a very tolerant, not to say syncretistic, Judaism, or by a significance sufficiently important to lead the users to overlook these inevitable pagan connotations.

For such an explanation it is not enough merely to find some excuse which might account for such objects not having been prohibited. They were not put in synagogues merely because they were not prohibited. Any number of other objects were not prohibited, but were not represented, either. It is necessary to account, first, for the representation of these particular objects, and second, for their representation in spite of the pagan connotations they must have carried. The supposition that some symbolic meaning was attached to them would satisfy these requirements and is not, *per se*, impossible, since symbolic meaning was admittedly attributed to them by some groups in the pagan world. That some Palestinian and Roman Jews

⁸⁵ Contrast Nock, *Gnomon*, 27.566. In speaking of public buildings it must be remembered that the ancient state dealt with the gods as well as with men, and since the gods were concerned in all acts of life, all its functions were, to an extent, religious.

⁸⁶ *Recherches*, p. 486, cf. Nock, *Gnomon*, 27.564. The supposition would be particularly unlikely for synagogues in the basin of the Sea of Galilee, since the largest town in the basin, Scythopolis, was the legendary site of the tomb of Dionysus' nurse, Nyssa (from whom it was said to take its alternative name) and was a centre of his cult (C. Hill, “Some Palestinian Cults,” *Proc. Brit. Acad.* (1911-12), pp. 411ff.). Nock's statement that “only to Gentiles did the golden vine of the Temple suggest Dionysus” (my italics) is unsupported and can hardly be true, given the earlier history of the association of the cult of Yahweh with that of Dionysus-Sabazios (see the refs. collected by S. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine* (London, 1930) (Schweich Lectures, 1925), pp. 194f.; H. Gressmann, *Die Aufgaben der Wissenschaft des nachbiblischen Jdms.* (Giessen, 1925), pp. 16ff. and M. Nilsson, *Gesch. der gr. Religion* (Munich, 1941-50), ii.636f.). The mask of Silenus which accompanies the enthroned god on the YHD coin of about 350 B.C. (Goodenough 3.670) can hardly be explained as a reference to the theatre. The cult of Dionysus had evidently made its way into Palestine by that time, but it is almost incredible that the Greek theatre should have followed it so soon. Hanfmann's suggestion, *Sarcophagus* 1.195, that the vintage scenes on Jewish sarcophagi may be interpreted as seasonal rather than Dionysiac, neglects the fact that the vintagers are putti, and rests on what is probably a false antithesis, made possible by the separation of two connotations of vintage normally conjoined in ancient thought.

followed the example of these groups in allegorizing statues and pictures, as some Alexandrian Jews did in allegorizing laws and legends, is not unlikely.

Its likelihood is increased by the fact that the other group of forms which appears in this same Jewish art of the second and third centuries is made up of Jewish objects which are almost [497] certainly symbolic⁸⁷—the menorah, the lulab, the ethrog, the shofar and the Torah shrine. It is one of Goodenough's major contributions to have pointed out⁸⁸ that these are all second century introductions, either extremely rare or entirely absent in the earlier periods. Some are of obvious significance. It can hardly be doubted, for instance, that the Torah shrine means the Law—however the Law may have been interpreted—and that when it is put in the centre or at the top of a decorated area it means that the Torah is the centre or the highest thing of life. But if this be granted it should follow that an equal significance is to be attached to the fact that in the diaspora the Torah shrine is comparatively rare. Outside Palestine the menorah is much more frequent and it is usually the menorah which is the centre of decorated areas. There is even one instance, in the catacomb of Torlonia, where the menorah is in the centre and the Torah is off to one side.⁸⁹ Another interesting fact is that on amulets there are many menorahs⁹⁰ but, so far as I remember, no Torah shrines.

IV. The Menorah and the Tree

What, then, did the menorah mean? Goodenough has pointed out an inscription under a menorah⁹¹ which has been restored as reading "Image of the God who sees." But the restoration is not perfectly certain.

Some evidence as to the meaning of the menorah and, especially, as to why it was appropriate for graves, is to be found in Sifre Debarim 10:⁹² "R. Simon b. Johai says, 'The faces of the righteous in the world to come appear as seven joys: as the sun [498] and as the moon, as the firmament, as the stars and as the lightnings and as lilies and as the

⁸⁷ This argument is applied by Hanfmann, *Sarcophagus*, 194, to the interpretation of the sun and the seasons in the mosaics on the synagogue floors. He supposes that, because of their Roman sources, it is possible that these mosaics "may be no more than calendars," but goes on to observe that "since other mosaics in these synagogues show objects of cult, an allegorical interpretation seems more likely."

⁸⁸ 1.86; 4.67f.

⁸⁹ 3.810. Cf. the gold disk, 3.1034, where the lulab looks so much like a Torah scroll as to make its identity doubtful. (I cannot see the resemblance to 1033 referred to by Goodenough 2.222.)

⁹⁰ Goodenough. 3.1009-34.

⁹¹ J.-B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum* (Vatican City, 1936-52), i.696.

⁹² On Deut 1:10, ed. Finkelstein, p. 18.

menorah of the Temple. Whence do we learn, "as the sun and as the moon"? Because it is said, "Beautiful as the moon, clear as the sun."⁹³ Whence, "as the firmament"? Because it is said, "And those who are wise shall shine as the glory of the firmament."⁹⁴ Whence, "as the stars"? Because it is said, "And those who turn many to righteousness shall be as the stars."⁹⁵ Whence, "as the lightnings"? Because it is said, "They shall dart as the lightnings."⁹⁶ Whence, "as lilies"? Because it is said, "For him who triumphs together with lilies."⁹⁷ Whence, as the menorah of the Temple"? Because it is said, "And there are two olive trees beside it, one on the right of the bowl and the other on its left.""⁹⁸

Now this is clearly an example of what was discussed above of a preacher getting his ideas from the surrounding world and then hunting out verses from the Bible to justify them. R. Simon has from somewhere—certainly not from the Old Testament, but probably from the Greco-Roman world around him⁹⁹—the notion that there are to be seven classes of saints in the world to come. This notion was widely accepted in Judaism¹⁰⁰ and R. Simon wished to find verses of Scripture to justify it. For this purpose he was apparently able to draw on a number of earlier interpretations which treated single verses or groups of verses as descriptions of the righteous in the world to come. The first of these interpretations used a verse from the Song of Songs, which, [499] in typical Hellenistic fashion, it interpreted allegorically. There it found the beloved compared to the sun and the moon, and it applied these comparisons to the righteous in the world to come. Next there was a good, strong proof text. Daniel (a work of the Hellenistic period) actually does contain the idea that the good will hereafter shine as stars and share the glory of the heaven—another notion which

⁹³ Cant 6:10.

⁹⁴ Dan 12:3.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Nahum. 2:5.

⁹⁷ Ps 45:1.

⁹⁸ Zech 4:3.

⁹⁹ Cumont, *Recherches*, p. 383, n. 4, thinks this notion comes from that of ascent through the seven planetary spheres, originally 'chaldean', then hellenized and diffused throughout the Roman Empire.

¹⁰⁰ E.g. in Sifre Deb. 10 it is evidenced by two distinct sayings. It is found beside the passage cited above, in Sifre Deb. 47 on Deut 11:21 (ed. Finkelstein p. 105); in Midrash Tanna'im on the same verses of Deut. (ed. Hoffmann pp. 6 and 40); in J. Hagigah, 2.1 (77a); Wayyiqra Rabba, 30.2; Midrash Tehillim on Pss 11 (sec. 6) and 16 (sec. 12) (ed. Buber, fols. 51a and 62b); Pesiqta de Rab Kahana 28 on Lev 23:40 (ed. Buber, fols. 179b f.); and Yalqut Shim'oni 2.59 on Judges 5:31, and 2.656 on Ps 11:7. In Judaism outside rabbinic literature the idea appears in 4 Ezra (= 2 Esdras) vii.91ff., where it has probably been superimposed on an earlier saying listing the seven joys of the saints—a saying which also has rabbinic parallels, some of them occurring in connection with the passages cited above (notably as interpretations of Ps 16:1).

pretty certainly did not come from ancient Israelite belief and which was very common in the Hellenistic world.¹⁰¹ So R. Simon used Dan 12:3 for two more classes. Next there was a verse in Nahum which said war chariots glitter like lightnings when rushing through the streets of a city. Any indefinite reference to war could be understood as referring to the war of the Messiah. Therefore someone took the comparison to lightnings as a description of the righteous, and R. Simon included it in his list. Next there was a Psalm which could be understood to refer to the Messiah and which had at the head of it three obscure words which could be forced to mean, "to him who triumphs together with lilies." So the lilies could be taken to be the companions of the Messiah. Nobody would ever have thought of this meaning unless the lily had already become a symbol for the saints in the future life or the immortal soul or the resurrection or something of the sort. But we have seen from Goodenough that people in the century before R. Simon were already adding lilies to the decorations of their ossuaries. Further, a passage in the Mishnah¹⁰² suggests that lilies were customarily planted on graves, and the Gospels use them as an example of the saints in this present life.¹⁰³ So it is not unreasonable to believe that the lily had already acquired some such meaning. Another reason for thinking it had, is that R. Simon felt compelled to work it into his list, where it is patently out of place in a series of luminaries. [500]

Finally we come to the menorah. Zechariah saw a menorah standing between two olive trees. He asked what this meant and the angel who was with him told him that the seven lamps of the menorah are the seven eyes of the Lord, and the two olive trees are the anointed who stand by the Lord.¹⁰⁴ That the seven lamps of the menorah are the seven eyes of the Lord—i.e. the seven planets (?)¹⁰⁵—

¹⁰¹ For the frequency of the belief in astral immortality, F. Cumont, *Lux Perpetua*, Paris, 1949, chapter 3. Many rabbinic passages imply the notion; a particularly explicit development of it is in Sifre Deb. 47 on Deut 11:21 which, *inter alia*, attributes to R. Akiba the (gnostic?) belief that there are sixty heavens, explains the differences in glory of the saints by reference to the differences in glory of the stars (so 1 Cor 15:4), and compares (or identifies?) the saints' rule of the world with that of the constellations.

¹⁰² M. Tohorot 3.7.

¹⁰³ Luke 12:27f. and parallel.

¹⁰⁴ Zech 4:1-14.

¹⁰⁵ The identification of the seven lights with the seven planets is suggested by Zechariah's statement that they "run back and forth over the whole earth" (4:10) and is made by ancient tradition (see below) and by many modern commentators (see T. Robinson and F. Horst, *Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten* (Tübingen 1954), p. 231). Professor A. Sachs, in conversation with me, has expressed doubt that the seven planets were known in Judea as an astronomical class at the time of Zechariah (520-518 B.C.). It may be that for Zechariah the seven eyes of Jahweh were seven angels conceived as analogous to the Persian administrative officials, "the eyes of the King" who traveled all over the empire and reported to the central government (CAH. 4.197-8). However, by

is echoed by the magical papyri, where the sun and moon are the eyes of Agathos Daimon = Abraarm (sic) = Iao,¹⁰⁶ and explains and confirms the reading on the inscription noticed by Goodenough, "Image of the God who sees."¹⁰⁷

Further, the notion that the menorah is a symbol of God appears in other material. Josephus in his tract against Apion¹⁰⁸ tells a story circulated, but not invented, by the latter, to the effect that the Temple had been robbed by an Idumean who played on the Jews' credulity. He persuaded them that an epiphany of Apollo was to take place there. So persuaded, they remained at a reverent distance, while he played the part of the present deity by wearing a wooden device on which he had fixed three rows of lights, so that they seemed, to those at a distance, like stars moving upon the earth. Presumably Josephus is right in describing the story as a malicious fiction. But presumably, also, the story reflects what it was thought the Jews would expect to see if an epiphany took place. Evidently some Jews shared this opinion, since one carved such a deity on the walls of a catacomb in Beth Shearim¹⁰⁹—a figure, in high relief, of a man [501] wearing a menorah on his head. The thought of the man who carved this image was probably expressed by a prayer found in two Coptic magical papyri: "Jao Sabaoth be on my head, Adonai Eloï in my heart, that they lend me brilliance" and the carving has iconographic analogues among the drawings in the magical papyri.¹¹⁰ Accordingly it is not

the time of Philo and Josephus the astral interpretation was evidently standard, as their independent use of it argues. For the rabbinic use of it, L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1909-38), 7 vols., vi.65f., n. 339.

¹⁰⁶ *PGM*, ii.122.

¹⁰⁷ Of course a reference also to Gen 16:13f.

¹⁰⁸ 2.112ff.

¹⁰⁹ Goodenough, 3.56.

¹¹⁰ A. Kropp, *Ausgewählte Koptische Zaubertexte* (hereafter = *AKZ*) (Brussels 1930-1), 3 vols, ii.91 (no. 28), cf. ii.139 (no. 40). Cf. the specification in Sifre Zutta 8.2 that the lighting of the lamps of the menorah was to be *kemin 'atarah*, "like a wreath" or "crown"—this Horovitz, ad loc. could not explain. Goodenough, 1.92 follows Abi-Yonah in thinking the carving an example of a "series of human figures supporting the symbols of their religion". Even if Abi-Yonah's figures represent Christians rather than Christ, it would remain to be determined whether they were human in more than form. The carving at Bet Shearim is at least equally close to some drawings of deities in magical papyri, e.g. a figure which represents an epiphany of Bes-Helios-Iao-Sabaoth-Adonai, B.M. Pap. 122, published in *PGM*, ii. 48ff. (no. 8, lines 65-110) and Pl. 1, Fig. 6. (Note the similarity of the costumes. In the papyrus the headdress may, at the time of drawing, have been understood as a representation of lights, but was actually a simplification of the ancient "hemhem" crown, see C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets* (Ann Arbor, 1950) (University of Michigan Humanistic Series, 49), 250. Bonner's reproductions nos. 217-19 show it worn by Harpocrates whom we shall meet again, below, as an image of Iao.) See also the figure represented in *Papyri Osloenses* I, ed. S. Eitrem (Oslo, 1925), p. 20 (badly reproduced in *PGM* ii.177 (no. 39)). The growths from the head might be seven in number and might represent the menorah, the

surprising to find in Philo that the menorah is the symbol of “heaven” and its lights, of the planets¹¹¹; in Clement of Alexandria¹¹² that the lights symbolize the seven planets and the menorah itself is “the sign of Christ.” In the Tanhuma the menorah is equated with the Lord leading Israel as a pillar of fire.¹¹³ In Midrash Tadshe its light is said to symbolize that of the Shekinah.¹¹⁴ In Pesiqta Rabbati¹¹⁵ the menorah is taken as a symbol of Israel and the bowl “on its head”¹¹⁶ as God. This recalls the Apocalypse¹¹⁷ where the seven golden lamps are the seven churches, and Christ is in the midst [502] of them, but compare also Chrysostom’s statement that “as the lamp has the light on its head, so also the cross had blazing on its head the sun of righteousness.”¹¹⁸

Evidently the menorah may be a symbol of God,¹¹⁹ or of the macrocosm, or of the microcosm, the individual saint. This is what we should expect in a theology influenced both by the Platonic notion of the cosmos, especially the celestial spheres, as an image of God,¹²⁰ and by the Biblical notion—extended under Greco-Roman influence—of man as God’s likeness. Accordingly, it is well within the limits of the evidence to see in the belief that the just were to become like the menorah a particular example of the belief that they were to become like God. Beholding his glory, as one Jew said, they were to be “changed into that same image, from glory into glory.”¹²¹

But here we have a difficulty. R. Simon says the just will be like the menorah, but he quotes as proof text the verse about the olive trees

tree of life, or the feather crown of Bes (F. Lexa, *La Magie dans l'Égypte antique* (Paris, 1925), 3, Pl. 21, Fig. 28), but they look most like “the seedfield head of Agathos Daimon.” Agathos Daimon in the magical papyri is frequently identified or associated with Iao. The text here is a love charm of a type in which Iao is often the deity invoked (more often, I believe, than Bes). It contains nothing which could not have been written by a Jew.

¹¹¹ Moses 2.102-3.

¹¹² Stromata 5.6.34.9-35.2.

¹¹³ Tezawweh 1.

¹¹⁴ L. Ginzberg, *Legends*, 3.161 and note.

¹¹⁵ 8, ed. Friedmann 29b.

¹¹⁶ Zech 4:2.f.

¹¹⁷ 1:12ff.

¹¹⁸ In coemeterii appellationem, middle (ed. Montfaucon (Venice, 1734), 2.400E).

¹¹⁹ Either alone or united with the true Israel or with the individual saint. With God “on the head” of the menorah, as part of it (Pesiq. R. 8, cited above), cf. Christ as head of the Church (Eph 1:22; 4:15; 5:23; Col 1:18); with God as (or, on) the head of the individual saint, cf. 1 Cor 2:3. Here we have the same metaphor used in the same way—now for the collective relationship, again for the individual one. A particularly lucid and well-documented discussion of the Pauline concept is that by P. Benoit, “Corps, Tête et Plerôme,” RB, 63 (1956), 5ff., though I cannot agree with B.’s sharp distinction between the notion of Christ as ruler and the notion of him as physically united with the beings ruled.

¹²⁰ Timaeus 37b-c.

¹²¹ 2 Cor 3:18.

standing beside it. Why? Because in the vision of Zechariah the menorah is the Lord and the olive trees are the just. In that case, why did not R. Simon compare the just to the olive trees? This so much troubled some copyists that the versions of the saying in Pesiqta de R. Kahana¹²² and Wayyiqra Rabba¹²³ dropped the reference to the olive trees and substituted the verse about the menorah. But this is clearly wrong, because, had the reference to the menorah stood there to begin with, nobody would have substituted a reference to olive trees. Another copyist, in Midrash Tehillim,¹²⁴ dropped both menorah and olive trees and went back to Nahum, where the chariots are [503] compared to torches as well as to lightnings; he used the torches for his final comparison. But this, too, is certainly wrong, because all the other versions of the saying are against it and because, had the original saying used both comparisons from Nahum, it would certainly have used them together and not have inserted the lilies of Ps 45 between them.¹²⁵

(However, this substitution made by the editor of Midrash Tehillim is instructive. It shows he was surprised by the fact that the torches of Nahum were not used. We should be, too. Certainly torches would have served better in a list of luminous objects than would lilies, and there was an independent tradition which compared their brilliance to that of the sanctified.¹²⁶ Therefore the fact that the lilies were kept and the torches of Nahum sacrificed confirms our previous suspicion that the comparison of the righteous dead to lilies was already standard and obligatory for the compiler of the list.)

But this does not solve the problem stated above: Why does the list compare the just to the menorah, but quote as proof the reference to the olive trees standing beside it? The answer is, I think, that our saying was originally part of an interpretation of Ps 16:11,¹²⁷ translated as follows: "There are seven joys before thy face, (but) the supremacy (goes to) the pleasures at thy right hand."¹²⁸ Our saying interpreted the

¹²² 28, ed. Buber, 179b.

¹²³ 30.2.

¹²⁴ 11.6, ed. Buber, 51a.

¹²⁵ Similarly, the insertion of the lightnings of Nahum between the heaven and the stars of Daniel, in Pesiq. d.R.K. 28 and Midrash Tanna'im p. 6, is a sure sign of corruption.

¹²⁶ When the High Priest, entering the Holy of Holies, was possessed by the Holy Ghost, "his face shone like torches" and he became if not a god at least more than man (Way. R. 21, end; cf. Philo, *Quis rerum*, 84; *Somn.* 2.189). A similar change took place in Phineas' face when he was possessed by the Holy Ghost; he was therefore described as an angel, Way.R. 1.1. Both Seth and Moses are said to have been called 'God' because their faces shone, M. James *The Lost Apocrypha of the OT* (London, 1920), p. 9. Cf. the transfiguration, Mark 9:2ff.

¹²⁷ This appears from the versions in Pesiq. d.R.K., Way. R., and Midrash Tehillim, all cited above, n. 100.

¹²⁸ The interpreters read *soba'* as *sheba'*.

first half of the verse; it identified the seven joys with seven classes of the righteous¹²⁹ which it compared to (1) sun, (2) moon, (3) heaven, (4) stars, [504] (5) lightnings, (6) lilies and (7) olive trees. It was followed¹³⁰ by a comment on the second half of the verse. This comment inquired which class of the righteous ranked highest. It recalled Zechariah's statement¹³¹ that the olive trees were on both the right hand and on the left hand of the menorah, which symbolized God, and it understood the second half of the verse ("but the supremacy goes to the pleasures at thy right hand") as declaring that those olive trees on the right of the menorah ranked highest.

Thus the menorah originally appeared as a symbol of God, in the explanation of the second half of the verse. Later it was transferred to the explanation of the first half, where it replaced the olive trees as the final term.¹³² Why? Partly because it was a source of light and most of the items in the list above were luminaries. Notice that in its original form the list fell clearly into two parts, a first section (classes 1-5) in which the saints are compared to luminaries, a second (classes 6 and 7) in which they are compared to vegetation. The equation of life with light was on the increase in the Roman world¹³³ and the influence of this primarily pagan development upon Jewish thought is shown by the substitution of the menorah for the olive trees. The astral symbolism certainly dates back to Daniel,¹³⁴ but the vegetable symbolism is probably older, for had it not been pre-established it would not have been included in this list, which could easily [505] have contained two more classes of luminaries. Moreover, the vegetable symbols originally outranked the astral, as proved by the original form of the saying and the following comment, which gave highest rank not to the sun, but to the olive trees. This conclusion, by the way, goes to

¹²⁹ As remarked above, n. 100, this interpretation has been imposed on the older interpretation in 4 Ezra 7:91ff. which originally listed seven joys.

¹³⁰ As it still is in Pesiq. d.R.K. and Way. R. and—after one brief section—in Midrash Tehillim. The section in Midrash Tehillim is another list of seven classes of the righteous. That it was originally independent is indicated by the fact that it was prefixed to our list in Sifre D.10 (and Midrash Tannaïm, p. 6), postfixed in Midrash Tehillim.

¹³¹ 4:3.

¹³² However, the original reading was preserved in two versions of the saying (Sifre Deb. 47 and Midrash Tannaïm, p. 40), the proof text for it in two more versions (Sifre Deb. 10 and Midrash Tannaïm, p. 6), and evidence of the corruption in the manifestly late emendations of the other texts.

¹³³ See the note on astral immortality, n. 101. Examples of the equation appear in the Dead Sea documents ("Children of Light") and the Gospel of John (*passim*) as well as in Lucian's city of lights (i.e. souls, Vera Hist. 1.29) and in the growing pagan cult of the sun, of which the influence is reflected in Christianity (Dölger, *Sol Salutis, Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit, Lumen Christi*), in the magical amulets and papyri, and in the synagogue mosaics.

¹³⁴ 12.3. An ingenious argument for astrological influence on Daniel is advanced by S. Weinstock, "The Geographical Catalogue in Acts 2.9-11," *JRS* 38 (1948), 43 ff.

support Goodenough's contention that the representations of lilies and olive sprigs, especially on the ossuaries of the period prior to 70, may be symbolic.¹³⁵

Further, the menorah also replaced the olive trees as the supreme term of the series of comparisons because, as shown above, it was the image of God. Now while man was at all times the image of God, he had been so most truly before the fall, and the perfection of the divine image, which he lost then, was to be restored in the world to come.¹³⁶ The supreme destiny of the righteous, therefore, is to become perfectly the image of God, and the influence of this belief on the development of our text is shown by the substitution of the image of God—the menorah—for that of the saint—the olive tree.

This substitution is not found only in the passage discussed. On the contrary, there are many instances of interchange or confusion of the two symbols. To understand these better we must examine at more length the meaning of the tree.

The comparison of a man to a tree and of a just man to a fruitful tree is, of course, an Old Testament commonplace,¹³⁷ and is continued by rabbinic literature as a description of living men.¹³⁸ At the same time, the material quoted above has shown that the rabbis transferred the comparison to the righteous in the world to come, and analogies for this transfer can easily be found: [506] The saved man is compared to a tree in the Odes of Solomon,¹³⁹ and the magician who has invoked Adonai Sabaoth identifies himself, among other things, with the sacred tree.¹⁴⁰

Perhaps it was this transference which led to the identification of the tree as the tree of life. A trace of this identification may already appear in the LXX version of Ps 1:3, which reads, not, "He shall be like a tree planted by rivers of water," but, "He shall be like *the* tree planted by *the* dividing courses of the waters." No doubt it saw in the rivers of water a reference to the rivers of Paradise. The Targum to the

¹³⁵ The symbolism persisted, of course, after the destruction of the Temple. When Aher entered paradise "he cut down the plants," i.e. used the spiritual power acquired by his mystical experience to lead good Jews into heresy (T. Hag. 2.3, ed. Zuckerman, p. 234). As to the date of origin, the comparison of lilies to saints in the future life was perhaps unknown to the LXX translator of Ps 45:1 since he rendered it as *Eis to telos, hyper ton alloiothesomenon* (reading *sheshshonim* and understanding it as Paul did in 1 Cor 15:52: "We shall all be changed"). This looks like a stage prior to the appearance of the symbolism and may have had something to do with it.

¹³⁶ See p. 477 sq. Further, Ginzberg, *Legends*, v. 112-14 and the passages cited there.

¹³⁷ Ps 1:3; 52:10 (olive); 92:13 (palm and cedar); 128:3 (vine and olive); etc.

¹³⁸ E.g. Ta'anit 5b, 6a.

¹³⁹ 38:16f. etc. See especially 11:19ff. where becoming like the trees of paradise is becoming like God.

¹⁴⁰ *PGM*, 2.73 (12.227); this is an invocation of Adonai Sabaoth, to prepare an amulet on which are to be engraved the words *Iao Sabaoth Abrasax*, *ibid.* 76.

same verse puts the matter beyond doubt; it renders, "He shall be like the tree of life." Similarly, the Jerusalem Talmud comments on the verse, "As for the tree of life ... all the waters of creation go forth in diverse courses from beneath it,"¹⁴¹ and Midrash Tehillim also interprets the verse by reference to the tree of life.¹⁴² Explicit identification goes back at least to the Psalms of Solomon, which declare "The paradise of the Lord are the trees of life, which are his saints."¹⁴³ This statement explains why, in the mosaic of Beth Alpha, the heaven from which the hand of God emerges is planted with a row of trees.¹⁴⁴ The same idea explains the statement in Enoch that the trees of paradise eat the fruit of the tree of wisdom.¹⁴⁵ It appears also in Christian and magical works,¹⁴⁶ and may therefore be taken as common to the various sects of ancient Judaism. Now the tree of life is frequently identified by apocryphal, pseudepigraphic, Christian and gnostic works with the olive tree.¹⁴⁷ This identification, so far as I know, does not appear in the preserved rabbinic material, but R. Simon b. Johai's identification of the final class of saints with olive trees, [507] and the midrashic identification of the typical saint with the tree of life, make it probable that the identification of the tree of life with the olive tree was once accepted by rabbinic, as well as by other, Jews.¹⁴⁸

It is upon the tree of life that God rests when he comes to the Garden of Eden—on this rabbinic, pseudepigraphic, Christian and

¹⁴¹ Ber 1.1 (2c).

¹⁴² 1.19.

¹⁴³ 14.3. [cf. Epistle to Diognetus 12.1, and Hippolytus, *Refutatio* 5.26.6 (Justin the gnostic).]

¹⁴⁴ Goodenough, 3, no. 638.

¹⁴⁵ Enoch 32.3. Thus all the manuscripts. Therefore Beer is mistaken, in Kautzsch's ed., in supplying "the holy" as a separate subject; Charles and Kahana rightly translate the text as is.

¹⁴⁶ Kropp, AKZ, ii.116 (no. 34), "It is Jesus Christ who gives healing to N.N. that he renew his whole body after the fashion of the tree of life which is in the midst of paradise."

¹⁴⁷ Ginzberg, *Legends*, v. 119, n. 113.

¹⁴⁸ Its disappearance from the preserved texts can hardly be accidental, since the rabbis are free in identifying or comparing the tree of knowledge with the rest of the trees important in the economic life of Palestine (Ginzberg *Legends*, v. 97, n. 70). I suspect the deletion reflects dislike of the magical and religious use of oil, which played so large a part in Christian ceremonies and was justified, *inter alia*, by the legend that the olive tree had been the original tree of life; see the passages cited by Ginzberg in my preceding note and the fact remarked by H. Willoughby ("The Distinctive Sources of Palestinian Pilgrimage Iconography," *JBL*, 74 (1955), 62) that the most frequent inscription on ampullae from the first Christian pilgrimage period (300-600) is, "Oil of the tree of life from the holy places of Christ." [Another consideration may have been the fact that it would be difficult to make adequately concealing garments from olive leaves.]

magical texts agree.¹⁴⁹ This legend, plus the fact that the tree of life is the symbol of the saint, enables us to understand the cryptic saying of Resh Laqish, "The patriarchs, they are the throne of God."¹⁵⁰ We should not expect this doctrine to be developed in the preserved rabbinic material, since the teaching about the throne of God is specified as that to be kept most secret of all,¹⁵¹ and quite possibly was not committed to writing.¹⁵² [508] However, the saying has an almost exact parallel in the common Christian expression, *theophoroi pateres*, of which the active and passive senses are not to be separated. Because the saint is inspired, possessed by God, he also bears God within himself, as is declared by the Latin *Deiferi apostoli*¹⁵³ and by the figures we have seen above bearing the menorah—the image of God—on their heads.

But since the saint (the perfect man) is the image of God, and the cosmos (which is also perfect)¹⁵⁴ is the image of God, we found the menorah, being the image of God, was also the image both of the saint and of the cosmos. Therefore we should expect the tree, being the image of the saint, to be equated with the menorah, at least when the latter represents the saint, and possibly when it is used with its other meanings. Equation as representations of the saint¹⁵⁵ is exactly what we found indicated above by the substitution of the menorah for the

¹⁴⁹ Seder Gan 'Eden, Text B (A. Jellinek, *Bet hammidrash*, 3.138); Apoc. of Moses 22.4; 2 Enoch 8.3 (Charles) = 5.3 (Kahana). Kahana quotes a parallel from the Greek version of the Apocalypse of Paul, not accessible to me (ed. Tischendorf, p. 64). Kropp, AKZ, ii.149f. (no. 43) parallel ii.104 (no. 32). From the context of the former, Davitheia, who is represented as lying on the tree, is evidently a form of Sabaoth and Jesus.

¹⁵⁰ Bereshit Rabbah, 17.6 (475); 69.3 (793); cf. 68.12 (786 f.). For other Jewish sayings which express the notion of the saint or scholar as theophoric, see Tanh. Wayyaqhel 7 (Students of the Law are like the Ark of the Covenant, because like it they contain God), and Tanh. ed. Buber, Wayyishlah 84a: "R. Huna said, 'If a man be corrupted by a transgression, destructive angels at once attack him.... What should a man do? Let him busy himself with the Law and he will be safe. And if he does not know how to repeat (by heart), let him read; and if he does not know how to read, let him take hold of (a book of) the Law and he will live, for it is said, (The Law is) "a tree of life to those who lay hold of it." So that if he is not a student of the Law he should lay hold of the book or of the professional repeater (of the oral Law), for they teach the Law, and (by so doing) he merits life.'"

¹⁵¹ Hagigah 2.1 and parallels.

¹⁵² Cf. Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 1.1.13-14 etc.

¹⁵³ Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et inf. graecitatis, ad voc. theophoros*.

¹⁵⁴ Plato, *Timaeus*, 36 ff.

¹⁵⁵ The equation does not seem to have been carried through to the extent of making the olive tree also the image of God, *except* when He is united with the saint. So far as I can recall this identification is absent from *all* the literatures considered (including the magical papyri of Jewish character). This fact is particularly surprising in view of the widespread tradition of tree worship both in the Semitic background (the asherah) and in contemporary Greco-Roman paganism (e.g. Apuleius, Florida I). While the absence may be due to accident or to deletion, it does suggest that the Jewish tradition had some consistency throughout its various branches and was not wholly indiscriminate in its appropriations from the Greco-Roman world.

olive tree in the conclusion of Sifre Debarim 10.¹⁵⁶ It appears also in the Targum to Hosea 14:7. The Hebrew describes the blessed state of Israel in the time to come with the words, "His beauty shall be like the olive tree"; the Targum reads, "Their splendour shall be like the holy menorah." The two prophets in the Apocalypse¹⁵⁷ "are the two olive trees" (of Zechariah 4:3, which we have seen above) "and the two menorahs which stand before the Lord of the whole earth." (Since there was only one menorah in the Temple, it is plausible to find the source of *the two* menorahs in contemporary [509] synagogue usage, which, if reflected by the archaeological evidence, often had two menorahs, one on either side of the Torah shrine.)¹⁵⁸

This equation of the tree (image of the saint) with the menorah (image of God)¹⁵⁹ extends even to their graphic representation. When sufficiently conventionalized the two are indistinguishable and there are many drawings which may represent either one.¹⁶⁰ Often when the menorah can be distinguished it is only by the presence of the ethrog and lulab at its base.¹⁶¹ But it is just this combination with ethrog and lulab which identifies with the menorah three undoubtable trees on amulets published by Goodenough.¹⁶² One of these menorah-trees¹⁶³ has a snake coiled around it, further identifying it as the tree of paradise¹⁶⁴ which, as we saw above, was itself identified with the saint as the throne of God. This identification is here confirmed, for each of these trees is represented as a throne for a deity who sits on it. The deity is identified by the inscription of each of the amulets as Iao or Iao Sabaoth—but iconographically he is, in each instance, Harpocrates, one of the forms of the sun god who was becoming the great deity of the later Roman Empire.¹⁶⁵ These amulets [510] are

¹⁵⁶ Finkelstein, in his note on Sifre Deb. 10 (p. 18 of his edn.), recognized the equivalence of the olive tree and the menorah from their usage as equivalents in that passage and its parallels.

¹⁵⁷ 11:4.

¹⁵⁸ Goodenough, 3.58-61, 440, 639, 646, 706, 707, 817, 964-6, 973, 974.

¹⁵⁹ This coalescence of the two symbols appears already in the Assyrian period: S. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine* (London, 1930) (Schweich Lectures, 1925), p. 63f.

¹⁶⁰ Goodenough 3.99 (the drawing on the right), 262, 315, 332, 342 502, 765, 770, etc.

¹⁶¹ Id. 3.582, 719, 730, 805, etc.

¹⁶² Id. 3.1149, 1150, 1153; cf. 1103 (a lotus pod) and 1102.

¹⁶³ No. 1153.

¹⁶⁴ This identification evidently persisted or recurred in Judaism. An eighteenth or early nineteenth century Polish menorah of which the lamps are carried by a tree of life, complete with snake, is published by Judah Goldin in *These Lights, You and Judaism*, iv (1956), no. 2. The modern object should serve as a warning against any hasty supposition that the ancient ones could not have been produced by 'orthodox' Jews.

¹⁶⁵ This leads us, of course, directly to the representations of the sun in the later Palestinian synagogue floors—a subject of such complexity as to require another article. As a result of Goodenough's work it is now apparent that the synagogue floors, the magical gems and the papyri, the Palestinian Amoraic literature, the Christian pseudepigrapha and the Christian patristic literature of Egypt Palestine and Syria all

certainly related in content to the magical spells representing Davithea-Sabaoth-Jesus as "lying on the bed of the tree of life."¹⁶⁶ Kropp, in his commentary on these spells, *ad loc.*, identified this bed as the zodiac, and if that be taken as the sphere of the fixed stars, the outmost sphere of the cosmos, this identification is probably correct, since we have seen that the menorah was taken to represent the cosmos, especially the planetary spheres, and Iamblichus says that the lotus on which Harpocrates was customarily enthroned (and which is here identified with the menorah-tree of life) was understood to represent the celestial spheres.¹⁶⁷ In sum, the tree of life, *qua* image of the theophoric saint, the microcosm, has been made also the image of the macrocosm, the physical cosmos which likewise bears that God of whom the heavens are the throne.¹⁶⁸

This development of the significance of the tree was undoubtedly helped by identification with the menorah, and this identification probably explains the otherwise unlikely representation of the menorah as a headdress. We saw above that this symbolized the theophoric nature of the saints, but how did so unnatural a symbol arise? The origin, I think, is to be found in the wreath. Wreaths were commonly worn in the classical world on joyous occasions and were given to the winners in the games as symbols of victory. Jews wore them in their festivals—joyous occasions of which the joy was interpreted as anticipation of their coming, eschatological victory.¹⁶⁹ Both as victorious in the contest of life and as joyous, the blessed were represented as wreathed, [511] and the wreath came to be one of the symbols of salvation. The Odes of Solomon entreat the hearer to "make a crown of the tree of life and put it on your head."¹⁷⁰ But the

come from the same period and the same area of the same world, and from closely related groups of that world; they use the same language and they must be interpreted together.

¹⁶⁶ Kropp, *AKZ*, ii. 104, cf. 107 (no. 32) and 149f. (no. 43) and Goodenough's discussion of these (2.166ff.). I agree with Goodenough in thinking these charms basically Jewish.

¹⁶⁷ *De mysteriis*, 7.2.

¹⁶⁸ Is 66:1. The cosmos is equated with the throne of God in Debarim Rabbah, ed. Lieberman, pp. 95-6. The sun-god on the lotus appears already on Hebrew seals of the Persian or Hellenistic periods, S. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine*, p. 58 and n. 1.

¹⁶⁹ Jubilees 16:30 prescribes the wearing of wreaths for the feast of Tabernacles. The bearers of the ark in the representation of that feast in the frescoes at Dura and the children accompanying them, are wreathed, C. Kraeling, *The Synagogue* (New Haven, 1956) (*The Excavations at Dura*, VIII.1) pp. 114-17. Kraeling *ibid.* gives reference for the eschatological interpretation of the feast. Classic of course, is the interpretation of the Sabbath as the type of the world to come, Tamid, end, cf. Hebrews 4:3-11.

¹⁷⁰ 20:7f.; cf. 2 Tim 2:5; 4:8; James 1:12; Apoc 2:10, etc. The notion is also common in rabbinic literature, v. Ginzberg, *Legends*, 1.19, 57; 2. 196; 3.92, 205, etc. Note that the Greek word generally translated "crown" means properly "wreath."

crown of salvation was unwithering,¹⁷¹ it was a living crown,¹⁷² for the joy it symbolized, the divine life, did not merely rest upon the blessed but was rooted in them¹⁷³ so that they were crowned with a living tree of life. The first of the Odes of Solomon shows this development clearly: "The Lord is upon my head like a crown¹⁷⁴; and I shall not be without him. The crown of truth was woven for me; and it causeth thy branches to bud in me. For it is not like a withered crown that buddeth not, but thou livest upon my head and thou hast blossomed upon my head. Thy fruits are full-grown and perfect; they are full of thy salvation."¹⁷⁵ Compare the curious growth on the head of the figure in Papyri Osloenses I,¹⁷⁶ and the charm in which the Old Testament god who controls Helios is conjured by "him who sits in a fiery robe on the seedfield head of Agathos Daimon, the pantokrator and four-faced highest daimon."¹⁷⁷ Since Agathos Daimon in this material is regularly the cosmos¹⁷⁸ we have here the supreme fiery¹⁷⁹ deity seated on the circle of the world.¹⁸⁰ The growth on the head has been reduced almost to insignificance and we are well along the [512] road which was traveled, not only by Judaism and its various offshoots, but by the Greco-Roman world in general, from the divine man to the wholly transcendental deity: from the good shepherd of the early Christian catacombs to the Christ Pantocrator of the Byzantine mosaic ceilings, from the cult of heroes and rulers to Julian's satire on the Emperors and the worship of the invincible sun, from the man crowned with the menorah in Beth Shearim to the fiery and unapproachable God of the Hekalot.

The metaphor of travel, here, is carefully chosen. Just as both ends of a road exist throughout the whole time of the journey, so in a large and complex society all sorts of attitudes towards all sorts of gods are always represented by some individuals; it is only the centre of attention, the greater interest of the greater number, which shifts from

¹⁷¹ 1 Cor 9:25; 1 Pet 5:4; Ephraim, Hymn for the Epiphany, quoted by R. Harris and A. Mingana in their edn. of *The Odes of Solomon* (Manchester 1920), ii.213f.

¹⁷² *Odes of Solomon*, 17.1.

¹⁷³ Cf. Philo, *Ebrietas*, pp. 222-4, the vices and virtues are trees rooted in the soul of man.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Clement of Alex., *Paed.* ii.8.63.4: The Kings of the Jews used an elaborate crown composed of gold and precious stones, but the Christians symbolically wear Christ upon their heads.

¹⁷⁵ Tr. Harris and Mingana, 2.207.

¹⁷⁶ Ed. S. Eitrem (Oslo, 1925), p. 20, discussed above, n. 110.

¹⁷⁷ *PGM*, ii.132 (14a).

¹⁷⁸ *PGM*, ii.146, cf. 122, 74, etc.

¹⁷⁹ So Sifre Deb. 49. The notion goes back to Deut 4:24, quoted in Heb 12:29.

¹⁸⁰ Isaiah 40:22. In this charm the cosmos is described by equation of Agathos Daimon, *pantokrator* (a common title of the sun god), the divine throne as seen by Ezekiel, and *hypsistos*. On the Jewish associations of *hypsistos* and *pantokrator* see M. Nilsson, *Gesch. d. gr. Religion* (Munich, 1941-50), 2:636ff.

one concept to another. The point to be noticed here is that this shift in ancient Judaism seems to have been of a piece with the general religious development of the ancient world.

To return to the menorah and the tree, and summarize the specific development which this last body of evidence suggests: The wreath of divine life which rewarded the saint took root in him and became a tree of life springing from him. But the tree of life was identified with the menorah and in Jewish circles the menorah came to replace it (as we have seen above in the case of *Sifre Debarim* 10) partly because of the increasing popularity of light-symbolism, but also in part because heterodox circles like those which produced the *Odes of Solomon* and the magical amulets seem to have been very fond of the tree of life and actually to have replaced the menorah by it. The replacement of it by the menorah may be a sign of orthodox reaction. At all events, the menorah did replace the tree of life, in some instances, as a most unlikely headdress, but an acceptable symbol of that divinity which may rest on man and which is already imaged in his nature. The notion thus expressed of the relationship between man and God is of immense antiquity and common to many cultures, but its revival in ancient Judaism was probably due, in large part, to the influence of the contemporary Greco-Roman world.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

ON THE SHAPE OF GOD AND THE HUMANITY OF GENTILES

[315] In an article, “The Image of God: Notes on the Hellenization of Judaism, with especial reference to Goodenough’s work on Jewish symbols,” printed in 1958 in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*,¹ I presented evidence which seemed to me to show that, on the one hand, passages in rabbinic literature justified Goodenough’s interpretation of a number of symbols, notably those of the menorah and the tree, as, at least occasionally, images of God, on the other hand, these and similar passages cast grave doubt on his account of “the rabbis” as out of touch with Hellenistic culture and hostile to the religion of the majority of Greco-Roman Jews, the religion expressed by the pictures on the archaeological material.

In 1960 appeared J. Jervell’s *Imago Dei: Gen. 1.26f. im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulinischen Briefen*,² which included (pp. 71-121) an extended study of the rabbinic notions as to the image of God in man. Jervell had evidently not seen my paper (which must have come out shortly before or after his book went to the publisher). In any event, the results of his study not only differed from, but in some points contradicted, those which I had reached. The differences resulted in part from a difference of purpose: Jervell’s concern was to survey the whole of rabbinic teaching on the subject; mine, to point out one important but neglected strand of it. These differences need not concern us further. The contradictions, however, deserve discussion, and I think it appropriate to discuss them here, not only because my former paper dealt with Goodenough’s work, but also because the questions involved—the range of rabbinic opinions concerning the human body’s likeness to God, and therefore concerning [316] gentiles—are fundamental for study of one of the great problems Goodenough’s work has raised, that of the relationship between the material which he collected and the rabbinic literature. To have raised such problems was among Goodenough’s most important accomplishments; the study of them henceforth should be seen as a continuing tribute to his memory.

Let me begin this study by summarizing the results of Jervell’s survey. He distinguishes what he thinks the public, “official” teaching

¹ See chapter ten above.

² Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1960 (*Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, N. F. 58).

from the discussions of the rabbinic schools. The public teaching, he finds, was primarily concerned to maintain that God alone created man, that man was not created in the image of God, and that man was not created androgynous (p. 119). The school discussions, on the other hand, were concerned to explain the statement, that man was created in the image of God, so as to make it useful either for ethical teaching or for pseudo-historical glorification of Israel and the Law. For these purposes they started from common suppositions: The Law was the motive and means of creation. Israel was created to observe the Law. So was Adam. Adam before his fall was therefore the prime and perfect Israelite; the creation of man was the creation of Israel. Consequently the non-Israelite is not a man. Consequently, in rabbinic school discussions, the term "man," when used without further specification, means "Israelite," and only Israelites have any likeness to God (pp. 78-84).

Starting from these presuppositions, two interpretations of Gen 1:26f. developed. One was "ethical-anthropological": It maintained that man was created in the likeness of the angels, whom the Old Testament sometimes calls "gods"; he was like the angels in possessing *da'ath*, standing erect and speaking Hebrew, but not in body.³ *Da'ath*, his most important likeness to the angels, is essentially the power both to distinguish and to choose between good and evil; but only those who choose good retain it(?); at any rate, true likeness to "God," sc. to the angels, is possessed only by righteous Israelites. Other men are like animals except for upright stature and economic life. Consequently, all obligations towards "men" *qua* images of "God" are obligations only towards Israelites (pp. 84-96). The other interpretation was "speculative-protological": It admitted that Adam was created in the image of God, declared him greater than the angels, but found his likeness to God essentially in his *kabod* which was above all "*eine mora*[317]*lische Grösse*," i.e. it consisted in his being a Law-abiding Israelite. This was lost at the fall, so all men are Adam's descendants, but only the Israelites are in his image, since they only can possess the *kabod* which, with the Law, was given Israel at Sinai (pp. 96-119).

It must be said at once that this summary is necessarily somewhat unfair, since one cannot summarize without suppressing the author's recognition and discussion of material which he thinks divergent from the main pattern. Jervell several times recognizes the danger of systematization, but, in the end, he produces a system, and one which is itself, like the above, a summary, and shares the same necessary weakness. At all events, we are concerned here with only two points in

³ How it is possible to be alike in upright stature without having some bodily likeness, Jervell does not explain. Cp. his statements on pp. 86 and 90.

his summary, the propositions that man's likeness to God is not a matter of bodily form, and that in rabbinic usage 'adam ("man") means "an Israelite." "Cattle and heathen are not אדם." (*sic*, p. 82.)

First as to bodily form: For his conclusion on this point—that man's bodily form is not thought an element of his likeness to God—Jervell argues (pp. 88ff.) that Adam was thought to possess knowledge of good and evil before the fall when he was "as One," *i.e.* as God, Targum Jonathan on Gen 3:22. (But here the likeness is said to be, not knowledge of good and evil, but uniqueness.) From Adam will arise a people able to distinguish between good and evil, *ib.* (But this is merely a forced exegesis of ממנו לדעה טוב ורע; its purpose is to avoid the plain sense of *mimmenu* and it has nothing to do with the question of the nature of Adam's likeness to God.) Further, when Adam is justified at the end he will be as God, Gen. Rabbah 21.2 (read 21.1. This likeness will result from justification, but what it will consist of is not stated.) That he "was as one of us" is explained by his having been created in God's image, Num. Rabbah 16.24 (16.15 in my edition. But here the likeness is said to have been immortality.) "See also" Eccles. Rabbati on 7.29 (here the likeness is righteousness) and Cant. Rabbah on 1.9. (This last is one of a set of texts collected by Theodor in his notes on Gen. Rabbah 21.5. They include the Mekilta passage which Jervell cites as "Beschalla—*sic*—7,73ff" meaning, ed. Lauterbach, p. 248, lines 73ff., and further parallels which he does not cite. The tangle offers only one explanation of Adam's likeness to God—his uniqueness.) Further Jervell cites Abot 3.14, where Akiba says Adam (or, "man?") was created in the image of God, but gives no indication of what he thought this meant; knowledge of the Law can hardly be intended, since the same saying declares *that* a greater blessing given to Israel. (Against Jervell's attempt to limit the reference of the entire saying [318] to Israelites, see Tosafot Yom Tob, *ad loc*, which argues at length for reference of the first half to all children of Noah.) Next comes Deut Rabbah 4.4 and, as parallels to it, Midrash Pss. 17.8 and 50.3 (a false reference.) Deut Rabbah 4.4 says that an angelic escort precedes the righteous man and proclaims, "Make way for the image of God," and Jervell takes this as proof that the image exists *only* in the righteous. *Non sequitur*. Finally he concludes, p. 90, that "The passages cited above indicate that the human body has no likeness to God." This is false. Some of the passages indicate some respects in which man is or may be like God, but none discusses at all the question of bodily likeness, and there is no justification for an argument from silence about a matter with which they are not concerned.

To strengthen this argument Jervell now cites Sipre Deut 306, ed. Friedmann 132a, where it is said that man's soul is heavenly, but his

body earthly; therefore if he obeys the Law he will be, like the heavenly creatures, immortal, "for it is written, 'I said, "You are gods, and all of you sons of the Most High;"' if not, he will be like the earthly creatures, "for it is written, 'None the less, you shall die like men.'" This concerns the substance of man and is irrelevant to the question of similarity of *form*, which is the normal relationship of an image to its original. The same is true of the cognate passages Jervell cites in this connection: Tanhuma, ed. Buber, *Bereshit* 15, and Pirke R. Eliezer 11. Pesiqta Rabbati 21, ed. Friedmann "108b" (read a-b), which he also cites, does not say as he supposes that "only ... the soul has been created in God's image," but that the soul was created in God's likeness (דמות) and the body was joined to it and made like God's image (צלם); it thus expounds the two words as referring, one to the soul, the other to the body, and is explicit evidence that some rabbis thought man was *bodily* like the image of God.

Other evidence for the same opinion is plentiful. It was discussed at length by A. Marmorstein, *The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God, II, Essays in Anthropomorphism*,⁴ who advanced the thesis that in Palestinian Judaism there were two schools of thought, one which took the anthropomorphisms of the Bible literally, another which allegorized them. Though many of the particular applications which he made of this theory remain dubious, he gave strong evidence for his main contention, "that there was a school in Judaism, and an important one, too, that believed in a God who accompanies man in human form and shape" (p. 52). To this Jervell, though citing the work in other connections, [319] did not refer. Marmorstein also fully documented the anti-anthropomorphic side of Jewish tradition, which is, of course, familiar. His thesis has now been greatly strengthened by G. Scholem's demonstration, in *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (2 ed., N.Y., 1965, pp. 36ff.) that the so called *Shi'ur Qomah* speculation, which concerns the dimensions of the various parts of God's anthropomorphic body, goes back, as an important secret doctrine within rabbinic circles, at least to the second century A.D. and probably beyond.

In this connection a number of the passages which I cited in *The Image of God* would, at first sight, seem conclusive. So, for instance, Lev. Rabbah 34.3, which reports that once, when Hillel was about to leave his disciples, they said to him, "'Rabbi, where are you going?' He said to them, 'To perform a commandment.' They said to him, 'And what, then, is this commandment?' ... He said to them, 'To bathe in the (public) bath.' They said to him, 'And is this a commandment?' He said to them, 'Yes. If the man who is appointed to take care of the

⁴ Oxford, 1937 (*Jews' College Publications*, 14).

images of kings, which (the gentiles) set up in their theaters and circuses, scours them and rinses them, and they provide his livelihood, and not only that, but he occupies an important place among government officials; then we, who were created in the image and in the likeness (of God) ... *a fortiori*.” Substantially the same story appears in Abot de R. Nathan, text B, ch. 30 (ed. Schechter, 33b), as a comment on the words, “And let all thy acts be for the sake of Heaven,” (*i.e.* of God). It should be noticed, by the way, that the failure to specify *whose* image and likeness, can hardly be thought significant as an avoidance of anthropomorphism (*contra* Jervell, p. 85). This is a standard form of reference to a text everybody knew by heart, the omission of “God’s” is merely a scribal abbreviation. This is particularly clear from the fact that often, when the abbreviation is used, a proof text, commonly Gen 9:6, with “God’s” written out in full, immediately follows. So it does, for instance, in the passage just cited.

This passage, as remarked above, would at first sight seem conclusive. If Hillel expected reward for washing the image of God, and considered that man’s likeness to God made bathing a religious obligation, one would suppose there would be little doubt as to where he thought the likeness lay. He was not going to wash his observance of the Law. But a theologian might argue that the body was revered only as the instrument for the observance. Jervell presumably had some similar argument in mind when he cited, p. 81, from Abot de Rabbi Nathan [320] “2” (read, text A, 2) the statement that Adam must have been born circumcised because it is said that God created Adam in his image. (Jervell’s citation contains six mistakes in ten words of Hebrew.) The naive reader might suppose this indicated belief in a circumcised deity, but Jervell glosses the statement, “Das heisst, dass er צדיק und תמים (*sic*) war.” Circumcision is merely the symbol of legal observance; since the deity is the cause of the Law, the circumcised man resembles Him as effect resembles cause. But rabbinic texts contain very few philosophic arguments of this sort, and a great many anthropomorphisms. Therefore (though I should insist that many rabbis had some acquaintance with philosophy, *cf. Image of God*, pp. 474f.) I think it more plausible to suppose that the anthropomorphisms indicate their usual way of thought, and that philosophical arguments are not to be read into rabbinic texts without good reason.

In this instance, moreover, there is good reason for supposing anthropomorphism: Midrash Tannaïm on Deut 21:23 (ed. Hoffmann, p. 132) explains the commandment that the *dead* body of an executed criminal is not to be left hanging on a tree over night, “‘because a hanged man is an insult to God.’ Rabbi Me’ir said, ... ‘(It is like) two brothers who were identical twins and lived in the same city. One was

made king, and the other became a bandit. The king commanded (that the bandit be hung up after execution) so they strung him up. Everyone who saw (the dead body) said, "The king has been hung up." So the king commanded and they took him down." It seems that the similarity supposed here was not the executed criminal's obedience to the Law, nor his dead body's capacity to obey it, but the sheer similarity of external, physical form. R. Me'ir's exegesis was taken over, with his name, into the legal collections, Tosefta San. 9.7 (Zuckerman 429); San. 46b.

It seems, then, that the Biblical statements concerning man's likeness to God were interpreted in many different ways which were not thought to be mutually exclusive, and that among the interpretations was the opinion, held by some very important rabbis, that man's body was made as an image of God. From this opinion it follows that all men are images of God in one respect at least, since all possess essentially the same bodily form. This conclusion might be taken as a refutation of Jervell's claim that only Israelites were thought to be images of God, and the term "man" referred only to them. On the other hand, Jervell would argue that this claim, which he had established with other evidence, refuted our conclusion. We must therefore examine his evidence. [321]

First, however, it must be admitted that the normal usage of '*adam*' ("man") in rabbinic material is determined by the contexts in which it occurs. These are mostly legal, and since the Law was accepted only by Israel most of its provisions concern Israelites alone. Thus when the Mishnah says that the sages ruled the *shema'* must be read before midnight "in order to keep a man far from transgression," (Berakot 1.1) or that the school of Shammai says, "in the evening all men should recline when they read it," (*ib.* 1.3) the reference is of course to Israelites only. But it would be absurd to take such passages as evidence that the rabbis always used "man" in this restricted sense or thought those who did not read the *shema'* were not human.

Such an interpretation would, moreover, be indefensible, because there are many passages in rabbinic literature where '*adam*' and *bene adam*' ("children of men," *i.e.* men) are used to refer to all human beings. For instance, Baba Qama 38a, in a dispute as to whether or not gentiles are rewarded for observance of the Noachite laws, reports, "Rabbi Me'ir says, 'Whence (do we know) that even a gentile who works at the Law is as a high priest? (Because) the Bible says that "if a man will practice (my laws and my judgments) he will live, as a result of them." (Lev 18:5). It is not said, "If priests, Levites and Israelites (will practice them)," but "If a man." Hence you must conclude that even a gentile who works at the Law is as a high priest." This is repeated in Sanhedrin 59a with the added explanation that "a gentile

who works at the Law" is one who observes perfectly the Noachite commandments, and also in 'Abodah Zarah 3a with the explanation that gentiles who perform these commandments are not rewarded as performing commandments (since God long ago withdrew the Noachite commandments because of the gentiles' general failure to perform) but as persons who do good deeds without being commanded. (So their performance is *not* observance of the Law; they are wholly outside the Law.) A third repetition in Sipra, 'ahare mot 13, on Lev 18:5, has been contaminated with a different saying which limited the benefits of the Law to the righteous, as opposed to all Israel. It is worth noting that this opinion of Rabbi Me'ir accords with his opinion cited above, that the human likeness to God is *inter alia* a matter of similarity of form, wherefore all men are images of God. For other passages which clearly recognize that 'adam refers to "human beings," including gentiles, see the exegeses of Exod 9:9f.; Lev 18:5; Num 31:40; 2 Sam 7:19; Jer 32:20; Ezek 28:2; Jonah 4:11; Pss 115:16; 118:6. These suffice to determine the reference in many other usages, for instance the technical expression, *ma'akal* [322] 'adam, "human food," as opposed to food fit only for the lower animals, *ma'akal behemah*. For the same sense of *bene 'adam* see Gittin 47a, where Ps 115:16 ("As for the heavens, the heavens belong to Yahweh, but he gave the earth to *bene 'adam*.") is used to prove that gentiles may acquire land in Palestine in order to develop water supplies there. In Sanhedrin 104b one Israelite prisoner says to another, about their guard, "The camel walking in front of us is blind in one of its eyes, ... and of the two *bene 'adam* who are leading it, one is an Israelite and the other a gentile." In Nedarim 32a (end) Abraham is said to have been at fault because, after defeating the kings, he permitted the *bene 'adam* in the spoil to be taken away from him; he should have made them proselytes. In Tosefta Baba Mezi'a 9.33 (Zuckerman 393) we have the ruling that if a lessee sublets a piece of property the owner may tell him, "I have no contract with any man (*im kol 'adam*) except you." (*i.e.* you continue to be responsible for everything specified by your lease, regardless of what the subtenant does). Clearly, 'adam here excludes gentiles as well as Israelites, and so it does in many similar negative passages. These, in turn, justify the supposition that the same sense is to be understood in many other passages, for instance Tosefta Baba Qama 2.12 (Z. p. 349), when it states that cattle customarily walk in the center of a road, and *bene 'adam*, on the sides; or in the common expression, דבריה חורה כלשון בני אדם, "the Law expressed itself as men ordinarily do."

Thus the primary meaning of 'adam ("human being") was well established in rabbinic usage, but in legal contexts the word was commonly used to mean "a man," *sc.* "any ordinary man to whom the

law under discussion applies," *i.e.* any male, adult, free, sane Israelite. When the Mishnah lists the things "a man" must say on the eve of Sabbath (2.7), it of course does not bother to add that the obligation is not incumbent on women, children, slaves, fools and gentiles. But in other contexts the reference of the term, as the reference of the law, may be extended to include any or all of these classes. Consequently there are many discussions as to the exact extent of reference of one or another law.

One group of these discussions did much to mislead Jervell. It consists of a number of passages in which Ezekiel 34:31 ("And you, my flock, ... you are '*adam*.'") is used to prove that in one or another Biblical law the word '*adam*' refers only to Israelites. This application of Ezekiel 34:31 seems to have been first thought of by Rabbi Simon ben Yohai, who used the verse to prove that the laws on the impurity [323] of a dead body, since they begin with the words, "Should an '*adam*' die in a tent," (Num 19:14) apply only to Israelites; gentiles, he argued, being excluded from the scope of this law, were (*in this respect*) like animals, which admittedly neither produced nor contracted this sort of uncleanness. Ben Yohai's exegesis and conclusions did not go unchallenged. It was objected that in Num 31:40 and Jonah 4:11 the word '*adam*' undoubtedly referred to gentiles. He agreed that this was so, but argued that in those passages the word for "human being" had to be used to refer to gentiles for the sake of the contrasts, required by the contexts, between them, *qua* humans, and animals; in Num 19:14 there was no such contrast, therefore the narrower interpretation, indicated by Ezekiel's statement, might be used. He thus acknowledged the broader meaning of '*adam*' and argued only for its more limited sense in this particular law. (Thus Yebamot 61a, Baba Mezi'a 114b.) In Keritot 6b we find ben Yohai(?) again using Ezekiel 34:31, to prove that Exod 30:32, which prohibits the application of sacred ointment to the flesh of an '*adam*', prohibits its use only on Israelites, not on gentiles. Here, too, he has to meet the same objections, and meets them by the same admission. His arguments found some acceptance. For example, later Rabbi Levi, interpreting Gen 9:5 ("From the hand of a the '*adam*' ... I shall require the life of the '*adam*.'") used Ezekiel 34:31 in the same way to limit the reference of (*only*) the second '*adam*' to Israelites. The survival of both interpretations is shown by the exegesis of Gen 9:6 ("He who sheds the blood of an '*adam*', by an '*adam*' shall his blood be shed.") Here one string of passages takes the first '*adam*' as referring only to Israelites (Tosefta Sanhedrin 11:4, Z. 431; Sifre Zutta on Num 35:12; Sanhedrin 72b; etc.) while another takes the law as one of the commandments given to and therefore originally concerning all the children of Noah (Sanhedrin 57a; Gen Rabbah 34:14, etc.).

Of the above passages Jervell (82f.) neglects those indicating the broader sense of 'adam and misunderstands those which limit the sense to Israelites. He does not realize that they are concerned with the question of the scope of particular laws, but thinks them definitions of the term 'adam regardless of its context. Thus he arrives at the amazing conclusions summarized above. These he bolsters by a great number of false arguments, of which the largest collection is on pp. 81ff. These pages I shall now go through point by point:

Abot de Rabbi Nathan 2 (*sc.* of text A) says Adam was like God because circumcised; Jervell concludes that only the circumcised are [324] like God. But it is possible to resemble God in other respects, see above. (Here Jervell cites, as if in support of his opinion, Goldin's translation, p.180, n. 5. Read 45. But the note points out that circumcision is merely one condition of perfection. It is evidently supposed that there are others.)

Abot de Rabbi Nathan 37 (again text A): Man is like the angels because he speaks Hebrew. Jervell: Therefore only those who speak Hebrew are like the angels. Again one has to add, "in this respect"! Moreover, the parallel in Gen Rabbah 8:11 omits "Hebrew," which suggests that the similarity was originally the gift of speech. This suggestion is confirmed by the fact that the other similarities specified erect stature, understanding, and the ability to see out of the corners of the eye—are also universal human characteristics, two of them, by the way, bodily, which settles the question of the shape of angels, who were also made "in the image and in the likeness" of Guess Who (*cp.* Jervell, pp. 84f.).

Gen Rabbah 8:12 Jervell has evidently quoted from an inferior text. In Theodor's edition the passage in question reads, "Rabbi Hanina said, 'If (Adam) lives a virtuous life, (the commandment, Gen 1:28), "Have dominion (over the animals)," (will be fulfilled), and if he does not live a virtuous life, (the prophecy), "And they shall be subject" (to the animals).'" (This "prophecy" is produced by a different vocalization of Gen 1:26.) "Rabbi Jacob of Kefar Hanan said, 'To that which is in our image and our likeness (*i.e.* Adam before the fall), "Let them have dominion" (applies); to that which is not in our likeness (Adam after the fall), "And they shall be subject."'" This is the familiar notion that Adam lost the divine likeness as a result of the fall. As we have seen, it by no means prevented many rabbis from recognizing that men were still, at least in some respects, images of God. The notion and the recognition were by no means irreconcilable: Likeness to God seems often to have been thought of as a complex relationship, of which some elements could be lost and others retained.

"Mekilta, *Shir* 9" (ed. Lauterbach, pp. 75f., lines) "120ff. on Ex. 15.16 says that (*sic*) *וְאֶרֶץ* (*sic*) *שְׂמִיָּם* (cp. Gen. 1.1) is Israel." (pp. 81-82). It does not. "See also Kohelet Rabbati I.4 § 4" (*i.e.* 1.9, on 1.4). This says that in the Bible the term 'erez (*sometimes*) refers to Israel, as in the expression, "the captivity of the 'arez" (Judges 18:30), which is literally "the captivity of the land," but of course means, "the captivity of Israel." Therefore the commentator concludes that in Eccl 1:4 'erez may also refer to Israel. And Jervell takes this as evidence that the [325] first man created was an Israelite! "And Sifre Deut. 37, 76a+b." This, too, is irrelevant (praise of Palestine).

To prove that "man" means "Israelite," Jervell uses Mishnah Sanhedrin 4.5, which he reads as saying, "the Biblical text indicates that anyone who destroys one Israelite life is as guilty as if he destroyed a whole world." In n. 46 (p. 82) he remarks that Beer-Holtzmann, in their edition of the Mishnah, said that some MSS omitted the word "Israelite" and preferred this reading. This preference, Jervell says, was a mistake, due to the fact that they did not understand that "man" means "Israelite." Thus the reading proves the principle and the principle determines the reading (and the circle is the most elegant form of argument).

Exod Rabbah 30.16: Anyone who strikes the image of a king must die, so must anyone who destroys a single Israelite life. Rabbi W. Braude tells me that A. Hallevi, in his edition of Exod Rabbah, omits "Israelite" (*beYisra'el*) and cites in support of his omission the Oxford and Jerusalem MSS and the parallel in Makiri. Here Jervell, n. 47, again refers to Goldin's ed. of Abot de Rabbi Nathan, this time to p. 204, n. 4. But Goldin there says that Schechter's addition of "Israelite" in a cognate passage (ARN, text A, 31; parallel San. 4.5, see above) is *not* justified by the sources. "Also in Num. Rabbah 16.24 the original likeness to God is referred only to Israel." I can find nothing in or near Num Rabbah 16.24 which might justify this statement, but editions differ.

"See also Exod Rabbah 40.1." This is one of the instances discussed above, where Ezek 34:31 is used to determine the extent of the reference of 'adam in a Biblical verse, here Job 28:28, God said to 'adam, "The fear of the Lord, that is wisdom." This is interpreted (perhaps correctly) as meaning, God said to Israel. Jervell seems to have taken this as justifying his statement that "The heathen first becomes human when he is converted to Judaism." To this he appends a note (48a) appealing, for further support, to the many statements: (1) That the newly baptized proselyte is as a newborn child. (This is a legal fiction meaning that he has lost all debts, including those of suffering due for sins, and also all property rights, including claims over children, claims to have fulfilled commandments, etc. These

consequences are also misunderstood by Jervell in his n.51. The legal fiction does *not* include making the convert a born Israelite. In prayers, for instance, when referring to the patriarchs, he must say “their”—Israel’s—“ancestors,” not “our ancestors,” cf. Bikkurim 1.4 etc.) (2) That one who converts a heathen is, as it were, his creator, (3) That an Israelite who repents is, as it were, a new crea[326]ture. (These are homiletic exaggerations from the simple fact that conversion and repentance are means of salvation i.e., life; the same sort of thing is given legal consequence in the equally frequent statements that a man’s obligation to his teacher takes precedence of that to his parents. This has obviously nothing to do with the question whether gentiles—or Israelite parents—are human.) Here belong the references to Cant. Rabbah 1.3 § 3 (i.e. 1.22 on 1.3) and Bekorot 47a, misplaced in Jervell’s text. And from here he goes on to argue from Baba Mezi’a 114b; Keritot 6b; and Yebamot 61a, all of them passages of which his misunderstanding has been discussed above.

The question as to whether or not Cain was an Israelite (pp. 82-3) is irrelevant to that of the humanity of gentiles after the flood, all of the latter being descendants of Noah.

Gen Rabbah 39.4 (read 39.14) “is another example of the homiletic exaggeration” considered in the preceding paragraph, class (2).

Hullin 91b does not justify the statement that Israel is considered the “himmlisches Urbild des Menschen.”

This concludes the main body of Jervell’s arguments for his thesis that rabbinic thought on the question of man’s likeness to God began from the assumption that only Israelites are human. It seems to me that the quality of the arguments, as revealed by this examination of the main body, makes it unnecessary to deal in detail with the minor, collateral ones scattered through the rest of the work. The origin of the error was presumably in a misunderstanding of the texts discussed above, pp. 323-325, but the extension of this misunderstanding to so many irrelevant passages and the neglect of almost all the evidence to the contrary seem to me the results of a gift for systematic theology which is a great handicap in the study of rabbinic literature.

CHAPTER TWELVE

WHAT IS IMPLIED BY THE VARIETY OF MESSIANIC FIGURES?

[66] Everyone who has read much of the literature on the Dead Sea scrolls is aware of the large part played in it by discussions of passages supposedly concerned with “the Messiah.”

In a number of instances, to be sure, the concern has proved to be that of the interpreters, rather than the text. Dupont-Sommer’s unfortunate discovery of messianic references in the Habakkuk commentary is a case in point.¹ Another is the passage in the War of the Children of Light (xii.6ff.) which says, *כִּי אֱדוֹנָי וּמֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד אִתָּנוּ עִם קְדוּשִׁים*. This has been translated, “For the holy one of Adonai and the King of glory is with us, with the holy angels.”² But the meaning is, “For Adonai is holy, and the King of glory is with us, who are a people of holy men.” This is argued not only by Ps 24:10 *יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת*, *יְהוָה מֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד*, *מִי הוּא זֶה מֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד*, but also by the fact that the War itself contains a parallel passage where the reading is *כִּי אֱדוֹנָי*, “For holy is our mighty one.”³ (As for *קְדוּשִׁים*, it is an interpretive comment on Deut 7:6: Israel’s claim to be a holy people is justified only by the fact, which is a people of holy men, and it is with them, therefore, that the holy King of glory dwells.) Yet another instance is the passage in Hodayot iii.6-18, in which the prophet compares himself to a woman in travail who will, however, give birth to a first-born son, a “wonderful counselor,” in the words of Isa 9:5. The fact that Isa 9:5 is usually taken as messianic has resulted in the same significance being foisted onto this section of the Hodayot.⁴ But the prophet is here following that OT tradition⁵ which compares the anguish [67] of prophecy to that of a woman in travail; the child to

¹ See the refutation by B. Otzen, “Die neugefundenen hebräischen Sektenschriften,” *Studia Theol.*, 7 (1954), 125ff., esp. 149ff.

² Most recently, by M. Black, “Messianic Doctrine in the Qumran Scrolls,” in *Studia Patristica*, edd. K. Aland & F. Cross (Berlin, 1957;= *T. u. U.*, 63), I, 441ff. esp. 454, cf. 455, n. 1; the earlier literature on the passage is cited by Black.

³ 1QM xix.1: Black’s “the holy one, our glorious one” is hardly plausible. Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War* (Jerusalem, 1955), pp. 328ff., has now shown conclusively, by a full commentary and many parallels, that the hymn of xii.6ff. refers to God himself.

⁴ Again a recent example is Black, “Doctrine,” p. 449, with references to his predecessors; further bibliography in Silberman’s article, cited in the following note.

⁵ Jer 4:19, 20:9; Ezek 3:3, &c. L. Silberman, “Language and Structure in the *Hodayot* (1QH3),” *JBL*, 75 (1956), 96ff., pointed out that the passage was a simile, but discredited his case by an implausible interpretation of the Hebrew and failure to recognize the OT source of the comparison.

whom he⁶ will give birth will be the word of the Lord (a mighty counselor),⁷ and therefore the passage is of especial interest in showing that the author did not (or, at least, did not always) attribute messianic significance to every word of Isa 9.

Beside such instances where no messiah whatever is to be found in the text,⁸ there are a number of passages where the word "messiah" does appear, but refers to some anointed functionary who may have nothing whatever to do with the End, and in any case owes his title to a position quite other than that normally, in modern usage, called messianic. Thus, for instance, when the War refers to "thy messiahs" (in xi.7) the term probably means the prophets of the OT, as it sometimes does in the Zadokite Documents,⁹ and—if we follow Kuhn in thinking that these documents refer to two messiahs, from Aaron and Israel¹⁰—it is altogether probable that the messiah from Aaron is the anointed High Priest.¹¹ This variety of usage derives, of course, from the OT, where prophets¹² and priests,¹³ as well as kings,¹⁴ are anointed, and the term "my messiahs," equated with "my prophets," is even used to refer to all Israelites.¹⁵ The same variety of usage is found in the pseudepigrapha—in particular Kuhn has argued persuasively that the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs show the same expectation of two messiahs as do the Qumran texts mentioned above.¹⁶ Even greater variety appears in rabbinic literature, where a messiah may be an "anointed" (high) priest, or another priest anointed for a special function, or any past or future king of Judah or Israel who has been or is to be anointed,¹⁷ to say nothing [68] of the other meanings inherited from the OT. And here, by the way, as in the Dead

⁶ There is no justification whatever for intruding "the community of Israel" into the passage.

⁷ Ps 16:7.

⁸ Other examples could easily be added, e.g., 1QpHab v.4, where *בְּחִיר* is to be read as a plural (cf. Rabin's note in *The Zadokite Documents* [Oxford, 1954], p. 8, on ii. 12); 1QS iv.20, on which cf. Y. Yadin, "A Note on DSD IV 20," *JBL*, 74 (1955), 40ff.

⁹ CD ii.12, probably to be read *מְשִׁיחֵי רוּחַ קֹדֶשׁ*, "those anointed by his holy spirit" (the usual confusion of *waw* and *yodh*); vi.1, again read *מְשִׁיחֵי רוּחַ*, probably to be supplied in the following gap.

¹⁰ K. G. Kuhn, "The Two Messiahs," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (N. Y., 1957), pp. 55ff.

¹¹ Kuhn's theory, *loc. cit.*; see also L. Silberman, "The Two 'Messiahs' of the Manual of Discipline," *VT*, 5 (1955), 77ff.

¹² 1 Kings 19:16; Isa 61:1; cf. Ps 105:15 (=1 Chron 16:22).

¹³ Exod 29:7, 29; Lev 4:3, 5, 16; Num 35:25; etc.

¹⁴ 1 Sam 9:16, 10:1, 15:1, 17, etc.

¹⁵ Ps 105:15 (=1 Chron 16:22), cf. Isa 45:1 if "Cyrus" is an interpolation; Hab 3:13; Pss 28:8, 84:10 (or the High Priest?).

¹⁶ Kuhn, "The Two Messiahs," pp. 57ff.

¹⁷ Horayot 12a, bottom.

Sea documents,¹⁸ the anointed high priest takes precedence; he is actually defined as "that messiah who is chief among messiahs."¹⁹

Faced with this embarrassment of messianic riches, the Christian exegete will probably try to define the object of his interest as "*the* Messiah"—the one whose coming is to be the major event in the End. But this brings us to the fact that just as there are messiahs without Ends, so there are Ends without messiahs. The War, for instance, gives us a detailed account of military goings on so extraordinary that they must be eschatological, but it says nothing whatever of any messiah.²⁰ Similarly, there is no reference to a messiah in the Hodayot,²¹ nor in the Habakkuk commentary,²² where we should expect one.

Here again, the state of affairs in the scrolls is a heritage from the OT and a parallel to the pseudepigrapha and the rabbinic literature. Many OT prophecies of the coming kingdom or world have no messiah,²³ and there is none in Jubilees (though chap. 23 contains a prophecy of the coming age from which the messiah's absence is conspicuous, and the blessings of Levi and Judah in chap. 31 are on the very verge of messianism), nor in Enoch 1-36 and 91-104, nor in the Assumption of Moses, nor in the Slavic Enoch, nor Sibylline Oracles IV, though all of these contain prophetic passages in which some messiah might reasonably have been expected to make an appearance. As for rabbinic literature, the comparative rarity of messianic references in the older material is notorious, and the independence of the terms, "the days of the messiah" and "the coming world" makes it possible that by some, at least, the one or the other may have been used exclusively. Certainly it is not safe to assume that the harmonization of the two concepts, which now prevails in rabbinic material, was customary and universal from the beginning.

This is *not* to say, of course, that the Dead Sea sectaries were generally without what would commonly be called messianic expectations. On the contrary, in their literature, as in the OT, the pseudepigrapha, and the Christian and rabbinic material, there are many passages in which the coming of some sort of messiah (or

¹⁸ IQSa, adopting the restoration of Kuhn in "The Two Messiahs," pp. 54—56 and notes, underlying his comments in "The Lord's Supper," in *The Scrolls and the NT*, pp. 70-71.

¹⁹ Horayot, *loc. cit.*, (The change of vowels is noteworthy, but does not really change the sense.)

²⁰ On xii.6ff. see above.

²¹ On iii.6-18, see above.

²² On v.4, see above, n. 8. The text is to be translated, "And (God) will commit the judgment of all the gentiles to his chosen (ones) and at their rebuke shall all evil doers of his people be found guilty, because they (his chosen ones) kept his commandment(s) when they were persecuted."

²³ E.g., Isa 2:2-5, 25-27, 29:17-24, 30:18-26; Ezek 38-39; Joel 4; etc.

messiahs) is definitely associated with [69] the End.²⁴ Indeed—what proves most clearly the currency of the notion—the expectation even appears in passing references in legal texts, to indicate the terminus until which certain rules shall be valid: Backsliders shall not be readmitted until the messiahs come,²⁵ the laws governing camp discipline shall be observed until the messiahs come;²⁶ and so on. Even here, however, caution is necessary. For these instances show the expression coming to mean “forever”—and thereby losing its value as evidence of messianic expectation. A similar change in the meaning of other eschatological expressions appears in Tosefta Sotah xiii.2, on Ezra 2:63: Ezra reads, “The governor said to them that they should not eat of the most holy things until there should arise a priest possessing the urim and thummim.” The Tosefta comments, “As a man who says to his neighbor, ‘Until Elijah come,’ or, ‘Until the dead live.’” (Since the Tosefta here explains the meaning of a remark reportedly made at least 500 years prior to the time of the explanation, its words can hardly be taken as testimony for vivid eschatological hope.) That the same attitude was found in Christian communities is proved by 2 Pet 3:3: “You know that, in the latter days, mockers will come with mockery ... saying, ‘Where is the promise of his coming?’” Since the Manual of Discipline (1QS ii.11ff.) devotes considerable attention to hypocrites in the Qumran sect, we have some ground on which to assume that, when the period until the messiahs’ coming was used to mean “forever,” there were some members who thought to themselves that “forever” would be a long, long time.

Now all this variety in the matter of messianic expectations is merely one detail—though a particularly striking one—of the even greater variety of eschatological expectations current in the two centuries before and after the time of Jesus. To say nothing of mere differences in personnel and program, these expectations run the whole gamut of concepts, from ordinary kingdoms in this world, through forms of this world variously made over and improved, through worlds entirely new and different, to spiritual bliss without any world at all.²⁷ But the point to be noted is that these contradictory theories evidently flourished side by side in the early rabbinic and Christian and Qumran communities which copied the texts and repeated the sayings. What is more, quite contradictory theories are

²⁴ E.g., 1QS ix.11; CD xix.10, xx.1, xii.23, xiv.19; J. Allegro, “Further Messianic References,” *JBL*, 75 (1956), 174ff.; “A Newly Discovered Fragment,” *PEQ* (1954), pp. 69ff.; etc.

²⁵ CD xx.1.

²⁶ CD xii.23, cf. xiv.19; 1QS ix.11.

²⁷ For a description of the range of variation, and an attempt (admittedly unsuccessful, pp. 69f.) to unscramble the several varieties, see P. Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde* (Tübingen, 1934), pp. 63-77.

often preserved side by side in the same document—[70] the Book of Enoch is a glaring example and was evidently a very popular one, since it was widely used by early Christianity and current in the Qumran community, too.

Enoch, chap. 1, predicts that God will come down from heaven onto Mt. Sinai, the mountains will melt, the earth be split, all that is upon the earth will perish, then there will be a judgment on all men and the righteous will be rewarded. *Chap. 10* predicts that the archangel Michael will be sent to destroy the offspring of the evil angels and the spirits of the reprobate and all wrong from the face of the earth. Then the plant of righteousness and truth will appear and flourish forever; the righteous will escape and live till they beget thousands of children, and complete their years in peace; the earth will be planted with good trees and be marvelous fruitful; all nations will become righteous and worship God and live in sinless purity forever. *Chap. 38* predicts that the Righteous One (who evidently is not God) will appear in a blaze of glory before the righteous; the mighty of the earth will not be able to endure the light and will be killed by the righteous; sinners will be judged and driven from the face of the earth. *Chap. 45* predicts that God's Elect One will sit on the throne of glory and judge the works of men; the elect will then take courage and the Elect One will dwell among them; the heaven will be transformed into light and the earth into blessing; the elect will dwell on the earth and the sinners will be destroyed by God. *Chap. 46* predicts that the Son of Man will reveal the hidden treasures and destroy the mighty of the earth, the sinners, and the rich. *Chap. 56* predicts that the angels of punishment will stir up the Parthians to invade Palestine, but the invaders will fail to take Jerusalem, will begin to fight with each other, and so destroy themselves, and will finally (with all other sinners?) be swallowed up by Sheol. *Chap. 58* predicts that the righteous will be rewarded with eternal life (contrast *Chap. 10*, above) in endless light, and that darkness will be destroyed. *Chap. 90* predicts that the members of the sect (the sheep who can see, by contrast to the blind ones) will destroy the gentiles in war, then God will come and split the earth and the gentiles will be swallowed up in it. God will seat himself on a throne in Palestine and will judge the wicked angels and the former rulers of Palestine and the Jews who were not members of the sect. All these will be cast into the fiery pit. The second temple will be hidden away and a new temple built by God. All remaining gentiles will obey the members of the sect, who will all be virtuous and will be transformed into a higher order of beings (?—from sheep into bulls). *Chap. 91:12ff.* predicts likewise that the end will begin with military victories by the righteous, but locates the building of the true temple before the judgment, and has two judgments, a first on human sinners, a second

on the angels. These specimens are far from exhaustive, but suffice to suggest the diversity of the eschatological prophecies with which the book [71] swarms. A list equally diverse could be compiled with equal ease from the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, of which at least parts were also read in Qumran.

Admittedly it is always dangerous to argue from silence. But we can hardly suppose that the men who preserved these books were unaware of the contradictions between the eschatological notions they contained. Nor can we suppose they thought such notions unimportant, for they went to the trouble of copying out the books which contained them, and the history of Palestine through the whole period testifies to the immense importance, even on the practical, political level, of eschatological speculation. Nor are we justified in supposing that there was some unknown higher synthesis by which these many and apparently contradictory opinions were reconciled in a single system.²⁸ First, there is no trace of such a synthesis, and second, we have occasional evidence of polemic, within single groups, between advocates of different opinions—for instance, the well-known rabbinic attacks on those who reckon the date of the End,²⁹ and Paul's attacks on Christians who either denied the resurrection of the body or held that the day of the Lord had already come.³⁰ Customarily, of course, such passages are dismissed as mere evidence of what is called "heretical" tendencies within the groups concerned. But "heretical" is probably an anachronism, for, as shown above, the groups themselves preserved, in their sacred or quasi-sacred literature, widely divergent and quite irreconcilable accounts of the course and very nature of eschatological events.

What faces us, therefore, is an unreconciled diversity, within single groups, of opinions which are nevertheless considered important, at least by many members of the groups concerned. Recognition of this diversity raises very far-reaching problems as to the organization of these groups and the significance of their ceremonies. If a group had no single eschatological myth, it cannot have been organized as a community of believers in the myth it did not have. Nor can its cult

²⁸ Though unjustified, the tacit presupposition of uniformity is common, witness the many articles which take for granted that the data are to be harmonized. Thus R. Brown, "The Messianism of Qumran," *CBQ*, 19 (1957), 53ff., identifies figures mentioned by different titles and supposes that, because the preserved sections of a work do not mention a particular figure, the sections not preserved probably did (! p. 58). It is not to be denied that such assumptions may sometimes be correct. But the manifest diversity of the material requires us first to make complete and distinct accounts of each separate title, and not to impose on any document any concept it does not clearly contain.

²⁹ Evidence collected by Strack-Billerbeck, IV.2.1013ff.

³⁰ 1 Cor 15; 2 Thess 2:2.

acts be seen as dramatic representations or realizations of events which there was no single myth, accepted by all the members, to predict. If the variety of eschatological prediction is any evidence, eschatology was, for the members of these [72] groups, a comparatively arbitrary and individual matter—part, and an important part, of their general *Weltanschauung*, but a part about which the opinions of different members might, and did, differ quite widely, and about which some members might, and did, collect, in single MSS, many different opinions. Such an arbitrary and individual matter can hardly have been the basis of group organization and practice.

If we look for such a basis, we might do better to find it in agreement as to a common legal authority. This is not to say, a common code of laws. About individual rulings there is almost as much disagreement as about particular eschatological programs. But differences about legal questions are apt to lead to acceptance of some common authority, and this can easily become the basis of organization. Such organization may then express itself in communal meals and other forms of communal life, which individual members may interpret symbolically according to their individual eschatological notions, but which are primarily functions of the present organization, not anticipations of the end. This is clearly what happened in Rabbinic Judaism; to what extent it happened in the Dead Sea sect and in Christianity are separate questions which must be carefully (and separately) considered.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE DEAD SEA SECT IN RELATION TO ANCIENT JUDAISM

[347] I think I should begin with an apology for my temerity in accepting your invitation to discuss the Dead Sea material as a whole. Such a discussion is certainly premature while the greater part of the material is still unpublished, and while certain basic studies of the documents have yet to be made, or, at least, made public. The question of the paleographic dating of the manuscripts, for instance, which could have great consequences for the reconstruction of the history of the sect, must remain *sub judice* until we have the material fully before us. The question of the text of the *Damascus Document*—another most important matter for the history of the sect—will have to be reopened when the new fragments are published.

Beside our brute ignorance of these matters of fact, there is a wide range for possible difference of opinion as to how the manuscripts were related to the owners and operators of the Qumran establishment. I am not referring to the ludicrous theories that the documents may be forgeries or genizah deposits, or anything of the sort. The archaeological evidence for connecting the documents with the pottery and the pottery with the establishment seems to me decisive.¹ But we cannot be sure that all persons connected with the establishment were members of the managing group. If we supposed that group to have been an organization like either that reflected in the *Manual of Discipline*, or that in the *Damascus Document*, we should have to suppose it complex. Beside the full members—of various degrees—there were also several sorts of probationers and, perhaps, a circle of pious hangers-on, young men sent down for moral training,² women who ministered to the needs of the members,³ and the like. Such persons may have possessed books which the full members of the organization would not have fully approved, and it may be that we are finding somewhat more than 'The...Library of Qumran.'⁴ Even if we suppose that all books came from the official library, we cannot be sure that everything in the library reflected faithfully and directly the beliefs of its owners—that sort of absurd

¹ See the restatement of the argument by R. de Vaux, *Les MSS de Qumrân et l'archéologie*, RB LXVI (1959), 87ff., esp. 92ff.

² Josephus, *Life*, 10-12. I doubt that Bannous was connected with the Qumran community. But other young men may have gone to it as Josephus went to him.

³ Luke 8.3, cf. the graves of women at Qumran.

⁴ From the title of the book by F. Cross (New York, 1958), my italics.

supposition should be left to the secret police. And even if we suppose further that all the books found were books fully approved by the authorities, yet we cannot take it for [348] granted that those books of which complete copies happen to have been preserved for us are necessarily the ones which stood highest in regard, nor even that those books of which most copies can be shown to have existed were therefore the books most important in the structure of the organization. Even supposing the finds quite accurately reflect the proportions of the original material—which they probably do not—the secretive character of the sect and its deliberate separation of the lower ranks from the upper, makes it likely that what we should find in greatest quantity and best preserved would be the comparatively exoteric books. We have fragments of a few books which presumably were not exoteric—fragments in cryptographic scripts and reversed writing.⁵ These certainly testify to intentions to conceal something from someone, presumably from someone who might see the book, presumably, that is, from some fellow member of the group. Moreover, the works actually found in quantity go to confirm the supposition that they were intended for the outer circles: Manuals for the training of novices,⁶ with liturgical texts which were read to the whole community, biblical texts and romantic retellings of biblical story,⁷ apocalyptic speculations (of which the reading was probably an act of devotion), *Sacred Songs and Pious Ejaculations*, as the seventeenth century would have called them. Another thing to be reckoned with is the belief that most important teachings should not be committed to writing at all, the prejudice against written and in favour of oral tradition, which we find both in Christianity and in rabbinic Judaism and which may have affected Qumran.⁸ It is important to realize that esoterism admits of degrees, and to consider the possibility that what we have from Qumran is mostly the exoteric literature of an esoteric sect.

Against this ignorance of the relations of the documents to the Qumran community, it must be admitted that a great deal can be discerned directly from the documents themselves. Whatever their

⁵ J. Milik, *Dix Ans de Découvertes* (Paris, 1957), pp. 76 and 79.

⁶ That 1QS and CD were intended for the training of novices is suggested by the marked homiletic elements they contain, the edifying summaries of sectarian history (esp. in CD), the comparatively elementary content of the legal material, suggesting catechesis rather than advanced study, the forms of address in CD, the absence of information which goes beyond what novices might be expected to learn or could hardly be prevented from learning, etc.

⁷ Not only the Genesis Apocryphon; on the romantic elements in T. 12 Patr. see M. Braun, *History and Romance* (Oxford, 1938).

⁸ Christianity: 2 John 12; 3 John 13; Papias in Eusebius, *H.E.* 3.39.4; Clemens Alex., *Stromateis* I. Rabbinic Judaism: Y. Peah 1.6 (17a); Y. Meg. 4.1 (74d); Gittin 60b, Temurah 14b, Tanhuma *Wayera* 5, *Ki tissa* 34.

ancient context, they have already sufficed to change our notions as to the language and writing of Palestine in the first centuries B.C. and A.D., the biblical texts then in circulation, the ways in which these texts were interpreted, the legal conclusions and eschatological speculations which were derived from or read into them and the ways in which some of these conclusions were implemented and others fostered by the formation of one or more special communities of which we can glimpse the buildings, the organization, the economic and social [349] structures, the forms of study, the rituals, the calendar, the rules of daily life and the intense personal piety with its vivid convictions of sin and of present salvation. Many of these points have been made the subjects of detailed studies with which most of you are doubtless familiar.⁹

But when we try to use these evident characteristics to reshape our picture of first-century Judaism, we discover another difficulty—our ignorance of the relation of both the scrolls and the group or groups they picture, to Judaism as a whole.

Now a problem concerning relationship can be approached from either of the terms related. This means that, in the case of Judaism and the Dead Sea material, we can either take the new material and try to find a place for it in the established picture of Judaism during either first century, or we can reconsider the history of Judaism during those centuries and some time before, and see what the new material contributes to our knowledge of the structure of the religion as a whole.

As you know, it is the former of these methods which has been most followed. The questions have been: To which of the four sects mentioned by Josephus—Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes and Zealots—should the new material be attributed? To which of the many wicked priests and gentile invaders, known from Josephus, the Books of the Maccabees and gentile historians, should be referred the statements in the texts? These, of course, are natural and perfectly legitimate questions, and any full treatment of the topic on which I am supposed to be speaking would have to answer them. But so many people with so little evidence have tried to answer them already that I think you will be glad to pardon me if I turn instead to the other method of investigation, of which I spoke, and ask, what is, in fact, the general picture of Judaism to which this new material must be related? When we survey the history of the religion, during the centuries prior to Christ, what characteristics are now brought into prominence and

⁹ Examples will be furnished readily by the bibliographies of Qumran by Burchard (Berlin, 1957), and La Sor (Pasadena, 1958).

what explanations of them are indicated by this new material from the Dead Sea Scrolls?

Here it would be possible to list, again, a great number of more or less superficial parallels between the scrolls and pseudepigraphic, or Christian or rabbinic material. But in the first place a considerable number of such studies have been made already, and in the second place, these occasional parallelisms seem to me more likely to confuse than to clarify the main concern. In terms of scholarly concern the major consequence of the discovery of the scrolls has been to concentrate attention on the sectarian side of first-century Judaism, and the great problem which it raises is that of the nature of the Jewish sects and of their relation to the religion as a whole.

In the history of the study, I suppose that 'sect' appears primarily as a [350] translation of the term 'hairesis,' by which Josephus described these groups.¹⁰ As such it was a philosophical term and its use was intended to imply that these groups were philosophical schools. Whether or not Josephus thought them so, it is now generally agreed that their resemblance to philosophical schools was no more than superficial, that they were basically religious, not philosophical, groups, and that the term 'sect' is therefore to be used of them, if at all, in its modern sense, as a religious, not a philosophical term. Thus we are led to the question, what was the nature and source of the religious differences which appear in ancient Judaism?

For this question, certainly, there is no lack of evidence. The Old Testament is peculiar, among all the literature of the pre-Christian world, as that most concerned with principally religious conflicts in historical time. Other literatures tell of conflicts between gods in the mythical or heroic past; yet others, of historical conflicts between peoples, whose gods were involved as supporters of the human parties. But what we have in the Books of Kings and most of the Prophets is a record of a long series of conflicts within a single people, between adherents of the same god, who differed as to the way in which he should be worshipped. And in many other parts of the Old Testament we have earlier history retold, or later history reflected, in the light of these conflicts.

The last years before the Babylonian exile saw a temporary triumph of those who were determined to worship not only Yahweh, the god of Israel, but also a number of the other deities whose cults were common in Palestine. The diatribes of Jeremiah and Ezekiel show us Jerusalem in the last days before the exile: The cults of Tammuz, Shamash and various other gods were established in the Temple (certainly not without the consent of the priesthood and the

¹⁰ E.g. *J.W.* 2.118f., 162 etc.

government); the domestic cults of Baal and Ishtar were general; the prophets prophesied by Baal as well as by Yahweh; there were altars, probably to Yahweh as well as to other deities, in every street—the prophets say—and on every rooftop and on every high hill and under every green tree.¹¹ With all due allowance for the inaccuracy of inspired utterance, the religion of Israel—if by that we mean the religion of the Temple of Jerusalem, the government and the majority of the people—was evidently the common polytheism of the Palestinian coast, differentiated by addition of the cult of Yahweh, the ancestral god of the Israelites.

But as you know, there had been in Palestine a remarkable series of prophets of Yahweh who denounced the economic exploitation of the people by the upper classes and who insisted that the Israelites should worship Yahweh alone. The first of these themes is the concern of the first of the preserved prophetic books, that of Amos, the preacher of justice or, to use [351] the term now fashionable, of ‘righteousness,’ whom we find in conflict with the wicked priest of the temple of Bethel.¹² This conflict stems from one of the three main charges which the *Damascus Document* brings against its opponents, that of wealth obtained by improper means, what the *Damascus Document* calls *hon harasha*, a phrase taken over into the New Testament as ‘the mammon of unrighteousness.’¹³ Presumably this subject remained a matter of dispute between teachers of righteousness and wicked priests from the eighth century on. We find Jeremiah¹⁴ in the seventh century denouncing the priests and nobles on behalf of the slaves, and Nehemiah, the follower of this tradition, carrying on the same conflict in the fifth century¹⁵ (and the theme is apparent in Pharisaic, Christian and Qumran polemic against the religious aristocracy).¹⁶

By Nehemiah’s time, however, great changes had taken place. The spontaneous teaching of the prophets had been combined with much other material and codified as law in the central law book of Deuteronomy, and this law had become the rallying-point of a school of scholars and pietists who not only rewrote the history of Israel to

¹¹ Ezek. 8.; Jer. 2:8, 11ff. 20, 27; 7:9, 17f., 31f.; 8:2; 9:13; 11:12f., 17; 12:16; 16:11f.; 17:2; 19:4f., 13; 32:34f.; 44 (Shamash is *shemesh*, the sun).

¹² Amos 7:10ff. Terminologically, Amos was not the preacher of righteousness; *zedaqah* with that sense does appear in 5:7 and 24, but both of these may be glosses and, in any event, do not suffice to make the *term* a major theme of his preserved utterances. But by *content* Amos was pre-eminently the preacher of what Isaiah and the Psalms were to call *zedeq*, ‘righteousness.’

¹³ CD vi. 15; iv. 17, and Rabin’s note, *ad loc.*; Luke 16:9.

¹⁴ Jer. 34:12 ff.

¹⁵ Neh. 5.

¹⁶ Pesahim, 57a; Josephus *Ant.* 20.181, 206f., probably reflects Pharisaic propaganda, cf. M. Smith, “Palestinian Judaism,” chapter nine above, pp. 74ff; Mark 12:38-40, for the position of the scribes cf. 11:27; Matt. 23:23; 1Qp Hab xii. 10; CD iv. 17, etc.

accord with its teachings, but also developed the supremely important concept of the pious life as the life devoted to the repetition, interpretation and practice of the sacred law.¹⁷ This was a pious life which they could and did practice in exile in Babylonia, but there, presumably, a further development took place. Because Deuteronomy had prohibited sacrifice outside Jerusalem, the exiled adherents of Deuteronomy had either to develop a drastic interpretation which would permit them to sacrifice elsewhere, or to develop a non-sacrificial form of worship. Different groups at different times seem to have done both. Some such interpretation must be presupposed to explain the acceptance of the Pentateuch by Samaria (the alteration of the text is evidently posterior), and the foundation of the temple at Leontopolis and, perhaps, those deposits at Qumran which have been thought to be sacrifices. On the other hand, the essentials of non-sacrificial worship—the worship of the synagogue, prayer and the ceremonial reading of the Law—are associated in our records with the return of Ezra, and it is likely to suppose that he brought them to Palestine from Babylonia.¹⁸ Now the existence of this type of worship is of the greatest importance for the development of sects, because it facilitates the formation of small, private cult-groups which even the poor can afford to maintain. [352] Synagogues are essentially such cult-groups; they require no expensive buildings nor sacrifices, no elaborate ritual; one can meet in a room in an ordinary house, secretly, anywhere.¹⁹ Membership in synagogues was therefore probably a first step towards the formation of sects, and this all the more so because these cult-groups were, from their inception, social groups, and especially groups of those who could eat together. Some of the rules of the law of purity could still be practiced in Babylonia and, so far as they were practiced, they must have cut off those who observed them from those who did not. Differences as to the interpretation of the purity laws and especially as to the consequent question of table fellowship were among the principal causes of the separation of Christianity from the rest of Judaism and the early fragmentation of Christianity itself. The same thing holds for the Qumran community and, within Pharisaic tradition, the *haburah*. They are essentially groups whose members observe the same interpretation of the purity rules and therefore can have table fellowship with each other. It is no accident that the essential act of communion in all these groups is

¹⁷ Deut 6:6f.

¹⁸ Neh 8. The blessing in v. 6 is presumably prayer. Cf. 'the eighteen blessings.'

¹⁹ The economical and simple character of Jewish worship is given as one of the main reasons for its success by Strabo, *Geog.* 16. 2. 36 (T. Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs grecs*, etc. Paris, 1895, p. 100).

participation in common meals. This is the direct consequence of the Deuteronomic tradition.

Nehemiah, to judge from his legal measures and his literary style, came to Jerusalem as the representative, not only of the Persian court, but also of the Deuteronomic tradition.²⁰ As such, he evidently stood (as he pictures himself) almost alone.²¹ Therefore he attempted no religious reforms during the first years of his administration. Instead he ingratiated himself with most of the people by his rebuilding of the walls, and with the lower classes, especially, by his implementation of the Deuteronomic concern for the poor. He prohibited lending on interest and forced the return of property already seized for debt. It is to be noted that he justified this, not by appeal to the sacred law of Deuteronomy (which evidently was not generally recognized), nor to prophetic teaching, but to Israelite fellow-feeling.²² Only when he had been in the saddle for twelve years and had secured his position by revisiting the Persian court, only then did he proceed to religious reforms—the purification of the Temple, the collection of tithes for the Levites, the enforcement of the Sabbath and the prohibition of intermarriage with families of neighbouring territories.²³ Who was his principal opponent in these legal reforms? Who but the wicked priest of the Jerusalem Temple! The wicked priest was a close friend of Tobias the Ammonite, to whom he had assigned a room in the Temple, and of Sanballat of Samaria, one of whose daughters had married one of his grandsons. Nehemiah not only expelled Tobias from the Temple, [353] but also had the Temple purified after the expulsion. Here we encounter clearly the second charge which the *Damascus Document* makes against its opponents, that of polluting the Temple,²⁴ and here, too, we encounter what is most characteristic of Israelite sectarianism, the claim that laymen can be better informed as to the purity laws than the Temple priesthood. This is a noteworthy thing. Customarily the priesthood had been the religious authority, and so especially on questions of purity.²⁵ But now a layman, relying on his own knowledge and interpretation of the sacred law, purifies the temple from pollutions for which the priests have been

²⁰ Style, e.g. 1:5ff. In legislation, he revised the Deuteronomic tithing laws in the interest of the Levites, but his concern for the Levites is itself Deuteronomic, as is that for the poor generally and in particular his prohibition of interest (cf. Deut 23:20ff.), and also the prohibition of intermarriage.

²¹ Neh 2:12-16.

²² Neh 5:7ff.

²³ Neh 13.

²⁴ CD iv. 17-18.

²⁵ E.g. Haggai 2:11ff. Ezra 2:63 was not an adequate precedent for Nehemiah's action, since there the civil authority evidently had to intervene to settle a conflict between various claimants to priesthood.

responsible. Christian story will make Jesus do the same;²⁶ Pharisaic story represented the Pharisees as supervising the Temple ritual and forcing the priests to follow Pharisaic regulations;²⁷ the Qumran parallels I have already mentioned. Thus Nehemiah's cleansing of the Temple is not merely an important particular clash between a wicked priest and a righteous interpreter of the Law; it is evidence of the existence of a new final authority, essentially of a new religion.

We can hardly think it accidental that the other reforms of Nehemiah also deal with questions which appear in the later history of Judaism as important differentia of the various sects.

He enforced the giving of tithes for the Levites,²⁸ so won the Levites over to his side, and was able to use them as para-military troops to put through his further reforms.²⁹ The giving of tithes for the Levites is one of the most important topics in rabbinic literature. It evidently was one of the principal differentiae of the Pharisees, who gave, as opposed to the majority of the population, the *'amme ha 'arez*, who did not.³⁰ Special associations of pledged tithers were formed, and developed their own disciplinary rules. The obligation to eat only tithed food was made the basis of elaborate regulations limiting table fellowship in a way comparable even to the effect of the purity laws. In the New Testament, on the other hand, tithing is minimized³¹ and from the Dead Sea material it is conspicuously absent.

The third reform of Nehemiah was enforcement of the Sabbath. Here again he evidently had little popular support: He had to use his Persian garrison to shut the city gates to prevent trading on the Sabbath, then he used the Levites to guard the gates and keep them shut.³² You are all familiar, [354] of course, with the critical role which Sabbath observance plays in the Gospels,³³ as one of the practical matters which separated the disciples of Jesus from other Jews. Similarly, the *Damascus Document* makes observance of the Sabbath according to the peculiar laws of the sect one of the major distinguishing characteristics of its adherents,³⁴ and Sabbath law is one of the most developed fields of rabbinic law and its precise observance

²⁶ Mark 11:15ff. and parallels; John 2:14 ff.

²⁷ Yoma 23a; Parah 3:7ff.; T. Parah 3:8; etc. On the statements of Josephus, cf. Smith, "Palestinian Judaism," *loc. cit.*

²⁸ Neh 13:10ff.

²⁹ Neh 13:22.

³⁰ See especially tractates Demai and T. Demai, *passim*. For the associations and their rules, T. Demai 2, with Lieberman's commentary and the recent study by J. Neusner, "The Fellowship in the second Jewish Commonwealth," HTR, 53 (1960), 125ff.

³¹ The passage which makes most of it is Heb 7, and that is not much.

³² Neh 13:15-22.

³³ E.g. Mark 2:23ff.; 3:2ff. and parallels; John 5:16; 9:16, etc.

³⁴ CD vi. 18; x. 14ff.

was evidently among the more important matters which separated the Pharisees from ordinary Jews.³⁵

Finally, Nehemiah put a stop to marriages with families from neighbouring districts and drove out a grandson of the High Priest because he had married a daughter of Sanballat of Samaria.³⁶ It just so happens that differences about marriage law are the basis of the third of the three major charges (illicit sexual relations) which the *Damascus Document* makes against its opponents.³⁷

Here and in the story of the cleansing of the Temple we have the clearest proof of the sectarian character of Nehemiah's reforms. For Tobias the Ammonite, whom he drove out of the Temple, and Sanballat the Horonite, whose daughter he pronounced unfit to marry a Jew,³⁸ were undoubtedly both of them worshippers of Yahweh. It is utterly mistaken to see the conflict of Nehemiah with these opponents as a conflict between worshippers of Yahweh and worshippers of other gods. The Book of Ezra specifically declares that the population of central Palestine were worshippers of Yahweh and that they had maintained his sacrificial cult throughout the period of the exile.³⁹ As to Tobias, there can be no doubt whatever. Not only does the fact that he came to the Temple establish the presumption that he came to worship, but his name, *tobiyah*, says openly, 'My good is Yahweh,' and he called his son *Yehohanan*, 'Yahweh gave graciously.'⁴⁰ Both he and his son were married into important Jerusalem families. Similarly Sanballat was certainly a worshipper of Yahweh, for he called his sons *Delayah*, 'Yahweh delivered,' and *Shelemyah*, 'A peace offering to Yahweh,'⁴¹ and he gave a daughter in marriage to a grandson of the High Priest of Jerusalem.⁴² Accordingly, the conflict in the Book of Nehemiah is not between Jews and gentiles, but between the Deuteronomic sect, as represented by Nehemiah, and the popular, generally established, cult of Yahweh, which no doubt perpetuated many characteristics of the syncretistic religion prevalent in [355] Judea prior to the exile. We find Third Isaiah denouncing much the

³⁵ Tractate Shabbat, *passim*.

³⁶ Neh 13:23-30.

³⁷ CD iv. 17, third in the order in which they have been discussed in this article, though first to be mentioned in the text. The particular point of marriage law at issue in CD is, admittedly, quite different from that in Neh 13.

³⁸ That he thought her unfit to marry a Jew, let alone a priest, is shown by the preceding verses.

³⁹ Ezra 4:2, *welo* is certainly to be read for *welo*'.

⁴⁰ Neh 6:18.

⁴¹ A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri* (Oxford, 1923), no. 30, line 29 (with slightly different vocalization).

⁴² Neh 13:28.

same things as did the pre-exilic prophets,⁴³ and we see what looks like a perpetuation of the old cult in the Elephantine temple, whose adherents, in the years shortly after Nehemiah, turned for help first, unsuccessfully, to Jerusalem, and then, successfully, to Delayah and Shelemyah.⁴⁴

But while Nehemiah's legislation exhibited these sectarian characteristics, there is no evidence that behind it lay any closed, sectarian organization.⁴⁵ No doubt Nehemiah himself had been shaped by the conventicle in Babylonia where he had worshipped, and he seems to have brought some of his friends and family with him to Jerusalem, but there is no indication of his acting with them as a special religious group. The point at which we can first see the formation of a distinct, formally constituted sect, is, I think, the covenant in Nehemiah 10.

To understand this covenant we must keep in mind the history of the period after Nehemiah, as reported by Josephus in the *Antiquities*: Nehemiah's successor as governor of Judea was a Persian not at all concerned about the maintenance of the Deuteronomic tradition.⁴⁶ The family of Nehemiah's priestly opponents remained in control of the temple.⁴⁷ The aristocratic families of Jerusalem continued their alliances with the upper classes of the neighbouring territories, and these, in particular the Tobiads of Ammanitis, became thoroughly at home in Jerusalem. In Maccabean times we shall find the Tobiads so well established as to be the chief supporters of claimants of the high priesthood.⁴⁸ Good relations must have been restored with Samaria, too, because the Samaritans accepted the Pentateuch. On the other hand, the Pentateuch embodies Deuteronomy, as well as the priestly tradition, and is undeniable evidence of the continued power of the school Nehemiah had represented, as well as the continued power of the priesthood. On almost every page of the Pentateuch appears evidence of its origin as a product of compromise between conflicting interests. This accounts for the wide acceptance it achieved and for its

⁴³ Isa 57:5, idols under every green tree, human sacrifices in ravines, (6) cults of streams (?), (7) fertility cults on high places, etc.

⁴⁴ Cowley, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁵ Nehemiah does contrast what 'we' have done to repurchase and free enslaved Israelites, with the practice of the Jerusalem aristocracy of selling debtors into slavery, 5:8. But 'we' here could be Nehemiah with his relatives and dependents (so Bertholet, *ad. loc.*, appealing to vs. 10) or the Jews of Mesopotamia (so Rudolph *ad loc.*). Therefore it cannot be used as proof of an organized Deuteronomic sect, and the absence from Nehemiah's account of any other trace of the activity of such a sect amounts to proof that none existed in Jerusalem.

⁴⁶ *Ant.* 11.297ff.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ant.* 22.160, 237ff.

conspicuously non-sectarian character, as demonstrated by its appearance in almost every branch of later Jewish tradition.

It is against this background of normative Judaism that the formation of the sects must be seen. Please note that this normative Judaism is *not* that of the Pharisees (in this respect the work of Moore,⁴⁹ which has had so many [356] followers, is almost completely misrepresentative). Down to the fall of the Temple, the normative Judaism of Palestine is that compromise of which the three principal elements are the Pentateuch, the Temple, and the '*amme ha 'arez*, the ordinary Jews who were not members of any sect.⁵⁰ This was clearly realized by the last great High Priest of the legitimate line, Simon the Just, who said: 'The world stands on three things, on the Pentateuch, on the Temple service, and on acts of kindness,'⁵¹ acts of common humanity, whether or not performed as legal observances. By deliberate contrast to this background, the groups devoted to particular legal interpretations, and consequently to peculiar practices, define themselves. The essential step is for the members of the group to bind themselves together by entering into a covenant to maintain their peculiar practices.

This is what we see in Nehemiah 10.⁵² The picture is somewhat obscured by the irrelevant framework of the Chronicler and by later glossation, but the nature of the essential document is clear. It is a covenant. First the parties are named⁵³—it is less important for us to speculate as to which names may have been original than to remark the emphasis placed by the *Damascus Document*, the *War Scroll* and the New Testament Apocalypse on the naming of all the parties to the New Covenant. Next it is recorded that they have sworn, and this is also, for the Dead Sea sect and perhaps for the Pharisaic *ḥaburah*, the

⁴⁹ G. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927-30), 3 vols.

⁵⁰ Smith, "Palestinian Judaism," pp. 73ff.

⁵¹ Aboth i. 2. I am not persuaded by the ingenious re-interpretation of *gemiluth ḥasadim* in J. Goldin's "The Three Pillars of Simeon the Righteous," *Proc. Amer. Acad. Jewish Res.* 27 (1958), 43ff

⁵² W. Rudolph, *Ezra u. Nehemia* (Tübingen, 1949), *ad loc.* has shown that this cannot have come from Ezra's reforms. The arguments to the contrary by A. Jepsen, "Nehemia 10," *ZAW N.F.* 25 (1954), 87ff., are unconvincing. Against Rudolph's supposition, that this is a documentary record of Nehemiah's reform, must be objected, beside the fundamental consideration mentioned in the text, the facts that the covenant shows the Sabbath markets, which Nehemiah had closed, were again open, and that it provides that the Levites shall collect the tithes due them in all the towns of the land, whereas one of Nehemiah's main concerns had been to require the delivery by the laity of the Levitical tithes to Jerusalem, so as to hold the Levites as a concentrated force in the city.

⁵³ Verse 29a, certainly in large part, and perhaps entirely, is redactional, see Rudolph, *ad loc.*

essential act of entrance.⁵⁴ Then comes the content of the oath: To observe the Law of Moses and in particular to maintain the reforms of Nehemiah and some additional observances, to wit, avoidance of marriage with *'amme ha 'arez*, refusal to purchase on Sabbaths and holidays, observance of the Sabbatical years by suspension of agriculture and cancellation of debts (Sabbath-year observance was to be another of the major differences between the Pharisees and the *'amme ha 'arez*) and payment of a long series of temple dues. The Chronicler has made of all this a covenant made by the [357] entire people, with Nehemiah at their head, but he has then contradicted himself by adding Nehemiah's report of how he one by one enforced, over bitter popular opposition, a few of the many reforms which here the whole people had previously undertaken to observe, of their own free will.⁵⁵ The document, therefore, is much more easily understandable as the basic covenant of a sect, a group of special observants, in the tradition of Nehemiah, but now particularly concerned with the observance of their obligations towards the Temple. We shall hardly be wrong in associating it with the tradition of the Levites, whom Nehemiah had reorganized and supported, who had in turn supported him, whose literary tradition preserved his memoirs and whose composite Book of Chronicles closed with the celebration of his work.

Association of Nehemiah 10 with the Levites is particularly plausible because it is in the work of the Levitic Chronicler that we first see, in post-exilic times, something like a sect in operation. This is the *bene haggolah*, the Palestinian 'Organization of Returned Exiles,'⁵⁶ which the Chronicler has made the hero of his account of the restoration, as given in the Book of Ezra. According to him it was the *bene haggolah* which rebuilt the Temple,⁵⁷ although the Book of Haggai clearly says it was the work of all the people of the land.⁵⁸ Similarly, for the Chronicler it was the *bene haggolah* who dedicated

⁵⁴ Neh 10:30; an oath is evidently presupposed by 1QS i. 1-20; the remains of an oath formula (*'im lo'*) appear in CD. vi. 14, and the rest of the passage is explicable only if the oath is understood. Josephus, *J.W.* 2.139; Hippolytus, *Philos.* IX, 23. For the *haburah*, S. Lieberman, "The Discipline in the So-Called Dead Sea Manual of Discipline," *JBL* 71 (1952), 199ff. It should be noticed that the essential act of Christian baptism may also have been a solemn assertion. This would explain why water and formulae could be dispensed with in certain circumstances, such as martyrdom, when the assertion was demonstrated.

⁵⁵ See above, n. 52.

⁵⁶ Distinct from the Israelites in exile, who are simply *haggolah*. Ezra 4:1; 6:19f. etc., cf. 2:1, and so generally. The Chronicler sometimes uses *haggolah* for short to refer to his Palestinian organization, Ezra 9:4; 10:6 and 8, but the special reference is clear from the context in all these passages.

⁵⁷ Ezra 4:1.

⁵⁸ Haggai 1:12, 2:4.

the Temple, kept the Passover after the dedication and offered sacrifices with the new arrivals from Babylonia when Ezra arrived.⁵⁹ That there was no such organization is reasonably certain from the absence of any trace of it in the authentic memoirs of Nehemiah, where, if it existed or ever had existed, it or its record should certainly have influenced the course of events.⁶⁰ Since it did not exist, the Chronicler's invention of it is interesting, and particularly interesting is the way he makes it operate in his rewriting of Ezra's account of his attempt to force the men of Judea to divorce the wives they had taken from the neighbouring districts. When Ezra learns of these marriages he tears his clothing and his hair and his beard and makes a terrific scene in front of the Temple and eventually allows himself to be persuaded to proceed to legal action.⁶¹ 'And they sent word through Judah and Jerusalem to all the *bene haggolah* to assemble in Jerusalem, saying that if anyone would not come on the third day, as ordered by the rulers and the elders, all his property should be forfeit (to the Temple) and he should be separated from [358] the assembly of the (*bene*) *haggolah*.'⁶² Here we have not only the language and mentality of the *Manual of Discipline*, but also the social structure and methods.⁶³ As in the *Manual*, the assembly meets, hears debate, and decides on certain measures which it is then incumbent on the members of *bene haggolah* to obey under penalty of expulsion from the sect.⁶⁴

A further and most important point of similarity between the *bene haggolah* and the sects reflected in the *Manual* and the *Damascus Document* is that both could receive proselytes from the rank and file of Judaism, the '*amme ha 'arez*. (This is what marks a group as sectarian, its separation from the majority so that joining it requires an act of conversion.) For the Chronicler the fact that *bene haggolah* made proselytes from the '*amme ha 'arez* is somewhat obscured by his determination to equate Babylonian Jewry and its offshoots with the children of Israel and to represent the '*amme ha 'arez* as gentiles descended either from the Canaanites, Hittites, Perizzites and associated anachronisms,⁶⁵ or from the Mesopotamian exiles brought

⁵⁹ Ezra 6:16, 19f.; 8:35, reading *ubene* (haplography after the preceding yodh. This emendation is not necessary to the theory; one could keep the present text and suppose that the new arrivals and the previous ones were alike included in *habba'im mehashshebi*).

⁶⁰ Zech 6:10 is hardly evidence to the contrary. It implies that the returned exiles were known as such in Jerusalem, perhaps that they formed a group there, but no more.

⁶¹ Ezra 9:3; 10:2-6.

⁶² Ezra 10:7-8.

⁶³ 1QS vi. 25; vii. 1f., etc.

⁶⁴ Ezra 10:9-16.

⁶⁵ Ezra 9:1.

to the country by the Assyrians two hundred years before.⁶⁶ This makes it seem as if he were speaking of converts from the gentiles, but we have already seen enough of the actual state of affairs to understand his meaning when he says that "the children of Israel, the priests, the Levites and the rest of *bene galutha*" dedicated the Temple,⁶⁷ or when he refers to "the children of Israel who returned from the *golah* and everyone separated unto them from the impurity of the *goyye ha 'arez*."⁶⁸ This immediately recalls the oath of entrance prescribed by the *Manual*, "to separate from the congregation of the men of iniquity,"⁶⁹ and is even closer to the oath of the *Damascus Document*, "to be separated from all impurities."⁷⁰ It is the more remarkable because genuine Ezra and Nehemiah seem never to have considered the possibility of proselytism (which strongly suggests that they were not members of organized sects to which proselytes could be made). Their concern was to break the ties of family and religion between the Judeans, whom they could hope to rule, and the other Palestinian worshippers of Yahweh, whom they could not. The Chronicler has misunderstood or misrepresented their problem, and has done so by analogy with his knowledge of the practices of some pietistic sect which therefore must have existed in his time, most likely the sect of which he inserted the covenant in Nehemiah 10.

Whether or not Nehemiah 10 is the basic covenant of a sect, and whether or not the *bene haggolah* of Ezra reflect the existence of such a sect, there can be no doubt that sectarian movements in Judaism began well before the Maccabean revolt. Enoch 83-90, the "animal farm" section, makes this perfectly clear. It follows the Old Testament history quite unmistakably [359] down to the rebuilding of the Temple, but then declares that the bread offered in the second Temple, from its beginning, was polluted and the sheep who built the second Temple were blinded.⁷¹ Moreover, it knows the appearance of a race of seeing lambs, who cry out to the blind sheep, before the appearance of the horned lambs, who are clearly the Maccabees. And finally, it dates itself unmistakably by expecting violent divine intervention in the crisis before the death of Judas Maccabaeus in 161.⁷² The same history seems to lie behind the account given in the *Damascus Document* when it lists all those who had sinned through walking in the hardness

⁶⁶ Ezra 4:2, 9, etc.

⁶⁷ Ezra 6:16.

⁶⁸ Ezra 6:21.

⁶⁹ 1QS v. 1, 10.

⁷⁰ CD vii. 3, that this is an oath was shown above, n. 54.

⁷¹ Enoch 89:73f.

⁷² Enoch 90:13, the horn is not broken.

of their heart.⁷³ The list is the well-known list of biblical sinners, from the fallen angels to the destruction of the first Temple; then, after the destruction of the Temple, we have the entry, "Through it, those who first came into the covenant sinned."⁷⁴ What covenant? Perhaps the one in Nehemiah 10. If so, it could be seen as the *pro-arche* of the Damascus sect, for the text goes on to tell how these covenanters were punished for their failure to keep the covenant, but with the faithful remnant of them (that is, a splinter group from the sect) God renewed his covenant for ever, to reveal to them the hidden things of his Law, about which all Israel had gone astray—the laws about Sabbaths and holidays, the requirements of righteousness.

For various reasons I doubt this particular connexion—especially because Nehemiah's covenant of chapter 10 was above all for exact performance of obligations to the Temple—but I have thought it worth suggesting in order to illustrate the *sort* of histories which must be supposed to lie behind the sects represented by the Dead Sea material. My object is not to clutter the subject with any more premature identifications, but to demonstrate the character of ancient Judaism, by virtue of which such sects arose in it, and the character of these sects, as it was determined by that of the religion as a whole.

If what has been said here is correct, these two questions of the nature of Judaism and of Jewish sectarianism are intimately and necessarily related to each other. That is to say, the appearance of these sects within Judaism is not a mere accident, but draws its origins from the same sources as did that (originally sectarian) Pharisaic side of the religion which ultimately prevailed, namely, from the prophetic tradition, from the codification of that tradition in a sacred Law, from the conception of piety as the learning, interpretation and practice of the sacred Law, and from the identification of the individual learned in the Law as, in the last analysis, the final religious authority. Since learned individuals often disagree—a generalization which will doubtless be illustrated by the comments on this theory—this concept of [360] religious authority leads directly to the formation of different schools of legal interpretation, and differences of legal interpretation lead directly to the formation of different groups for worship and for table fellowship. When these differences are fixed by the entrance of the members into special covenants to observe them, you have the formation of sects, and the best known Jewish sects of the period before 70 A.D. are essentially groups for the observance of peculiar

⁷³ CD ii. 16-iii. 14. The pronouns throughout the passage are to be emended accordingly.

⁷⁴ Accepting Schechter's emendation of iii. 10. On metrical grounds, 'first' may be an explanatory addition, but if so the explanation is probably correct.

legal interpretations.⁷⁵ Once formed, such a group may glorify its founders in one way or another, may adopt, or at least may tolerate, among its members, all sorts of eschatological speculations and peculiar developments of personal piety, may pick up elements of alien thought, whether from Greek philosophy or from Persian religion, but these things are certainly non-essential to its structure, probably secondary in its development, and possibly, in some instances, no more than peculiarities of individuals among its members. They could be changed or even removed, and the sect would go on, as a peculiar community defined and held together by its peculiar legal observances. But touch the Law, and the sect will split, as shown by the fact that the divisions of which we hear before 70 A.D. are, when we can be sure of their nature, the results of disputes over legal questions. Such are the questions which separate Paul from his opponents, the House of Hillel from the House of Shammai, and the teachers of the Dead Sea sects from their adversaries. The essential contribution, therefore, of the fuller picture of Jewish sectarianism which we have been given by the Qumran finds, is to increase our estimate of the importance of that side of ancient Judaism which conceived of it as the religion of the Law, and to do this by demonstrating the legal origin and nature even of the Jewish sects.

⁷⁵ To this it will certainly be objected that the primary thing in Christianity was Jesus' belief that he was the Messiah, so that his followers from the very first joined a sect differentiated primarily by messianic, not legal, peculiarities. Given the state of our knowledge, this objection can neither be maintained nor rebutted with complete confidence. But even if one were to grant that in Christianity, by exception, a messianic belief was primary, one could still maintain that it was legal dispute which precipitated the isolation of Christianity as a distinct sect.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

GOODENOUGH'S *JEWISH SYMBOLS* IN RETROSPECT

[53] Vol. XII of *Jewish Symbols*,¹ which completes the text,² was finished by Professor Goodenough in his seventy-first year, only a year and a half before his death. This may excuse the fact that the text is a restatement, not a reconsideration, of the previous volumes. Some new material has been noticed;³ there is a sprinkling of references, mostly acrimonious, to remarks by critics;⁴ there are a very few changes of opinion which, if followed up, might have affected the major outlines of the work.⁵

Consequently review of the present volume entails reconsideration of the work as a whole. Let us begin by restating the argument:

Religious symbols are among the objects that produce emotional reactions in their observers (make them feel secure, hopeful, etc.). The [54] emotional reaction produced by a symbol is its "value," as distinct

¹ Erwin R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, Vol. XII, Summary and Conclusions*, New York, 1965 (Bollingen Series XXXVII). Pp. xii+ 217. \$6.

² A thirteenth volume is in preparation. It will contain maps and a general index.

³ So especially, G. Scholem's *Jewish Gnosticism*² (1965), and occasionally details of the Dead Sea finds. Pp. 191-97 deal with the synagogue of Sardis, about which Goodenough received reliable information only as the volume was going to press.

⁴ The only extended discussion of criticism is a two-page attack (pp. 65-67) on E. Urbach, "The Rabbinical Laws of Idolatry in the Second and Third Centuries in the Light of Archaeological and Historical Facts," *Israel Exploration Journal* 9 (1959), pp. 149ff. and 229ff.

⁵ I noted only the following:

p. 67: His prior supposition, that all "rabbis" were "rabbinic Jews" in the customary sense of the term, was false; some rabbis would make images for themselves.

p. 75: He discussed psychology too much from the masculine point of view. However, the data "are overwhelmingly the product of males."

p. 92: His interpretation of the symbols as referring to individual salvation neglects the meaning for the group which they probably also had, but this meaning he still cannot recognize.

Of minor corrections I noted: He concedes the Pharisees did not dominate Palestine *politically* before 70, but continues to accept Josephus' statements that they did, and reasserts his "feeling" that it was largely their religious influence which prevented the use of symbols at that time (p. 65). He was mistaken in saying the *Rûbe* never appears with the lulab, and probably, therefore, in thinking it equivalent to the lulab (p. 96, n. 1). He accepts Neusner's interpretation of the *cena pura* (p. 100). The wreath on the er-Ramah synagogue was probably not empty, but contained a bust now chipped away (p. 138, n. 20). The seats around the apse at Sardis make him dubious as to the use of apses elsewhere, perhaps they were not only recesses to hold the Torah and other cult instruments (p. 194).

This list is probably not complete, but changes of opinion, even on minor matters, are few.

from its "interpretation," which is what the people who use it say it means. The value of a symbol is always essentially the same, the interpretations often change. (Thus the picture of a wine-cup produced from time immemorial its "value," a feeling of euphoria, although its "interpretation" as a reference to Christ's salvific blood began only with Christianity.) So long as an object commonly produces its "value" in the observers, it is a "live" symbol. Once the "value" is no longer commonly produced, the object is a "dead" symbol. One social group may take over symbols from another. When "live" symbols are taken over, they retain their former values, but are commonly given new interpretations. In the Greco-Roman world there was a "*lingua franca*" of "live" symbols, drawn mostly from the cult of Dionysus, which both expressed and gratified the worshipers' hope for salvation by participation in the life of a deity which gave itself to sacrificial death in order to be eaten by its followers and to live in them. The Jews took over certain of these "live" symbols. (In Palestine, before 70, because of the anti-iconic influence of the Pharisees, they took only geometric objects, vines, grapes, and the like; elsewhere—and, in Palestine, after 70, when Pharisaic influence declined—they took also figures of animals and human beings.) Since these symbols were "live" in Greco-Roman society, the Jews must have known their "values" and adopted the symbols for the sake of those "values." Therefore the Jews must have hoped for mystical salvation by participation in the life of a self-giving deity, probably through a communal meal. However, since they worshipped only Yahweh, they must have imposed, on these pagan symbols, Jewish interpretations. These interpretations, as well as the symbols' unchanged "values," may be discovered in the works of Philo (the chief remains of this mystic Judaism) and also occasionally in the other Jewish literature of the time, and in early Christian works. (The rapid development of Christian theology and art suggests they arose from similar prior developments in Judaism.) The same sources indicate the "values" and interpretations which the Jews found in and imposed on those objects of Jewish cult which they now began to use as symbols: the menorah, the Torah shrine, and so on. For "values," however, all literary sources are secondary; the symbols must first be allowed to speak for themselves. Rabbinic literature is particularly unreliable as to both the "values" and the interpretations of the symbols, since "the rabbis" were both anti-iconic and opposed to mysticism. Their religion was a search for security by obedience to a law laid down by a god essentially different from man; with this god no union was possible, and his law forbade making images. The widespread use of the mystical symbols testifies, therefore, to a widespread mystical Judaism indifferent, at best, to the authorities cited in rabbinic literature. To

judge from the archeological evidence, rabbinic Judaism must have been, by comparison with the mystical type, a minor sect. [55]

Let us now take this argument point by point and consider the reviews.⁶ Those listed in ADDITIONAL NOTE 1 will hereafter be cited merely by author's name and page number. The list is probably not complete, but is a fair sample; it was compiled chiefly from *L'Année philologique*, a bibliography too often overlooked by students of the NT and of Judaism.

The fundamental point in Goodenough's argument is his concept of the "value" of a symbol as distinct from the "interpretation." He defined the "value" as "simply emotional impact."⁷ But he also equated "value" with "meaning" (*ibid.*) and discovered as the "meaning" of his symbols a complex mystical theology.⁸ Now certain shapes may be subconsciously associated with certain objects or, like certain colors, may appeal particularly to persons of certain temperaments. This sort of symbolism may be rooted in human physiology and almost unchanging. But such "values" as these do not carry the theological implications Goodenough discovered.⁹ However, these implications *need* not be represented as the "values" of the symbols. One could say, "The use of these symbols indicates a religion with the concerns characteristic of mysticism. If we attempt to recover the theology of this lost mysticism we must rely on Philo, since he is the best preserved Jewish mystic of the period. This will result in Philonic reconstructions. But most of the mystical Jews were not theologians. They only felt the things which Philo tried to explain." This, I believe, was substantially Goodenough's position, albeit obscured by careless statements which occasioned objections.¹⁰

After this definition of "value," the next step in Goodenough's argument is the claim that each symbol always has one and the same "value." This thesis drew many protests,¹¹ because many symbols have apparently contradictory values. (A red light, for instance, now, on the

⁶ See ADDITIONAL NOTE 1.

⁷ *Jewish Symbols* (henceforth *JS*), XII, p. 70.

⁸ Bickerman, p. 148.

⁹ Dinkler, p. 333; Bickerman, p. 135; Smith, pp. 82f.

¹⁰ E.g., Gaster, p. 188; R. Grant, p. 292; Marcus, p. 185; Nock, p. 733; North, pp. 313, 181; Smith, pp. 82f.

¹¹ Bickerman, pp. 518, 133 (with examples), 143; den Boer, pp. 68f.; Daniélou, pp. 576, 602; Ehrlich, p. 279; Goossens, p. 252; Guillaumont, p. 484; Gutmann, p. 35; MacKenzie, p. 629, (and the converse—the experiences symbolized also differed from culture to culture, p. 265); Momigliano, p. 246; Mouterde, p. 343; Nock, pp. 532, 731f.; Smith, pp. 172f., 219. By contrast, Hooke, p. 119 asserted that Goodenough had "clearly vindicated" this principle (in which Hooke found justification for the methods of the "Myth and Ritual" school); this was merely the pot calling the kettle white. Cf. H. Frankfort, "The Archetype in Analytical Psychology and the History of Religion," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 21 (1958), pp. 166ff., especially the fourth "correction," p. 178.

end of an automobile, means, *keep* away; formerly, in red-light districts, it meant, *come*.) So Goodenough's position can be defended only by making the one constant value something so deep in the subconscious and so ambiv[56]alent as to be compatible with contradictory "interpretations." In that event it will also be compatible with both mystical and legalistic religion.¹² In that event the essential argument, that the use of these symbols necessarily indicates a mystical religion, is not valid.

The same conclusion follows from the upshot of the dispute over common decorative motifs (rosettes, circles, stars, etc.). That Goodenough went too far in attributing symbolic value to these motifs was an almost universal objection¹³ which he dismissed as an expression of prejudice. After the argument even Nock had to admit that rosettes might be sometimes symbolic; Goodenough, that they might often be meaningless.¹⁴ In logic, this latter admission ruins his argument. If a symbol does not have a constant value, then one cannot use the appropriation of it as proof of concern for its constant value.

The same conclusion again follows from later Jewish borrowing of Christian symbols which were unquestionably "live," but were borrowed by Jews of unquestionable orthodoxy. Gutmann observed, for instance, that medieval Hebrew manuscripts use the conventional picture of the coronation of the Virgin as a representation of God's marriage with Israel.¹⁵ Either this "live" symbol changed its value, or its value was something so ambivalent as to be compatible with mystical Christianity and nomistic orthodox Judaism, or the Jews neglected its value and took it over as a mere decorative device. In any

¹² Bickerman, pp. 250, 518, 133.

¹³ Albright, p. 24; Avi-Yonah, pp. 196f. (singling out the ivy leaf, lion mask with ring, and six-pointed rosette as nonsymbolic); Baron, p. 198; Bickerman, pp. 142 (pagan interpretations of pictures show they were nonsymbolic), 143 (so hunting scenes and doves); den Boer, p. 67; Couroyer, p. 115 (Goodenough has done well to oppose "the intellectual laziness which is too easily content with too simple explanations," but one must not deny the artist's delight in mere decoration: rosettes on ossuaries, birds and animals in mosaic patterns, are surely decorative.); Daniélou, p. 577; Dinkler, p. 334; Ferrua, p. 243; Gusinde, p. 1013; Gutmann, p. 35; Jeremias, p. 504; Landsberger, pp. 423, 450; Leon, pp. 261f.; Nock, pp. 564 (crowns, ivy leaves, palms); 566 (the arcuated lintel); p. 731 (female heads); pp. 732f. masks, rosettes; North, p. 180 (crudeness of execution does not preclude decorative intent; wine, food, and phalloi may be represented for their own sweet sakes and not as symbols of something else), p. 313 (gabled roof, round objects); Smith, pp. 173f. (bucrania, lions' feet on furniture, lions' heads holding rings); Vincent, p. 106 (zigzags, leaves).

¹⁴ Nock, p. 732; Goodenough, *JS*, XII, p. 24. On the symbolic value of simple patterns Goodenough's views now receive strong support from the material published by E. Testa, *Il Simbolismo dei Giudeo-Cristiani*, Jerusalem, 1962 (*Pubblicazioni dello Studium Biblicum Franciscanum*, x).

¹⁵ Gutmann, p. 22, with other striking examples. Cf. Kayser, p. 60, Roth, p. 180.

of these events, Goodenough's argument from the borrowing of symbols in antiquity will not hold.¹⁶ [57]

However, even if a symbol does not *always* have the same value, yet *within one culture* the meanings of *most* symbols are *relatively* constant (as shown by the fact that they are commonly understood). So Goodenough's supposition of constancy might be defended as roughly correct in most instances, within the limits of the Greco-Roman period.

With this partial justification we go on to the next point: The *lingua franca* of Greco-Roman symbolism, predominantly Dionysiac, expressed hope for salvation by participation in the life of a deity which gave itself to be eaten in a sacramental meal. This oversimplifies Goodenough's interpretations of pagan symbolism; he recognized variety which cannot be discussed here for lack of space. But this thesis was his main concern, and drew objections from several reviewers, notably from Nock, who was the one most familiar with the classical material.¹⁷

It must be admitted that Goodenough's support of this contention was utterly inadequate. What had to be established was a probability that the symbols, as *commonly* used in the Roman empire, expressed this hope of salvation by communion. If they did not *commonly* do so *at this time*, then one cannot conclude that the Jews, who *at this time* took them over, had a similar hope. But Goodenough only picked out a scattering of examples in which the symbols could plausibly be given the significance his thesis required; he passed over the bulk of the Greco-Roman material and barely mentioned a few of the examples in which the same symbols were said, by those who used them, to have other significance. These latter examples, he declared, represented superficial "interpretations" of the symbols, while the uses which agreed with his theory expressed the symbols' permanent "values."¹⁸ The facts of the matter, however, were stated by Nock: "Sacramental sacrifice is attested only for Dionysus and even in his cult this hardly remained a living conception" (p. 734); there is no substantial evidence that the worshipers of Dionysus commonly thought they received "his divine nature in the cup" (p. 565). So much for the significance of the "*lingua franca*" of Greco-Roman Dionysiac symbolism.¹⁹

¹⁶ Goodenough's attempt, *JS*, V-VIII, to demonstrate permanent values for the symbols by collecting scraps of ancient near-eastern evidence, is utterly unconvincing. As Segert remarked, p. 159, the scope of the comparison has resulted in superficial treatment of the parallels adduced. And what of the material not adduced?

¹⁷ Couroyer, p. 115; Mouterde, p. 262; Nober, pp. 365f.; Nock, pp. 564f., 571, 530f., 733f. "far beyond evidence or probability."

¹⁸ Den Boer, p. 68; Mouterde, p. 265; Nober, p. 366; Nock, p. 734; North, p. 313.

¹⁹ Cf. den Boer, pp. 86f.; Momigliano, pp. 240, 245.

Here it is not possible to plead that the "values" of the symbols testify to widespread mysticism among the common people, therefore the rarity of literary references to it is unimportant. For the question is what *are* the "values"—if any—of the symbols, and how are they known? One might think they are best known when the people who used them left inscriptions telling what they meant, next best, when they are explained in works whose authors were close to them in time and culture, and finally, though least securely, by inference from the ways the sym[58]bols are used. But Goodenough ruled out the inscriptional and literary evidence which did not agree with his theories—it stated merely the users' "interpretations," of the symbols. He also passed over the evidence of usage which he found inconvenient, especially that which showed that his symbols were often used as mere decorative devices.²⁰ Whence, then, did he discover the "true values" of the symbols, knowledge of which enabled him to reject so much of the evidence? By intuition. "The study of these symbols has brought out their value for my own psyche ... and I must say that the value I have found in them seems to me what made them of such great importance in antiquity. If this be subjectivism, let my critics make the most of it. In saying I am wrong, they can speak only under the influence of other symbolic impressions."²¹ Not *only*. There is also the influence of the ancient evidence which Goodenough rejected. His picture of a *common* mystic and sacramental paganism must be dismissed as fantasy.

Fortunately, not all his interpretations of pagan symbols were devoted to this theme. Many concerned hope for future life, and here he made some strong cases which secured acceptance.²² But with his failure to demonstrate the prevalence of a belief in sacramental

²⁰ Nock, pp. 566, 731ff.; Smith, pp. 173f. The himation and chiton combination to which he attached mystic significance (*JS*, IX, pp. 131ff.) appears on a cobbler at work and purchasers in a clothier's shop in Ostia (W. Zschietzschmann, *Hellas and Rome*, London, 1959, pp. 194f.); his mystic striped chiton is worn by the orchestra and assistants in gladiatorial games (S. Aurigemma, *L'Italia in Africa, Le Scoperte Archeologiche, Tripolitania, I, I Monumenti d'arte decorativa, 1. I Mosaici*, Rome, 1960, plates 143f., 146, etc.). Note also Goodenough's dismissal of the apotropaic and sinister sides of ancient symbolism, Bickerman, p. 144, Smith, p. 173.

²¹ *JS*, VIII, p. 220. See the comments of R. Grant, p. 279, and Bickerman, pp. 128, 139.

²² Daniélou, pp. 599f.; Goossens, p. 231. Nock's contention that during the empire Roman funerary art was, as a whole, not concerned with future life (pp. 563f.) is hardly credible, especially for the later period, which is that of most of the Jewish material. See the cautious remarks of Momigliano, p. 245. I pass over the other themes in Goodenough's interpretation of pagan images, but call the reader's attention to Nock's (correct) remarks anent mother: In Philo, as in Judaism generally, the mother is the principle of law and punishment, not mercy; the great goddesses of antiquity were rather terrible than comforting, and maternity was rarely their most prominent attribute; many of them were worshipped principally by women. Mother's role as the savior of her son is, in classical religion, next to *nil* (pp. 563, 571).

salvation the main structure of his argument was ruined. That the Jews *commonly* took over pagan symbols for a mystic significance which those symbols did not *commonly* have, is incredible. So the borrowing of these symbols cannot *commonly* be evidence of a mystic Judaism.²³ Individual mystics there doubtless were. Philo *may* have been one (though Goodenough's interpretation of him is by no means certain; contrast Wolfson!). But [59] the difficulties in the supposition of a *widespread, uniform* mystical Judaism are formidable. How did it happen that such a system and practice disappeared without leaving a trace in either Jewish or Christian polemics?²⁴ We may therefore turn from the main argument to incidental questions.

To what extent were the motifs on Jewish material borrowed from the hellenistic world, to what extent did they come from Jewish or near-eastern tradition? Goodenough's attempt to derive the vine, lion, eagle, fish, and cup from Hellenism occasioned protests which, at least for the first two, seem partially justified.²⁵

Why did the Jews borrow motifs from the pagan world? And why were certain motifs (e.g., sirens) almost never borrowed? Goodenough used the rarity of certain objects as evidence of selectivity and supposed the selection determined by their "values," an argument which won some agreement.²⁶ However, given the relatively small amount of preserved evidence, the absence of these motifs may be due to chance or fashion. The adoption of the ones which are found must be variously explained, as the circumstances of the individual borrowings indicate; the range of possibilities includes both thoughtless decoration and expression of hopes and beliefs also held by pagans.²⁷ The important thing, however, is that the same motif need not always be explained by the same motive.

The rarity of decorated material in Palestine before 70 was seen by Goodenough as a consequence of the influence of the Pharisees, and he took the increase of decoration after 70 as evidence of the decline of pharisaic-rabbinic influence. But the rabbis were more influential in Palestine after 100 than the Pharisees had been before 70.²⁸

²³ As Gutmann, pp. 34f., well observed, not everything non-"normative" is therefore "mystic."

²⁴ Nock, p. 568; Daniélou, p. 574; R. Grant, p. 280.

²⁵ Daniélou, p. 576; Jeremias, p. 504; Landsberger, p. 109; Marcus, p. 185; Mouterde, p. 263; Segert, p. 325; Smith, p. 263. But Goodenough did not wholly deny Israelite and near eastern sources, e. g., *JS*, XII, p. 136, on the lion.

²⁶ Guillaumont, p. 483; Smith, pp. 171f. (I have changed my mind).

²⁷ Bickerman, p. 136; F. Grant, pp. 62f.; Gusinde, p. 1013; Momigliano, pp. 245f. On economic reasons see Urbach, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 4), enlarging the suggestions of B. Cohen, "Art in Jewish Law," *Judaism* 3 (1954), pp. 165ff.

²⁸ Avi-Yonah, p. 198; Urbach, *op. cit.*, p. 151; Smith, p. 82; Roth, p. 182. J. Neusner, "Jewish Use of Pagan Symbols After 70 C.E.," *JR* 33 (1965), pp. 285ff., defends

Goodenough's error was based on the statements of Josephus, the reports in rabbinic literature, and the role of the Pharisees in the gospels. But Josephus was ignorant when he wrote the *War*, in the 70's, of the preeminence of the Pharisees which he reports in the *Antiquities*, completed in the 90's; between 80 and 90 he had evidently gone over to the Pharisees, and his [60] later statements are propaganda for them.²⁹ That the reports in rabbinic literature reflect wishful thinking is generally admitted.³⁰ The gospels do not consistently indicate that the Pharisees were the dominant party. In Q they appear in only one passage (Luke 11:39, 42 and //). In Mark they appear only in the *Streitgespräche* (2:1-3:6; 7:1-23; 8:11-21; 10:1-12; 11:27-12:40) which are among the later elements of this gospel.³¹ The extension of their role in the other gospels is evidence of yet later polemic, reflecting their later rise to power. In all the gospels they are almost (or wholly) absent from the passion stories, which are probably the oldest and best preserved elements. They are also conspicuously absent from all save one of the early stories in Acts. So it would be plausible to see the lack of decoration in the earlier period as due to the influence of the Sadducean aristocracy, which took Exod 20:3 literally, and the increase in the use of figures after 70 as a consequence of increasing Pharisaic influence which, as Urbach has shown,³² "interpreted" the prohibition of images so as to find more and more exceptions. However, other factors must be kept in mind. First, archeological evidence from Palestine before 70 is extremely limited (e.g., no synagogues); so the absence of certain motifs in that period may be happenstance.³³ Second, the change in Palestine is paralleled by the developments of Roman art in which decoration steadily increased. The sequence of fresco styles in Pompeii shows this clearly; so does the increase of pictorial mosaics in the later imperial period, the growth of florid architectural decoration, and so on. One of the major faults of Goodenough's method was his failure to relate the history of the Jewish material to the changes in contemporary pagan art.

Returning to the interpretation of the material: One of Goodenough's presuppositions was that since the Jews who produced these objects were "loyal" to Judaism they could not have worshipped

Goodenough by picking out slight exaggerations in Urbach's wording, then neglecting the point at issue.

²⁹ M. Smith, "Palestinian Judaism in the First Century," above, chapter nine.

³⁰ E.g., by Neusner himself, *A Life of Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai*, pp. 49-61.

³¹ M. Smith, "The Jewish Elements in the Gospels," *JBR* 24 (1956), pp. 90ff., esp. 96.

³² *Op. cit.*, (n. 4), pp. 154-end.

³³ Cf. Avi Yonah, p. 196: Another pre-70 menorah has turned up since Goodenough wrote.

any of the images. He did accept the material in the magical papyri as evidence of syncretism but was reluctant to relate it to the other images.³⁴ Margalioth's recovery of *Sefer ha-Razim*,³⁵ however, has given us a Hebrew text, written by a man steeped in the OT and the poetry of the synagogue, which yet contains prescriptions for making images and prayers to pagan deities, including Helios, who are conceived as gods [61] subordinate to Yahweh.³⁶ This text was widely copied in rabbinic circles. Accordingly it is possible that Helios on the synagogue floors represents a major deity to whom members of the congregation addressed prayers for practical purposes (though they hardly would have addressed them to *that particular* image, as few Christians would have prayed to the Christ in the mosaic on the dome of Byzantine churches).

Goodenough's supposition that the Jews gave their own interpretations to the symbols they borrowed is plausible and has been commonly accepted.³⁷ His reconstructions of their interpretations, however, being based on Philo, drew objections that Philo was an upper-class intellectual whose interpretations were undreamt of by the average Jew.³⁸ These, however, missed Goodenough's claim: Philo was merely one example of mystical Judaism, of which other examples, from other social and intellectual classes, were attested by the monuments.³⁹ For this reason also, objections that Goodenough misinterpreted Philo on particular points⁴⁰ did not seriously damage his argument; it was sufficient for him to show that Philo used expressions suggestive of a mystical and sacramental interpretation of Jewish stories and ceremonies.⁴¹ The monuments *could* then show analogous developments independent of Philo. Some did, but most did not.

Beside Philo, Goodenough found evidence of mystic Judaism in occasional passages from other works of ancient Jewish literature,⁴²

³⁴ His final statement on the matter is in *JS*, XII, pp. 60f.

³⁵ The Hebrew edition is now in press in Israel.

³⁶ Cf. the subordinate gods in Clement of Alexandria, ed. O. Stahlin (*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*), II, pp. 256, 489, 507; III, 6, 10, 14, 41, 144.

³⁷ Most enthusiastically by F. Grant, pp. 62f., who compares the Jewish reinterpretation of the hellenistic religious vocabulary.

³⁸ Dinkler, p. 330; Ehrlich, pp. 93, 279; Gaster, p. 188; Gutmann, p. 34; Leon, p. 262.

³⁹ To this Nock, p. 562, agreed.

⁴⁰ R. Grant, p. 184; Momigliano, p. 239; Nock, pp. 528, 567; Smith, p. 84. Note Momigliano's remark that Philo's symbolism was basically biblical, that of Goodenough's Jews, not so (p. 243). Nock stigmatized a string of misinterpretations: pp. 525ff.: VI, p. 213 on *Plant.* 160ff.; VI, p. 203 on *Vita Mos.* 1.187; VI, p. 205 on *Somn.* 2.183; VI, pp. 208f. on *Cher.* 84ff.; p. 528, on eating the Logos; p. 567, on esoteric worship; p. 735: VII, p. 222 on *Abr.* 100-102.

⁴¹ F. Grant, pp. 418f.; Mouterde, p. 342.

⁴² Accordingly, Dinkler's objection that, except for Philo, Goodenough neglected all ancient literature from and about Judaism (p. 331) was an overstatement, and

[62] and in early Christian writings,⁴³ since he argued that Christianity could not have developed so rapidly had it not drawn on theology and symbolism already developed in hellenized Judaism. Similar arguments have been advanced by other scholars,⁴⁴ and Goodenough's (accepted by R. Grant, North, and van Puyvelde)⁴⁵ presents a most probable explanation of the facts. Further support for it is to be found in Goodenough's interpretation of the symbols drawn from Jewish cult, which found wide agreement⁴⁶ in spite of the fact that he sometimes pushed it to absurdity—for instance, by his refusal to see, in representations of the Torah scroll or Torah shrine, evidence for a religion of obedience.⁴⁷

One reason for the acceptance of Goodenough's interpretations of the symbols drawn from Judaism was that he often supported them by quotations from rabbinic literature.⁴⁸ Yet he contended that "the

Momigliano's reference to mystic Judaism as "not otherwise documented" (p. 248) was false. H. Chadwick, "St. Paul and Philo of Alexandria," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 48 (1966), pp. 286ff., shows the far-reaching, but independent agreement of Paul and Philo, which may have come from a common background in mystical Judaism. It must be admitted, however, that Goodenough has neglected the main outlines of the pictures of Judaism given by works other than Philo. Only occasional details, useful for his thesis, are seized on and presented out of context. And even some of these occasioned justified complaints of misinterpretation: Bickerman, pp. 532f.; den Boer, p. 86; Nock, p. 525 on the interpretation of Josephus *Ant.* 14:213ff., in *JS*, VI, p. 206; Courroyer, p. 112, n. 1, on 1 Macc 13:29, in *JS*, VIII, p. 158; Nock, p. 730 on *The Rest of the Words of Baruch*, 7:18 in *JS*, VIII, p. 137; Bickerman, p. 533 on Shabbat 119a, in *JS*, V, p. 44; Nock, p. 567 on the Jewish material in the *Apostolic Constitutions*. R. Grant, p. 185; Nock, p. 568 on *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*, nos. 651 and 652, in *JS*, II, p. 146; Nock, p. 568 on *CIJ* 22, *ibid.*; Marcus, p. 45 on Dio Cassius 60, 6, in *JS*, I, p. 35, n. 7; Nock, p. 565 on πλε ζήσας in *JS*, II, p. 117; Nock, pp. 565f.; Ferrua, pp. 240f. on the catacomb of Vibia and Vincentius, *JS*, II, pp. 46ff.

⁴³ His use of Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho* drew a number of objections. Baron, p. 198, opined that Trypho was a straw man and therefore useless as evidence concerning Judaism (*non sequitur*); Momigliano, p. 244, declared that, even if not a straw man, he showed no knowledge of Goodenough's system of symbolism.

⁴⁴ Leroy, p. 160, referring to Strzygowski, von Sybel, Becker, and Morey.

⁴⁵ R. Grant, p. 183, North, p. 311, van Puyvelde, pp. 325, 376, with especial reference to the development of Christian from Jewish art.

⁴⁶ Daniélou, pp. 575f.; Gaster, p. 188; Jeremias, p. 503; MacKenzie, p. 631; Nock, p. 562; van Puyvelde, p. 325. Objections: Ehrlich, p. 279, the menorah probably indicated a claim of the synagogue to succeed to the temple and house the Shekinah. Kayser, p. 57, Leon, p. 262, the menorah was merely a means of Jewish self-identification—but Goodenough was certainly right for some instances, see M. Smith, "The Image of God", below, n. 53. Kayser, pp. 58f., the shofar was not blown on the day of atonement before the high middle ages (because the Seder of Rab Amram does not provide for it). Gaster, p. 189, lamps, *shalom*, and perhaps the "throne of Moses" may be better interpreted from nomistic Judaism. Marcus, p. 183, the cherubim were probably associated with Solomon's temple. Smith, p. 220, the early Jerusalem tombs and ossuaries were made for the rich among whom were many Sadducees; it is therefore unlikely that their decoration usually indicates belief in a future life.

⁴⁷ *JS*, XII, p. 76.

⁴⁸ *JS*, IV, pp. 89f., 131f., 162f., 171-84, 200ff.; X, pp. 102f., 135.

rabbis" were opposed not only to images but also to mysticism; their religion was that of conformity and obedience, not mystical union;⁴⁹ therefore rabbinic literature does not reveal the reasons for the popular adoption of the mystical symbols.⁵⁰ Behind this contradiction lay his enthusiasm (especially in argument) which often led him into over[63]statement, but made his enormous work possible. This passionate concern for his subject was grounded in his experience: the intense religious enthusiasm of his youth (he had been not only "saved" but "sanctified") and his equally intense adult revolt against both the austerity of his Protestant background and the religion of conformity and respectability with which he collided at Yale. This personal conflict he projected onto ancient Judaism, partly as a result of his deep feeling about G. F. Moore, who aroused in him an ambivalence worthy of a father figure. Therefore, on the one hand, Moore was right; "normative" Judaism was as he pictured it, much like the normative, upper-class New England Protestantism of 1920: common-sense, respectable, law-abiding, moral, pharisaic, in a word, square. But also, Moore was wrong; "normative" Judaism was not normative. It was, like New England "society," a puritanic sect walled up in its self-made ghetto, while outside was the wonderful world of hellenized Judaism, mystic, artistic, and free.⁵¹

Consequently Goodenough had a personal resistance to the suggestion that any of his symbols should have come from Moore's rabbis. This was reinforced by his inability to read the rabbinic material⁵² and consequent reluctance to admit its relevance. Therefore when rabbinic parallels to his interpretations were pointed out to him, he dismissed them as insignificant, and, in his final restatement, ignored their existence.⁵³ The resultant misrepresentation called forth many objections: that rabbinic Judaism was not uniform,⁵⁴ but contained a tradition of mystical practice,⁵⁵ as well as important

⁴⁹ *JS*, XII, pp. 74ff.

⁵⁰ *JS*, IX, pp. 4ff. and Goodenough's article, "The Rabbis and Jewish Art in the Greco-Roman Period," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 32 (1961), pp. 269ff.

⁵¹ The Christian roots of Goodenough's mystic Judaism were noted by Nock, pp. 571, 734; contrast van Puyvelde, p. 326, "Que les vues de M. Goodenough, juif convaincu, sur l'histoire du christianisme ne seront pas toujours entièrement équitables (tant il est vrai que pour juger d'une religion il faut la voir du dedans), n'étonnera pas le lecteur"! It is worth noting that Goodenough's contempt for "mere decoration" also comes from his Protestant background. If one must have pictures they should at least be *useful*.

⁵² Contrast Willoughby's description of Goodenough as "both a competent Orientalist and an expert Hellenist at one and the same time" (p. 260).

⁵³ *JS*, IX, p. 7, n. 10, on M. Smith, "The Image of God," chapter ten above. On the menorah *JS*, XII, p. 82 is false. In Goodenough's own words, "To deny the existence of facts in this way is hardly a scholar's method of dealing with them" (*JS*, XII, p. 65).

⁵⁴ Abi-Yonah, p. 197; Bickerman, p. 131; Gutmann, p. 34; Neusner, p. 79; Smith, p. 220.

⁵⁵ Marcus, pp. 185f.; den Boer, p. 67; Momigliano, p. 239.

hellenistic elements.⁵⁶ As Neusner said (p. 82), "The issue was not ... Hellenization, but rather how to appropriate, and accommodate oneself to, Hellenization... Goodenough might have seen both the mystic groups and the rabbinic groups as *modulations* of Jewish Hellenism." [64]

There are many elements in the haggadah⁵⁷ which may have either produced or resulted from pictures. Nevertheless, it is true, as Goodenough claimed (*JS*, IV, pp. 21, 24), that rabbinic literature would never have led us to expect the decorations of Dura or Beth Shearim or the Roman catacombs.⁵⁸ Therefore it seems likely that the varieties of Judaism which produced these various expressions⁵⁹ often differed greatly from those represented in rabbinic literature. One of the major results of Goodenough's work has been to produce general recognition of this fact.⁶⁰ In the words of Jeremias, "Eine neue Welt tut sich auf, ein Stück Volksreligion, ein Judentum neben dem rabbinischen und dem essenischen, eines, das wir in dieser Geschlossenheit bisher nicht kannten."⁶¹

As to how the various forms of this popular religion were related to the rabbinic authorities, opinions have differed. Goodenough

⁵⁶ Bickerman, pp. 129f.; Gutmann, p. 23f.; Marcus, p. 43.

⁵⁷ Marcus, p. 186, Smith, *op. cit. supra*, n. 53.

⁵⁸ Hart, p. 95; Leon, p. 262; MacKenzie, pp. 490, 629; Marcus, p. 44; Neusner, p. 80; Smith, p. 82.

⁵⁹ Goodenough claimed that the art was homogeneous throughout the empire (IV, p. 3) and found in this homogeneity evidence for a uniform theology of mystic Judaism (*JS*, IV, p. 60). MacKenzie, p. 490, and Mouterde, p. 342, found this claim correct, but Momigliano, pp. 244f., argued that, *after subtracting* the obviously Jewish symbols and the "merely decorative or vaguely suggestive" non-Jewish ones (victories, crowns, rosettes, etc.), the main monuments do not show a uniform system of symbols. This important question deserves a study to itself. My first impression, however, is that Momigliano is right. No doubt many of the same banal elements—vines and rosettes and wreaths and so on—turn up everywhere. But each of the main bodies of material (the Kidron tombs, the early ossuaries, Beth Shearim, the carved synagogues, the Palestinian mosaics, the Maccabean coins, the coins of the revolts, the Roman catacombs, Hammam Lif, the magical gems, Dura) seems to have its own vocabulary as well as its own style and to be saying—if anything—something peculiar to itself. (The "if anything" refers to the Kidron tombs and the ossuaries, of which I doubt that the decoration is usually symbolic.)

⁶⁰ By Avi-Yonah, pp. 197, 199; Baron, p. 197; Daniélou, p. 574; Ehrlich, p. 93; Gaster, p. 188; Hart, p. 93; Marcus, pp. 44f.; Neusner, pp. 90f.; Nock, pp. 561f.; van Puyvelde, p. 324; Segert, pp. 261f.; Smith, p. 82.

⁶¹ Jeremias, p. 503. Yet after this Jeremias (p. 922) went on to declare that the symbols should be thought meaningless if no Jewish literary evidence could be found to determine their meaning! Clearly, the answer to the question, whether or not a picture has meaning, cannot be made to depend on the accidents of literary transmission. This sort of attitude did much to excuse (but not to justify) Goodenough's excesses in demanding that the interpretation be based on the pictures themselves, not the *testimonia*.

supposed the relation one of hostility (*JS*, XII, p. 66).⁶² Bickerman thinks the conflict not proved; he compares the contrast between early Christian art and the denunciation of images by the Fathers (pp. 249, 130f.). Hart (pp. 95f.) and Roth (pp. 179f.) remark that the people may [65] have, then as now, admired the rabbis without obeying them (a suggestion plausible because of the development all over the Romano-Persian world, at about this time, of double standards for the laity and the religious—monks and magi and Manichean clergy alike).⁶³ It seems probable that all these relationships sometimes occurred, and yet others beside; some talmudic authorities are said themselves to have made images.⁶⁴

Here again the root of error is the attempt to explain a large body of varied material by a single formula. Among the diverse groups who in the Roman empire were called “Jews” by their neighbors and came to call themselves so, the percentage of those who were much concerned about the rulings of the rabbis at Jamnia, shortly after 70, was doubtless small. Later, as Josephus shows, it increased, thanks to Roman approval. About 130 there was a drop, and the recovery was slow. Even in Galilee in the time of Rabbi, as Büchler showed,⁶⁵ relations were strained between the landowners, the patriarchal house, and the poorer rabbis; patriarchal control was far from absolute, and congregational leaders who had popular support or could buy Roman protection did much as they pleased. Goodenough’s theory falsifies the situation by substituting a single, antirabbinic, mystical Judaism for the enormous variety of personal, doctrinal, political, and cultural divergencies which the rabbinic and other evidence reveals, and by supposing a sharp division between rabbinic and antirabbinic Judaism, whereas actually there seems to have been a confused gradation. Here again he is the rebellious son of G. F. Moore.

⁶² Cf. Ehrlich, p. 278; Mouterde, p. 264; Neusner in both his review and the article cited above, n. 28. Ehrlich finds support for the position in the forced exegesis by which the rabbis had to justify the use of the symbols they did tolerate, but the rabbis also used forced exegesis to justify their own innovations.

⁶³ Further opinions: Gutmann, p. 35 (change of rabbinic position explained by alliance of the patriarchal house with Rome—not unlikely [but not sufficient]); Guillaumont, p. 484 (Goodenough exaggerates the difference, overlooking on the one hand Philo’s acceptance of the second commandment, on the other, orthodox acceptance of illustration, as evidenced in the medieval manuscripts); Landsberger, p. 424 (the material shows rabbinic tolerance); Marcus, p. 45 (G.’s claim that the Palestinian rabbis had no control of the diaspora is a “gross exaggeration”); Nock, pp. 561f. (G. has made a good case against central control; considerable nonnormative literature may have been lost).

⁶⁴ Rabba made a homunculus, *Sanhedrin* 65b. The story is presumably false, but indicates what the storytellers were trying.

⁶⁵ A. Büchler, *Der galiläische ‘Am ha ‘Ares; The Political and Social Leaders of the Jewish Community of Sepphoris*.

In the preface to his last volume Goodenough wrote, "Scholars have repeatedly said to me, 'At least you will always be remembered and used for your collection of material.' ... I have not spent thirty years as a mere collector: I was trying to make a point." He was, and he failed. His pandemic sacramental paganism was a fantasy; so was the interpretation of pagan symbols based on it, and so was the empire-wide, antirabbinic, mystical Judaism, based on the interpretation of these symbols. All three are enormous exaggerations of elements which existed, but were rare, in early imperial times. [66]

Soit. Columbus failed, too. But his failure revealed a new world, and so did Goodenough's. Jeremias' praise was no exaggeration. The extent and importance of the Jewish iconic material was practically unrealized before Goodenough's collection if it. Informed opinions of ancient Judaism can never, henceforth, be the same as they were before he published. So long as the subject is studied and the history of the study is preserved, his work will mark an epoch.⁶⁶

ADDITIONAL NOTE 1.

- W. Albright, 139, pp. 23f., on vols. I-III (unimportant).
 M. Avi-Yonah, *Israel Exploration Journal* 6 (1956), pp. 194ff., on I-IV.
 A. Barb, *Antiquaries' Journal* 36 (1956), pp. 229ff., on I-IV; 38 (1958), pp. 117., on V-VI; 39 (1959), p. 301, on VII-VIII.
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 W. den Boer, *Mnemosyne*, Ser. 4, 12 (1959), pp. 85ff., on V-VI; 14 (1961), pp. 66ff. on VII-VIII.
 D. Botterweck, *Theologische Quartalschrift* 137 (1957), pp. 210f., on I-VI (unimportant).
 F. Buck, *CBQ* 27 (1965), p. 191, on IX-XI (unimportant).
 B. Couroyer, *RB* 67 (1960), pp. 107ff., on VII and VIII; 72 (1965), pp. 310ff., on IX-XI (this latter I have not seen).
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 C. Delvoye, *Latomus* 14 (1955), pp. 494ff., on I-IV; 18 (1959), pp. 484ff., on V-VIII (unimportant).
 E. Dinkler, *ThRd*, NF 21 (1953), pp. 329ff., on I-III.
 E. Ehrlich, *ZRG* 9 (1957), pp. 277ff., on I-VI; 12 (1960), pp. 92-94, on VII-VIII.
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 K. Galling, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 70 (1954), pp. 182f., on I-III (unimportant).
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 G. Goossens, *Revue belge d'archéologie* 22 (1953), pp. 268f., on I-III, 24 (1955), pp. 125f., on IV (these two are unimportant); 25 (1956), pp. 251f., on V-VI; 27 (1958), pp. 231, on VII-VIII.
 F. Grant, *JBL* 79 (1960), pp. 61ff., on VII-VIII; 83 (1964), pp. 418ff., on IX-XI.

⁶⁶ See ADDITIONAL NOTE 2.

- R. Grant, *ChH*, 23 (1954), pp. 183ff., on I-III; 24 (1955), pp. 279f., on IV; 26 (1957), pp. 292, on V-VI; 29 (1960), pp. 94ff., on VII-VIII.
- A. Guillaumont, *Revue des études anciennes* 59 (1957), pp. 482ff., on I-VI; 62 (1960), pp. 542ff., on VII-VIII.
- M. Gusinde, *Anthropos* 49 (1954), pp. 1145ff., on I-IV; 52 (1957), pp. 311ff., on V-VI; 54 (1959), pp. 1012ff., on VII-VIII.
- J. Gutmann, *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore* 3 (1957), pp. 33ff., on V-VI; *The Reconstructionist* 31 (1965), pp. 20ff., on IX-XI.
- H. Hart, *JThS* 7 (1956), pp. 92ff., on I-IV.
- S. Hooke, *JThS* 9 (1958), pp. 117ff., on V-VI; 11 (1960), pp. 371ff., on VII-VIII (unimportant).
- J. Jeremias, *ThLz* 83 (1958), cols. 502-05, on I-VI; 87 (1962), p. 922, on VII-VIII.
- S. Kayser, *Review of Religion* 21 (1956), pp. 54ff., on I-IV.
- F. Landsberger, *AJPh* 76 (1955), pp. 422ff., on I-IV; 78 (1957), p. 450, on VI-VII; 81 (1960), pp. 108f., on VIII-IX.
- [67] H. Leon, *Archaeology* 7 (1954), pp. 261f., on I-III; 9 (1956), p. 154, on IV; 11 (1958), pp. 135f., on V-VI; 13 (1960), p. 155, on VII-VIII (last three unimportant).
- J. Leroy, *Cahiers Sioniens* 9 (1955), pp. 157ff.
- R. MacKenzie, *CBQ* 16 (1954), pp. 489ff., on I-III; 17 (1955), pp. 629-31, on IV; 20 (1958), pp. 264ff., on V-VI.
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- A. Momigliano, *Athenaeum*, NS 34 (1956), pp. 237ff., on I-IV.
- R. Mouterde, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 31 (1954), pp. 341ff., on I-IV; 34 (1957), pp. 262ff., on V-VI.
- H. Musurillo, *ThS* 15 (1954), pp. 295ff., on I-III; 25 (1964), pp. 437, on IX-XI.
- J. Neusner, "Notes on Goodenough's *Jewish Symbols*," *Conservative Judaism* 17 (1963), pp. 77ff., on I-VIII.
- P. Nober, *Biblica* 36 (1955), pp. 549ff., on I-III; 38 (1957), pp. 364ff., on V-VI; 41 (1960), pp. 430ff., on VII-VIII; 46 (1965), pp. 96ff., on IX-XI (not seen).
- A. Nock, *Gnomon* 27 (1955), pp. 558ff., on I-IV; 29 (1957), pp. 524ff., on V-VI; 32 (1960), pp. 728ff., on VII-VIII.
- R. North, *Orientalia*, NS 25 (1956), pp. 310ff., on I-IV; 26 (1957), pp. 180f., on V-VI; 35 (1966), pp. 201ff., on IX-XI.
- C. van Puyvelde, *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 21 (1954), pp. 324ff., on I-IV; 24 (1957), pp. 375ff., on V-VI.
- H. Rosenau, *Journal of Jewish Studies* 8 (1957), pp. 253 (unimportant).
- C. Roth, *Judaism* 3 (1954), pp. 179ff., on I-III.
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- S. Segert, *Archiv Orientalni* 23 (1955), pp. 256ff., on I-III; 24 (1956), pp. 157ff., on IV; 26 (1958), pp. 322ff., on V-VI; 28 (1960), pp. 704ff., on VII-VIII.
- M. Smith, *ATR* 36 (1954), pp. 218ff., on I-III; 37 (1955), pp. 81ff., on IV; 39 (1957) pp. 261ff., on V-VI; 42 (1960), pp. 171ff., on VII-VIII; *Classical World* 59 (1965-6) p. 13, on IX-XI.
- H. Strauss, *Judaism* 7 (1958), pp. 178f., on IV-VI (not seen); 8 (1959), pp. 374f., on VII-VIII.
- M. Thelen, *JBR* 32 (1964), pp. 361ff., on IX-XI (unimportant).
- L. Vincent, *RB* 62 (1955), pp. 104ff., on I-III; pp. 428ff., on IV; 64 (1957), pp. 593ff., on V-VI.
- H. Willoughby, *JNES* 15 (1956), pp. 121ff., on I-IV; 17 (1958), pp. 158f., on V-VI; 20 (1961), pp. 260ff., on VII-VIII (unimportant).
- S. Zeitlin, *JQR* 45 (1954-5), pp. 66ff., on I (unimportant).

ADDITIONAL NOTE 2.

Almost all the collected material is contained in vols. I-III and IX-XI. Because of the importance of the collection I think it worth while to list here the more important of the items which have been challenged:

Avi Yonah, pp. 195f., lists as "non-Jewish" the Beit Jibrin tombs, the shaft graves near the Nablus Road, the Marissa tombs, the objects in vol. III, figs. 198, 262, 268, 285, 338, the Beit Nattif lamp (I, p. 157), the Gophna sarcophagus (I, p. 138), the lamp from Ophel (I, p. 155), and that from Silat ed Dahr (I, p. 159). Fig. 82, the "fruit dish" is a bearded face.

Barb, p. 230: II, pp. 269, 273 for "Isis and Hathor" read "Isis and Nephthys"; II, p. 200, and VIII, p. 172 for "Lilium" read "Lailam"; II, p. 221, for "stone" read "lead"; III, fig. 1198 is a copy of C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, pl. XXIV, fig. 5. Barb, p. 301: VII, fig. 155 is probably a recent forgery; VIII, fig. 30 has nothing to do with Christianity.

Bickerman, p. 142, on IX, p. 22, remarks that the *Passio Quatuor Coronatorum* should now be read in H. Delehay, *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov. 3 (1910), p. 765, with D.'s commentary: Goodenough has mistranslated it; the *philosophos* was not a master of symbolism but an engineer in charge of the stone cutting.

[68] den Boer, p. 68; Nock, p. 729: JS, VIII, p. 11 mistranslates Plutarch 766 B; the rendering "pudendum" instead of "meadows" is indefensible.

Daniélou, p. 601: VIII, p. 160, of G.'s two citations from Hippolytus one is apocryphal, the other, from Callixtus.

Ferrua, pp. 239ff.: III, p. 819, the pieces of sarcophagi from the Randanini catacomb are not Jewish, neither are most of Goodenough's small objects. III, Fig. 856 is probably pagan, and so is everything from the catacomb of Vibia. It must be said that Ferrua was motivated by a concern that neither Judaism nor Christianity should "inquinare il suo patrimonio" with improper objects (p. 238). He thought the prevention of this more important than the loss of a little evidence (!, *ibid.*) and therefore resolutely ruled out as "intrusive" everything in Jewish and Christian catacombs which did not satisfy his notion of "orthodoxy"—everything "heterodox" had fallen in through the air holes! His opinions on these matters, therefore, need not be taken seriously. Compare the amusing contention of Kayser, pp. 55f., that symbols used as Goodenough supposed should not be called "Jewish symbols" but "symbols used by Jews."

Nock, pp. 529f.: VI, p. 82, Aristaenetos is credited with what is actually a scholiast's remark and the passage is therefore wholly misunderstood. VI, pp. 114ff., the Syriac Liturgy of the Nile is a corrupt expansion of a Greek text in which "O holy one of God" refers to the patriarch of Alexandria. Nock, p. 735: VII, p. 213 misinterprets Origen PG, XIII, 1820=GCS, XXXV, 57 which is mere moralizing; VIII, p. 49 misinterprets Apuleius, *Metamorphosis* 11, 8, the fowler and fisher were not in the Isiac sacred procession; VIII, p. 64, the statuette with *soter kosmou* on its phallus is of dubious authenticity.

North, p. 314, Vincent, p. 105: I, p. 81 misdates the Kidron valley tombs; they are third, not first, century B.C. This opinion, however, is an idiosyncrasy of Vincent's.

Vincent, pp. 105ff.: I, p. 76 thinks a Roman necropolis in Jerusalem pre-Maccabean. Dickie's account of the frescoes is correct. I, p. 84, the sole example of a triple entry to the later tombs is in a fanciful restoration by Dalman. The Marissa tombs were not Jewish before the time of Hyrcanus.

Segert, p. 159: IV, p. 127 and fig. 88, *shabu'ot* refers not to *oaths* but to the feast of *weeks*.

For alleged misinterpretations of Philonic passages see above, n. 40; of passages from other Jewish texts, n. 42.

The evidence most often impugned was that of the spells and amulets, use of which was declared unjustified by Ferrua, p. 239, Dinkler, p. 336 and R. Grant, p. 185; dubious by Bickerman, p. 249, Gaster, p. 190, Mouterde, p. 342, and Leon, p. 262; justified by Barb, p. 229, van Puyvelde, p. 325, and Roth, p. 181. Nock, pp. 569f., thought it justified in principle, but believed Goodenough had included important non-Jewish pieces. The question of principle is now settled beyond dispute in Goodenough's favor by Margaliot's discovery of *Sefer ha Razim* which demonstrates that magic of the type

familiar from the Greek papyri was adopted and perpetuated by writers in the rabbinic tradition. It remains possible that some few of the pieces used by Goodenough were not Jewish in origin, but this possibility will not substantially affect the argument.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE WORK OF GEORGE FOOT MOORE¹

[169] I am sensible not only of the honor of being asked to speak on the work of George Foot Moore, but also of the danger of accepting the invitation. To discuss the achievements of an enormously learned man, a man of untiring industry and, by all accounts, of prodigious memory, who devoted a long lifetime to learning, is a first-rate opportunity of displaying one's own ignorance. Even Rabbi Yohanan ben Zakkai lamented that from the vastness of his teachers' wisdom he had taken away no more than a fly does when it dips in the sea. And since the extent of human knowledge so far exceeds any human being's capacity to learn, the new learning of each new generation is apt to be at best coextensive with its new ignorance. We cannot learn more than our teachers, nor even, when our teachers were men like Moore, can we learn as much. Our criticism of their work, accordingly, must be justified, if it can be justified at all, by difference, not excess, of knowledge.

In the present case, I run a further danger in speaking of Moore and his work from the circumstance that I never knew him personally, although many of you did. He died in the midst of his eightieth year in 1931, the year before I entered the College. He had continued teaching, however, to the age of seventy-six (in those days questions of professorial retirement were settled by consideration not of actuarial data, but of actual facts). Consequently many students less than a decade older than I had been his pupils, and most of the teachers from whom I learned most in the Divinity School—Cadbury, La Piana, Pfeiffer, Wolfson—had learned from him. From these sources, then, I first learned the Moore tradition, and found it a remarkably simple one. It was almost entirely concerned with the amazing extent of his erudition. There were very few *personalia*—one or two crushing retorts, the famous epigram on the Moore brothers (“There go a gentleman and a scholar”), and that was that. The other stories—and [170] they were many—were all of them accounts of the *mirabilia* of his learning. Thus, to judge from the oral tradition as it reached me during my days in Divinity School half a dozen years after his death, Moore had made himself, in the thought of the University, the symbol of scholarship. In him had been embodied that concern for learning which should be the core of every university. I have spoken of this first

¹ An address delivered on 21 April 1966 at the 150th Anniversary Convocation of the Harvard Divinity School.

because the impact of a man on the community in which he works is that part of his achievement most easily overlooked and most quickly forgotten, but by no means least important (particularly when the community happens to be a great university, one of the nerve centers of an enormous nation).

Of course, Moore's impact on the community had been far more various and more specific than that effected by his embodiment of the academic ideal. The picture given me by oral tradition showed only the last phase of a ministerial and teaching career extended over more than fifty years, of which almost twenty were spent at Andover Theological Seminary as Professor of Hebrew, and almost thirty at Harvard as Professor of the History of Religion. Throughout this long career, Moore had always been active in academic affairs beyond the limits of his teaching. At Andover, particularly, he had been one of the mainstays of the *Andover Review* and its editor for almost ten years. At Harvard he did most of the work for the foundation of the *Harvard Theological Review* and was for some years its editor, as well as one of its most important contributors. The memorial minute prepared by Kittredge, Ropes, and Robinson for the *Harvard University Gazette* (1932, p. 106) reports that in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences "he served on important committees and was for many years a member of the Administrative Board of the Graduate School. He was also a member of the Library Council, and was much relied upon as a Syndic of the University Press.... In the Faculty of Divinity he was actively concerned with the negotiations with Andover Theological Seminary which led to the affiliation and later to the union of that institution with the Harvard Divinity School.... until ... 1926. He took his full share of the administrative work of the Divinity Faculty, and his service has left important results, especially in the organization of the general examination for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, and in the institution of the higher degrees of Master and Doctor of Theology. In all these developments the influence of his ideas was controlling." [171]

Given this variety of Moore's concerns and the length of his active career, there can be no question here of discussing his achievements in detail. Yet the details should not be forgotten. Historians have a tendency to look for innovations and record them as important but to overlook the less spectacular and more important day-to-day labor of preserving routines and carrying on the functions of institutions already established. Yet even in the most revolutionary generation the amount of change is negligible by comparison with the preservation of established routines on which every society depends for its very existence; and the answer to the question, how well these routines are carried on, is a major determinant of the health of any society.

Therefore, although we cannot accurately estimate the importance of Moore's day-to-day work as teacher and committee member and counselor, we must record it. And those who know more of the personal history of that period than I do could certainly add much to the record, particularly on the subject of Moore's selection and sponsorship of younger scholars—a most important part of the maintenance of any learned tradition. I remark only that among the younger colleagues whose assistance he acknowledged in his published works were George La Piana, Charles Torrey, and Harry Wolfson.

My emphasis on Moore's day-to-day work should not be taken as implying that he had no part in significant changes. Particularly significant was his work as a historian of religion, and his close connection with the Harvard Faculty of Arts and Sciences as well as the Divinity School. These were elements of a great change which was taking place in American scholarship at that time—the recognition of religion as one of the humanities, a proper subject of humane study as well as professional training. With this went also a recognition of the essential unity of the world's religions as various forms of a single subject, religion, which can be studied in each of them and should be studied by consideration of them all.

For the American academic world this distinction between religion *in genere* and its particular instances and interpretations (the various religions actually to be found in the world) is of the greatest importance because of the basis it provides for the introduction of religion into the college curricula of universities where the subject otherwise would be either quarantined in a special school of professional "divinity" or represented by the university chaplain as a matter of moral and social rather than academic concern, a matter for practice rather than [172] study. As distinct from the chaplain and the professor of theology, a new social type, the professor of religion, now begins to appear. And the aforementioned recognition that religion is one of the humanities, a part of "the proper study of mankind," provides the justification for this non-sectarian and non-professional presentation of the subject to college students. I do not wish to suggest that these general changes were brought about solely by Moore, but the influence of what he was doing at Harvard, as an example for the other universities of the country can hardly be overestimated.

It would be easier to overestimate the importance of these academic developments for the general national attitude towards religion and in particular for the rise of the œcumenical movement. It is clear on the one hand that the conception of the several sects and even of the several major religions as being various forms of one "religion" provides a general intellectual foundation for particular œcumenical projects. On the other hand it is also clear that the actual

œcumenical projects in this country have often been independent, not to say ignorant, of this intellectual foundation, and both they and it are to a great extent results of a practical, detached attitude towards religious differences which had already developed in the eighteenth century. Therefore I am anxious not to exaggerate this aspect of the consequences of Moore's work, but I do think it right that it should be mentioned.

The essential work of a scholar, however, is scholarship and, as emphasized at the beginning of this lecture, in Moore's career his scholarship seems to have been the basis of all his other achievements. It was to his scholarship that he owed his position and his influence. It was as a scholar that he imposed his image on the imagination and memory of the university community. And that side of his work which remains most distinct for us today is the embodiment of his scholarship in his books and articles and the long series of critical reviews by which he made himself, for students of the Old Testament and of Judaism, almost an embodied conscience.

His scholarly work falls by content into three parts: first his studies of Old Testament subjects, which occupied him during his years at Andover and of which the publication continued during his first years at Harvard; then his general studies on the history of religion, which must have taken much of his time from 1905 to 1919; and finally his detailed study of Tannaitic Judaism, based, of course, in part on earlier reading, but actually produced during the last twelve years of his life. [173]

From his Old Testament studies we have a long series of articles and reviews, chiefly in the *Andover Review*, the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, and the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, as well as his critical edition of the Hebrew text of Judges in the Polychrome Bible and his great commentary on Judges in the *International Critical Commentary*. The characteristics of his work which appear in these are unvarnished clarity of style, robust common sense, and mastery of all the information available about the subject under discussion. The commentary on Judges in particular is outstanding for its careful examination of the textual evidence and its constant attention to ancient and mediaeval and renaissance commentators, as well as those of the reformation and of more recent times. Although published in 1895, almost three-quarters of a century ago, it is still the most valuable commentary on the text.

This is not to say that Moore's analysis of the sources behind the text, let alone his reconstruction of the history behind the sources would command universal acceptance today. Nor is it to deny that his book now needs additions in a great many places and corrections in more than a few. Of course the past seventy-five years have seen an

immense accumulation of data concerning Palestinian archaeology, Ugaritic religion, and Semitic linguistics, which should be taken account of in a new commentary. But with the exception of the linguistic material these matters are secondary. The primary problem of Biblical criticism is to know what the text says, what words it uses, and how these words (and the passages they compose) are related to one another in grammar, in content, and in style. When I look for answers to these primary questions I still find Moore consistently the most useful commentator.

And even in linguistic matters I am often inclined to trust his explanations, based on the primary versions and on later Hebrew usage, rather than conjectures which appeal to Akkadian and Ugaritic. Because of the extreme poverty of ancient Hebrew material, where the Bible is almost all we have left from the literature of almost a thousand years, exegetes of the Old Testament are forced to turn constantly to cognate languages, and too often forget that the primary context of any text is its own language. Explanation of difficulties in Judges by the discovery of related expressions in Ugaritic poetry and Akkadian legal documents from the middle Bronze Age have no better justification than would explanations of difficult passages in Shakespeare by [174] the discovery of related expressions in the *Nibelungenlied* and the *Codex Justinianus*. That they have more acceptance is due to the fact that the unfortunate Semitic linguists find nothing better to use. For the same reason they are forced to suppose the survival, sometimes for a thousand years or more, of minor linguistic traits, and their transportation, without substantial change of significance, from one culture to another. Yet the same commentators readily suppose that the meanings of many Hebrew expressions were entirely forgotten in their own culture during the three or four centuries which separate the present Hebrew text of Judges from the Septuagint translation! From such general considerations, of course, conclusions cannot be drawn to particular cases. Each case must be considered on its own merits, and there will certainly be some exceptional ones, but as far as the general argument goes, I think Moore has the better of it.

As for the questions of source analysis, which I put aside a moment ago, there too I find Moore's theories usually more plausible than the alternatives proposed since his time. The childish protest against the application of source analysis to the books of the Old Testament has now, I think, blown itself out. In the case of Judges, especially, the differences both of style and of content between the framework and the stories are so clear and so consistent that any attempt to deny the composite structure of the book is simply absurd. Moreover, the date of the framework seems to me pretty well fixed by its resemblance to

Deuteronomy and the resemblance of Deuteronomy to Jeremiah. Jeremiah is the dated element. The styles of certain fixed literary forms—law codes, prayers, hymns, and so on—may be perpetuated by convention over centuries. But we have enough Israelite prophecies to know that the style of prophecies was *not so* fixed. On the contrary, each of the major prophets writes in a highly individualistic style. And to suppose that Jeremiah—of all the prophets!—was a sort of Edmund Spenser, laboriously concocting his passionate prophecies in an archaizing jargon imitative of documents composed three hundred years before his time, is utterly implausible. Jeremiah's style, therefore, gives us a relatively fixed date for the preaching material of Deuteronomy, which, so far as it is original, must come from approximately the same period (say fifty years fore or aft—I should not pretend to date literary styles with the fantastic precision with which pottery styles are sometimes dated). Accordingly, I find Moore's date for the deuterio-Deuteronomic framework of Judges completely plausible. As [175] for the details of his analysis—the dating of the stories and their assignments to the schools of writers (J and E) whose work was preserved in the Pentateuch, Moore himself was skeptical about these matters, and the alternative proposals which have been made since his work appeared would, I think, have only increased his skepticism, as they have mine. I must plead guilty also to a similarly skeptical attitude anent the historical problems raised by Judges. Here again, I find Moore's theories usually at least as defensible as the alternatives proposed by later interpreters. I am sure such suspension of judgment will be called hypercritical by the hypercredulous. But this is a subject I shall not now further discuss, since I think I have said enough to indicate both my evaluation of the commentary on Judges, and the general lines on which I should defend it.

The *History of Religions*, the main work of Moore's middle period, has never enjoyed the authority of his work on the Old Testament and on Judaism, and has therefore never been an object of much controversy. It is admittedly a masterpiece of condensation. The clear, flat, matter-of-fact style continues with hardly a superfluous word. Every inch of type is packed with material selected from an enormous reading not only of secondary works, but also of primary sources. Consequently, even when it deals with religions outside Moore's field of special competence, it is not merely a derivative work. Moore is always exercising his own judgment, and although his judgment normally leads him to follow the best available scholarly opinions, he himself reshapes these opinions, now more, now less, by the exercise of his common sense and his strong prejudice in favor of what may be called "aristocratic liberalism."

Of this prejudice, Moore himself was well aware. He both stated and defended it with his usual clarity (vol. II, p. xi):

It is primarily the religion of intelligent and religious men that is [here] described.... Such men are always the minority, but they are the true representatives of their religion in any age, teachers and examples to their fellows. No religion has ever succeeded in bringing all of its adherents to its standards of right living ... and in the highest religions the gulf between the intellectual and moral leaders and the superstitious and depraved sediment of society is widest. But it is not from ignorance and superstition that anything can be learned about a religion; at that end they are all alike. The strength and the limitations of this position are alike obvious.

Somewhat less obvious but equally important are the limitations indicated by the title of the work, *History of Religions*, in the plural. It should by rights have been "Histories of Religions," for the histories, even those of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, are almost entirely separate. In any one of them references to other religions are rare save when necessitated by some historical encounter, usually a conflict. Of course Moore was aware that religions can be classified by types, that those of the same type commonly develop along similar patterns and decline because of similar failings; he himself occasionally refers to such types and patterns. But he chose to write the histories of individual religions rather than the natural history of religion as a form of human behavior. His choice may have been determined not only by his training but also by the consideration that the histories of the religions are logically prior to the history of religion. Before we can safely generalize about the species we must have full and reliable life histories of individual members. Of such life histories Moore undertook to provide the outlines, and deliberately left for other students the comparison and the discovery of general rules of development and decline.

The wisdom of this decision can be seen from the fate of his last major work, his account of Judaism "in the first centuries of the Christian era, the age of the Tannaim," of which the two volumes of text appeared in 1927, the appendices and additional notes in 1930. It was immediately acclaimed a masterpiece, and deservedly so. I suppose no other Christian author has ever written of Judaism from a knowledge at once so extensive and so critical of the entire range of Israelitic and Jewish literature. And I am sure that no comparable Christian work on Judaism has been written with so much sympathy, so earnest an effort to see the religion from the viewpoint of its own people, to adopt their scale of values and to discover valid reasons for their practices and beliefs. In this effort, as well as in his study of rabbinic and later literature, Moore had enjoyed the invaluable

guidance of Professors Solomon Schechter and Louis Ginzberg of the Jewish Theological Seminary, and his viewpoint is often so close to that of these great conservative Jewish scholars that if I were speaking in midrashic style, where Esau is the recognized symbol of the European gentile, I might apply to it the words of Isaac and say, "The hand is the hand of Esau, but the voice is the voice of Jacob."

In this respect Moore's book was the opposite of the tendentious accounts of Judaism which had been given by previous Christian writers [177] on the subject, writers whose works Moore had surveyed in a crushing article in the *Harvard Theological Review* 14 (1921) 197ff. Where they had been concerned to contrast the prophetic tradition of ancient Israel with the legal observance of Judaism, and to glorify Christianity as the fulfillment of prophecy and the true perpetuation of the prophetic religion of the spirit, Moore is concerned to demonstrate the compatibility and equal antiquity of the law and the prophets, and to show that Judaism is the legitimate child of both these parents, the true perpetuation of the ancient religion of Israel. Christianity appears by contrast as a heretical sect, engendered by apocalyptic enthusiasm. To its exclusive orthodoxy, based on agreement in dogma, is opposed the inclusive catholicism of "normative" Judaism, innocent of credal requirements, and demanding only agreement in practice.

Liberal Christianity in America was ready to accept this account, and liberal and conservative Judaism of course welcomed it. So Moore's book has had an enormous influence for good in presenting to Christians a sympathetic and superbly informed account of early Judaism, and in presenting to American Jews an idealized picture of their religion in its classical period, a picture all the more impressive because it was not written by a Jew. Of the two sides of this influence, I think that on Judaism has perhaps been deeper and more important.

All this influence resulted in large measure from the nobility of Judaism as Moore portrayed it, and this, in turn, resulted from his principle, stated above, that the true account of any religion is to be drawn from the writings of its most devout and intelligent adherents. To this he added, in composing *Judaism*, the further principle that the true picture of a religion must be drawn chiefly from those documents which it accepts as authentic (*Judaism* I. 125). This supposes, obviously, that the religion has not changed substantially in the course of its history. If what was once a minority party has subsequently won control, and if the works of a former majority have been lost by neglect or by suppression, then the documents now accepted as authentic—the propaganda of the former minority—will give a seriously false picture of earlier times. Indeed, even if the triumphant party was one of the major parties aforetime, but was then matched by

equally important competitors, there is a danger that it will now represent itself as the one true form of the earlier religion, and dismiss the other ancient forms, which, in their day, had equal claims to legitimacy, as heretical sects. [178] In doing this it will of course appeal to its success and survival as proof that it was right.

Now I think it can be shown that this has happened in the history of Judaism and of the religion of Israel not once but repeatedly. The prophets, if we take them at their own words, unquestionably expressed the position of a minority. The history of occasional reforms under the monarchies is best explicable by the supposition of a minority party which only occasionally and for short periods was able to control the government. I have argued elsewhere that this reform party did not gain permanent control of the temple until the time of Nehemiah, and that even then important groups, especially among the priesthood, remained in opposition. The *façon de vivre* thus established was overthrown at the time of the Maccabean revolt, when another minority came to power and drove out the traditional priesthood. But the Maccabean party never succeeded in winning the support of all Israel. Beside the exiled supporters of the legitimate priesthood, who set up their own temple in Egypt, the northern Israelites continued to worship at Gerizim rather than Jerusalem. We know of another temple in Transjordan, and the communities of the diaspora evidently went their own ways, which were sometimes strange ones. To our knowledge, even within Judea the Maccabean party met serious opposition from the Pharisees and the Essenes, and perhaps from other groups. When the Maccabeans were driven out by Herod, control of the official religion passed to the high priests whom he and his successors, the Roman procurators, appointed, while Pharisees, Essenes and other parties, including, soon, the followers of Jesus, were all in opposition to the government and in competition with each other. That the Pharisees had the largest influence with the people during this period is asserted by Pharisaic sources, but seems unlikely. At any rate, they were unable to prevent the revolt against Rome in 66, and it was only after the revolt, with Roman support, that they became clearly preeminent among the Palestinian parties, while the followers of Jesus, apparently, were winning over much of the diaspora. And even within the Pharisaic party, the controlling factor, that of the Hillelite house, may have been a minority vis-à-vis the Shammaites before 70, and was certainly pushed into the background by an eschatological anti-Roman wing, led by Akiba, in the years before 130. It is the rabbinic literature canonized by this Hillelite party, after its recovery of power, that Moore took as "normative" not only for the time when it was canon[179]ized, but for the preceding centuries. The main thing wrong with his great work is its title; he

should not have called it "Judaism in the first centuries of the Christian era, the age of Tannaim," but "Tannaitic Judaism of late second and third centuries A.D." Of this Judaism or, at least, of its Stoic and rationalistic side, which was perhaps its most important side, the work is a masterly exposition. And it is perhaps even greater as an exposition of Moore's own religion, the Pharisaic Puritanism which contributed much to the greatness of America and particularly to the tradition of American scholarship. To that tradition, its conscientiousness and consequent self-righteousness, its austerity and consequent accomplishments, we are indebted beyond expression. For better or for worse, its training has formed our minds, and we are united to it in the indissoluble communion of the intellect, which is the communion of the Pharisaic saints.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

ZEALOTS AND SICARII, THEIR ORIGINS AND RELATION

[1] It has long been the common opinion that the Zealots were the party founded by Judas the Galilean—so Graetz and Jost, for instance, writing in the middle of the past century.¹ Derenbourg, it is true, observed that the term “Zealots” was not applied to the opponents of the Romans before the revolt, but when he came to the events of the revolt he made a descendant of Judas, Menahem, the leader of the Zealots and so apparently assumed the connection of the party with Judas.² Schürer’s adherence canonized the common opinion, and also the common description of the *Sicarii* as a more fanatical fraction of the party—though the sources contain nothing to suggest that the party had split before the *Sicarii* appeared.³ Hence, with only minor variations, Eduard Meyer,⁴ Bousset,⁵ Baron,⁶ and Yadin’s account of the Zealots in Masada,⁷ to name only the largest studies.⁸ [2]

¹ H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, 5 ed., ed. M. Braun (Leipzig, 1900-1905), III.i, 250, 258; III.ii, 431f., 458ff.; J. Jost, *Geschichte des Judentums und seiner Secten*, I Abt. (Leipzig, 1857), 327, 436, 443. Jost differs with Graetz by denying the Zealots’ relation to the Shammaites (p. 327) and in other details, but accepts the connection of the party with Judas.

² J. Derenbourg, *Essai sur l’histoire et la géographie de la Palestine, ... I, Histoire de la Palestine ...* (Paris, 1867), 195 n. 2; 238f.; 260f.; 472f.

³ E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 3-4 ed. (Leipzig, 1901-1911), 4 vols.; I, 486f. (with bibliography); 573ff, etc.; I, 487 n. 139 is contradicted by III, 300—the author of *The Assumption of Moses* was not a Zealot, after all.

⁴ *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums* (Stuttgart, 1921), 3 vols.; II, 402ff. (contrary to Schürer, Judas the Galilean and Judas the son of Hezekiah were not identical).

⁵ W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, 3 ed., ed. H. Gressmann (Tübingen, 1926; *HdbNT* 21), 87f.

⁶ S. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 2 ed. (N.Y., 1952), II, 46ff.; 58, 74, 101, 346 n. 55.

⁷ Y. Yadin, *Masada, Herod’s Fortress and the Zealots’ Last Stand* (N.Y., 1966).

⁸ Others are, e.g., J. Lightly, *Jewish Sects and Parties in the Time of Jesus* (London, 1925), 323ff.; C. Guignebert, *The Jewish World in the Time of Jesus*, tr. S. Hooke (London, 1939). (For G. the Zealots were less an organization founded by a single individual than a movement generated by a common state of mind—p. 170; cp. 39f., 169f. In this respect G. is followed by W. Forster, *Palestinian Judaism in New Testament Times*, 3 ed., tr. G. Harris (Edinburgh, 1964), who accordingly puts the origin of the Zealots in the last days of Herod, 89f. (cp. 99f., 104f., etc.), and by O. Cullmann, “Die Bedeutung der Zelotenbewegung für das Neue Testament,” in *Vorträge und Aufsätze*, 1925-1962, ed. K. Fröhlich (Zurich, 1966), 292ff. Guignebert, Forster, and Cullmann all think *sicarii* a term applied to the Zealots in general; similarly A. Momigliano, “Rebellion within the Empire. iv-vii,” in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. X (Cambridge, 1934), 852ff., and Stumpff, *ζηλόω, ζηλωτής*, *ThWb* II (1935), 884ff. (undistinguished). M. Simon, *Les Sectes juives au temps de Jésus* (Paris, 1960), was less

A new trend, however, set in just after Schürer's work, at the beginning of the present century. Kohler tried to date "a league of Kanna'im or Zealots" back to Maccabean times,⁹ though he did not put the organization of the political party before the time of Herod.¹⁰ His attempt to connect their forerunners with the Hasidim¹¹ was unfortunate, since one of the few things we know about the Hasidim is that they abandoned the Maccabees and went over to the Seleucid High Priest, Alcimus,¹² an action incompatible with Judas the Galilean's teaching that Jews may recognize no ruler save God.¹³ However, Kohler did succeed in showing that the admiration of "zeal" (exemplified by the murders committed by Phineas and those instigated by Elijah)¹⁴ was widespread in Judaism from Maccabean times on, that imitation of Phineas and Elijah was often spoken of, and that such thought and practice was closely connected with resistance to foreign rule. Enthusiasm for his subject and neglect of distinctions led Kohler to absurd conclusions—"Josephus was sent by the Jerusalem Sanhedrin, composed chiefly of Zealots"; the Idumaeans were Zealots, too, and so were all the leaders in Jerusalem, in spite of their hostility to each other¹⁵—but the recognition of the wide extent of the [3] terminology and of its background both in literature and in practice was a major contribution, most important because it indicated that private individuals might often have adopted the ideal on their own. Accordingly we cannot suppose that every individual who claimed to be a "zealot," or was called so by his neighbors, was a member of an organization.

Kohler's observations were taken up by Schlatter¹⁶ (whose theological romanticism carried him even beyond Kohler in glorification of these heroes who fought "for freedom alone"),¹⁷ and later by Farmer who worked out in detail the relations between the Maccabees and later representatives of the tradition of zeal—whom he

cautious and his statement (p. 39), "Josèphe la qualifie (sc. la secte des Zélotes) d'école philosophique—au même titre que les Pharisiens," is false.

⁹ K. Kohler, "Zealots," in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, XII (1906), 639ff.; "Wer waren die Zeloten oder Kannaim?" in *Festschrift zu Ehren des Dr. A. Harkavy*, edd. D. von Günzburg and I. Markon (St. Petersburg, 1908), 6ff.

¹⁰ *JE* XII, 640.

¹¹ *Festschrift ... Harkavy*, 13.

¹² 1 Macc. 7:13ff.

¹³ Josephus, *Ant.* 18.23.

¹⁴ Numbers 25; 1 Kings 18:40; 19:10.

¹⁵ *JE* XII, 643.

¹⁶ A. Schlatter, *Geschichte Israels von Alexander dem Grossen bis Hadrian*, 3 ed. (Stuttgart, 1925), 261ff. (his attempt to rearrange Josephus has won no praise); *Die Theologie des Judentums nach dem Bericht des Josephus* (Gütersloh, 1932), 214ff.

¹⁷ *Theologie*, 224; contrast Momigliano's realistic evaluation of the economic motives of those who resisted Roman rule, *CAH* X, 853.

calls "zealots" (as many of them probably called themselves), but whom he rightly distinguishes from the political party which took that name.¹⁸

It is not unlikely that this distinction was due to the work of Kirsopp Lake, who in 1920 had contributed to volume I of *The Beginnings of Christianity*¹⁹ an appendix, written with his usual brilliance,²⁰ in which he pointed out that Josephus never uses the term "Zealots" to refer to a political party before 66 A.D., that he then uses it to refer to one party clearly distinct from and at odds with the others, and that there is no justification for identifying this party with the "fourth philosophy"—the sect founded by Judas of Galilee.²¹ Lake also distinguished the Zealots from [4] the *Sicarii* (422ff.) and finally pointed out the reason for the common misconception of the Zealots, viz., the long-standing and widespread admiration for "zeal" and praise of "zealots," which undoubtedly determined the party's choice of its name, but which, for that very reason, must have been prior to and wider than the party.²²

Appendices are not read, and even when they are read, they may not be cited. Drexler, in his study of Josephus' politics, followed Josephus in distinguishing the *Sicarii* from the Zealots, but said nothing of the origins of the latter nor of Lake.²³ Moore, a colleague of Lake's, remarked in passing that Josephus did not identify the Zealots with the "fourth philosophy,"²⁴ but he himself shared Josephus' disapproval of revolutionary and Messianic movements; they were not the sort of Judaism he wanted to describe; accordingly the indices of his great description of ancient Judaism contain no reference to the Zealots nor to the *Sicarii*.²⁵ Zeitlin seems also to have noticed Lake's observations, though when he repeated them, he did not refer to Lake

¹⁸ W. Farmer, *Maccabees, Zealots, and Josephus* (N.Y. 1956), 24, n. 3 (with a good review of the literature, 25-44); see also his article "Zealot," *IDB* IV (1962), 936ff.

¹⁹ F. Jackson and K. Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I, Vol. I, Prolegomena I*, 421ff.; that the Appendix (A. "The Zealots") was written by Lake is stated by F. Jackson in *Josephus and the Jews* (N.Y., 1930), 264 n. 2.

²⁰ E.g., p. 424, "Schürer's statement that Judas ben Hezekiah is 'sicherlich' the same as Judas of Galilee seems ... quite indefensible, except in so far as the use of 'sicherlich' in theological writing indicates the combination of insufficient evidence with strongly held opinion."

²¹ "No doubt the Fourth Philosophy supplied the intellectual attitude from which the Zealots and the *Sicarii* started, but there is no possibility of clearness in historical writing if the name of a political party be given to its logical antecedents," p. 422.

²² 424f. Lake also pointed out the importance of the reference to the apostle, Simon, "called the zealot" (Luke 6:15; Acts 1:13), in shaping the common opinion.

²³ H. Drexler, "Untersuchungen zu Josephus und zur Geschichte des jüdischen Aufstandes 66-70," *Klio* 19 (1925), 277ff., esp. 284-87.

²⁴ G. Moore, "Fate and Free Will in the Jewish Philosophies according to Josephus," *HTR* 22 (1929), 373.

²⁵ *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927-1930), 3 vols.

and differed from him in declaring that the Zealots were followers of Eleazer ben Simon,²⁶ whereas Lake had believed them the followers of John of Gischala.²⁷

So far as I know, the first explicit reference to Lake's thesis was by J. Klausner,²⁸ whose enthusiastic Zionism made him anxious to represent the ancient opposition to Roman rule as a spontaneous movement of the united Jewish people, and therefore unwilling to recognize the differences and individual concerns of the anti-[5]Roman parties. For him the Zealots were Pharisees, because Josephus says they differed from the Pharisees in only one important characteristic;²⁹ they were also the Hasidim, and also the "fourth philosophy"; in fact, they were the leaders of all the revolts in all parts of the country.³⁰ Proof of all this is Josephus' statement that the "fourth philosophy" and the fanaticism it inspired were the root from which grew all the subsequent troubles.³¹ But in describing the subsequent troubles Josephus treats them as independent incidents and says nothing of any one party's organizing them, therefore his statements that they all grew up from the work of Judas the Galilean probably mean *only* that Judas was the first to make resistance to alien rulers a religious duty and to set an example of the fanaticism which later led to disaster, *not* that Judas started an organization which produced all the later incidents.³² This interpretation is admittedly based on an argument from silence, but the argument is a strong one because Josephus wrote in part to persuade the Romans of the innocence and loyalty of most Jews; had he been able to put the blame for all incidents of resistance on a single party and so exculpate the rest of his countrymen, he would surely have done so. He frequently tries to do so by suggestion,³³ and the passage noted by Klausner is one of these attempts. Neither it nor the others can stand against his

²⁶ S. Zeitlin, "Judaism as a Religion," *JQR*, N.S. 34 (1943—44), 351 n. 364. He refers to his own work, *Who Crucified Jesus?* (4 ed., N.Y., 1964) which does not make this point but does acknowledge (p. vii) the use of Lake's work for its text of Acts.

²⁷ "Zealots," 423. We shall come back to this question.

²⁸ First, I understand, in *Keshe'ummah nilhemet 'al herutah*, which I have not seen; subsequently in *Historia shel habayit hasheni*, 2 ed. (Jerusalem, 1950), 5 vols., esp. IV, 200ff.; V, 29ff.

²⁹ *Ant.* 18.25; Klausner, IV, 201f.

³⁰ IV, 202.

³¹ *Ant.* 18.25; Klausner could also have cited the similar statements in 18.6 and 8-10, and other passages.

³² So the passages in question were understood by F. Abel, *Histoire de la Palestine* (Paris, 1952), 2 vols., 1, 425. Of all scholars who have dealt with the question, Abel and Lake were probably the two best trained in Greek and best qualified to judge the exact significance of Josephus' Greek expressions. Abel says nothing of Klausner (who was his neighbor in Jerusalem) nor of the relations between the Zealots and the *Sicarii*.

³³ This was already noticed by O. Holtzmann, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1906), 206; recently, e.g., M. Hengel, *Die Zeloten* (Leiden, 1961), 11.

account of the course of events, which testifies to widespread Jewish resentment of Roman rule and to many independent cases of resistance, breaking out in all the Jewish districts.³⁴

Another attempt to refute Lake was made by Brandon in 1957.³⁵ [6] He argued, (1) as Klausner had, that Josephus “clearly associates the movement of Judas of Galilee with the politico-religious fanaticism which goaded the nation into war”; (2) that the action of Judas must have involved actual revolt, not just seditious teaching, because both Josephus and Luke³⁶ look back to it as a memorable event; (3) that the existence of a “zealot” among the apostles proves the existence of the Zealots as a party before 66. But we have already seen that Josephus’ statements about Judas indicate only that he set the example and provided the rationale for resistance to Rome, not that he founded the Zealot party, which Josephus never in any way connects with him. Consequently, the question whether Judas did or did not lead a considerable revolt is immaterial. As for the notion that the presence of a “zealot” among Jesus’ disciples proves the existence of the Zealot party in Jesus’ time, that is not an argument, but a bad pun. Kohler and Farmer, as we said, have demonstrated the wide popularity of the notion of zeal and of the ideal of “the zealot” as a private individual, imitating Phineas and Elijah. This popularity makes it quite unjustified to take an isolated reference to a “zealot” as evidence that the individual referred to was a member of the party. The term is used, for example, of Phineas in 4 Macc 18:12.

At least Brandon was aware of Lake’s position. Cecil Roth, in *The Historical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls*,³⁷ seemed never to have heard of it. He followed uncritically the common opinion, even though he made a special study of the conflict between the Masada *Sicarii* and the revolutionary forces in Jerusalem. In reporting this conflict Josephus—our only source—always refers to the Zealots as a Jerusalem group and never locates them in Masada. But Roth simply reversed the terminology and [7] wrote that it was “obvious that the

³⁴ To argue, as Klausner does (IV, 202), that since Josephus’ account of the Zealots’ religious devotion, love of liberty, and self-sacrifice fits the “fourth philosophy,” therefore the two groups must have been one and the same party, is fallacious.

³⁵ S. Brandon, *The Fall of Jerusalem and the Christian Church* (London, 1957), 105 n. 1, citing *Ant.* 18.1.16 (read 1.6 ; i.e., 18.23-25, discussed above); 20.5.2 (102); *War* 2.117f.; 433-40; 4.158-161. Of these the last refers to the Zealots but not Judas or his descendants, the preceding ones to Judas and his descendants, but not to the Zealots. Nothing in any of them indicates a connection between the two groups. Brandon’s later publications on the subject, “The Zealots: the Jewish Resistance against Rome, A.D. 6-73,” *History Today* 15 (1965), 632ff., and *Jesus and the Zealots* (Manchester, 1967), 26ff., add nothing of importance to the discussion.

³⁶ Acts 5:37.

³⁷ Oxford, 1958, revised, augmented and republished as *The Dead Sea Scrolls, a new historical approach* (N.Y., 1965); I cite from this latter edition.

Zealots in Masada did not consider that they owed allegiance to the Jewish revolutionary authorities in Jerusalem.” For this and for his identification of the Zealots with the *Sicarii* he was taken to task by Martin³⁸ and Zeitlin,³⁹ and justly so—his arguments were often fallacious. For example:⁴⁰ the defenders of Masada were Zealots and held out to the end; the defenders of Machaerus, Herodium, and the forest of Jarden held out to the end; therefore they too were Zealots; therefore “it appears that” the Machaerus gang had authority over them. And so on.

When the inadequacy of his arguments, and the inconsistency of his conclusions with his evidence—i.e., with Josephus—were pointed out, Roth presented the amusing spectacle of a distinguished scholar trying to wiggle out of a distinguished blunder.⁴¹ He blamed Josephus for using terms inaccurately, and subsequent historians for making Zealots of all left-wing leaders of Jewish resistance (as he had been doing when caught in the act). He then established the (familiar) fact that the *Sicarii*, led by the descendants of Judas the Galilean, were presumably continuators of the “fourth philosophy”; he admitted that “how the Zealots came into the picture is somewhat less certain”;⁴² but he identified the two groups on the basis of a single passage. In *War* 2.444 Josephus speaks of Menahem, the head of the *Sicarii*, as taking with him, when he went into the Temple, τοὺς ζηλωτάς. This of course means τοὺς ζηλωτάς αὐτοῦ—“his *fanatical* followers”—as Thackeray translated it.⁴³ It had so been understood in antiquity [8] by the Latin translator⁴⁴ (“studiosos sui in armis habebat”) and by the translator-

³⁸ M. Martin, review of *The Historical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, *Biblica* 40 (1959), 1048f.

³⁹ S. Zeitlin, “The Idolatry of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *JQR* 48 (1957-58), 256f.

⁴⁰ *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 16ff. That there were some Zealots among those who fled to Jarden (*War* 7.215, cp 6.92) does not prove that all were Zealots.

⁴¹ “The Zealots in the War of 66-73,” *Jnl. of Sem. Studies* 4 (1959), 332ff.

⁴² “The Zealots in the War,” 334.

⁴³ Thackeray’s words are, “his suite of armed fanatics” (*Josephus*, vol. II [London, 1927], *ad loc.*). Roth’s objection to this translation (“The Zealots in the War,” 332, n. 2) are grounded on the fact that it does not suit his theory. O. Michel and O. Bauernfield (*Flavius Josephus, De Bello Judaico*, Bd. I [Bad Homburg, 1960], *ad loc.*) agree with Thackeray, “ein Schar bewaffneter Eiferer,” but in their note they try to explain that both Menahem and his opponents (who were then about to murder him) were “Zeloten”—there had been a split in the party (but Josephus had neglected to mention it, no doubt because it was essential for an understanding of the events). Drexler, *Untersuchungen*, 286, also agrees with Thackeray; so does Baumbach, *Zeloten*, 733 (see below, n. 82).

⁴⁴ *Flavii Josephi ... Opera*, ed. M. Weidmann (Coloniae, 1691), *War* II.xviii of the Latin text (p. 812). The title page attributes the Latin translation to Rufinus. On its quality see J. von Destinon, *De Flavi Josephi bello iudaico recensendo* (Prog. Kiel, 1889), 15. “Quae (antiqua versio latina) sive Rufini Aquiliensis fuit, id quod vulgo creditur, sive Hieronymi, facta certe est ab homine et graecae et latinae linguae satis perito, quique et graeca verba plerumque recte interpretaretur et pro suae aetatis (IV c.) indole ... satis eleganter latino sermone redderet.”

author of Hegesippus.⁴⁵ And Josephus elsewhere consistently refers to Menahem's party as "the *Sicarii*," and uses "the Zealots" to refer to a quite different party which he never in any way connects with Menahem, Judas of Galilee, or any other of Judas' descendants. It is therefore almost incredible that in this one instance Josephus should have contradicted his regular usage by referring to the followers of Menahem as "the Zealots."

Roth, to bolster his mistranslation, appealed to *Ant.* 18.1ff., the already familiar passage attributing all the Jews' disasters to the teaching and example of Judas of Galilee. This he misunderstood as referring to the actions of the members of Judas' "fourth philosophy" and he claimed that the same things were said of the Zealots in War 7.268-70, therefore the "fourth philosophy" must have been the Zealots.⁴⁶ But War 7.268-70 says only that the Zealots excelled even the Idumaeans in lawlessness and were zealous emulators of all bad actions. There is nothing about their being responsible for all the nation's disasters. On the contrary the passage is part of a long digression (7.253-274) in which Josephus lists and distinguishes the revolutionary parties. First, he insists, came the *Sicarii* (254, 262), who set the example of crime and cruelty; then John of Gischala went on to violation of the food laws (264); then Simon ben Giora added treachery and tyranny (265); then the Idumaeans, madness and anarchy (267); and finally the Zealots emulated every sort of evil and claimed, withal, to practice virtue (268f.). These distinctions are rhetorical and imprecise, but the intention to distinguish the five parties is clear, and the passage is decisive *against* that identification of the Zealots and the *Sicarii* for which Roth cited it. [9]

As a further argument for the identification he adduced the fact that both the *kanna'im* (zealots) and the *sikarin* (*sicarii*) in rabbinic literature are murderers. Therefore, he argued, they must have been members of the same organization. This he thought proved by the fact that in one instance in *Abot de Rabbi Natan* text A has *kanna'im* where the parallel, text B, has *sikarin*.⁴⁷ But confusions of medieval copyists are not substantial evidence, and neither ζηλωτής nor *sicarius* nor *kanna'i* nor *sikari* can be taken as invariably indicating membership in an organization—there were plenty of private fanatics and assassins, and most rabbinic passages seem to refer to them.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ *Hegesippi qui dicitur historiae libri V*, ed. V. Ussani, vol. I (Vienna, 1932), 2.10.6, "stipatoribus tamquam regio more comitantibus."

⁴⁶ "Zealots in the War," 344.

⁴⁷ "Zealots in the War," 334; the correct refs. are *ARN*, text א, ch. 6, end; text ב, ch. 13, middle (ed. S. Shechter, N.Y., 1945, 31f.).

⁴⁸ This is obvious for references to periods after the first revolt; for others, the same conclusion has been defended by B. Salomonsen, "Some Remarks on the Zealots with Special Regard to the Term 'Quanna'im' in Rabbinic Literature," *NTS* 12 (1965-66),

From such—and even feebler ⁴⁹—arguments Roth went on to guess at implausible reasons why the term “Zealots” was not used of the “fourth philosophy” during the sixty years before the great revolt; he lightly passed over the murder of a lot of the *Sicarii* and their leader, Menahem, by the Jerusalem revolutionaries (whom he here identified with the Zealots) and he concluded, “However this may be ... we must consider the *Sicarii* and the Zealots, whatever minor distinction there may have been between them, in close association.”⁵⁰ Murdering the leader of an opposing party, with all of his followers you can catch,⁵¹ indicates only a “minor distinction”—the opinion of a true liberal.

The rest of Roth’s article is an amazing muddle of misinterpreted texts and baseless conjectures; it need not detain us.⁵² [10] In subsequent articles⁵³ he did not succeed in obfuscating the difficulties of his position. He did discover Hippolytus’⁵⁴ confusion of (private?) zealots and *sicarii* with the Essenes⁵⁵ in an attempt to explain a reference to division of the Essenes into four grades. The reference stood in the old source which was also used by Josephus, but the explanation is peculiar to Hippolytus and is obviously a muddle of misunderstood hearsay, worthless as evidence for original identification of the groups it confuses.⁵⁶ The rest is pure speculation, insistence on whatever differences can be found between the Dead Sea documents and Philo’s, Pliny’s, and Josephus’ accounts of the

168ff., but his arguments are even worse than Roth’s. His article is rich in references to works on the Zealots by assorted cranks—a handy guide to what should not be read.

⁴⁹ *Numbers Rabbah* 20.26 on Num 25: 7 represents Phineas, the model zealot, hiding the blade of his spear in his garment, so as to get past the guards of the man he intended to murder; the *Sicarii* were said to hide their swords in their garments (*Ant.* 20.164, etc.); *ergo* the Zealots were the *Sicarii*.

⁵⁰ “Zealots in the War,” 337.

⁵¹ *War* 2.442-48.

⁵² Note: On p. 339—Acts 21:38 is not intended to prove the Egyptian a *sicarius* but the centurion an ignoramus. P. 340—The priestly group which murdered Menahem was not “moderate,” it had begun the revolt. P. 341—Once again there is no indication that the Masada *Sicarii* were ever Zealots, nor that the Jerusalem Zealots ever “adhered to the ‘Fourth Philosophy.’” P. 346—“It is ... impossible ... to distinguish guiding principles,” because he has given the Zealots a creed they never held and made Zealots of a body who never were so; the resultant muddle is explicable only by his determination to save what he could of his thesis and his face. P. 348—That the groups in control of Masada, Machaerus, and Herodium are all called λησται does not prove them all one party; λησται is simply “robbers” and is applied by Josephus to all robber bands regardless of their principles, or lack of them, see Hengel, *Zeloten*, 25ff. and esp. 35ff. vs. Rengstorff, λησταις, *ThWb* IV (1942), 262ff.

⁵³ “The Zealots—a Jewish Religious Sect,” *Judaism* 8 (1959), 33ff.; “The Zealots and Qumran: The Basic Issue,” *Revue de Qumran* 2 (1959-60), 81ff.

⁵⁴ Or his immediate source’s? Late second century A.D.?

⁵⁵ *Philosophumena* (= *Refutation of All the Heresies*) 9.26.

⁵⁶ See M. Smith, “The Description of the Essenes in Josephus and the *Philosophumena*,” *HUCA* 29 (1958), 282f.

Essenes, and neglect or denial of whatever differences can be found between the same documents, Josephus' reports of the Zealots and the Pharisees, and the remarks about persons so called in rabbinic literature.

After Roth's speculations Hengel's *Zeloten*⁵⁷ seems a model of solid scholarship—that is the great German façade. When, however, one goes behind the monumental annotation and examines the actual structure, it turns out to be built on the old, unjustified assumptions: references to zealots and *sicarii* in rabbinic literature and the Gospels are taken as references to members of *the* Zealots and *the* *Sicarii* (the organizations);⁵⁸ the mistranslation [11] of *War* 2.444 is again used—in defiance of all other evidence—to make *the* Zealots followers of Menahem;⁵⁹ the worthless parallel of *kanna'im* and *sikarin* in *Abot de Rabbi Natan* A6 and B13 is again used to identify the parties;⁶⁰ the disciple Simon “the zealot” is again evidence of an organization of Zealots in the time of Jesus (and the similar use of the term for Phineas in 4 Macc 18:12 is again neglected);⁶¹ Hippolytus' muddling of the sects is again evidence of their identity two centuries before his time.⁶² All these hoary howlers are embedded in a mass of learned data about even more dubious details which add nothing of importance to the discussion.

There is, however, one new argument: since the Zealots were the smallest of the revolutionary parties,⁶³ the fact that Josephus, when surveying the course of the revolt (in *War* 7.253-74), puts them last shows he attributed to them special importance, perhaps because he knew they had a larger role in the prehistory of the war than the size of their rump in Jerusalem would indicate.⁶⁴ This “perhaps” is pure

⁵⁷ M. Hengel, *Die Zeloten* (Leiden, 1961; *Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Spätjudentums und Urchristentums*, I).

⁵⁸ *Zeloten*, 21f., etc. As to *sicarii*, however, there is an honorable exception, 50f., where Hengel recognizes that the term has both a general and a specific use, but draws from this fact the unlikely conclusion that divisions in the liberation movement developed only in 66, which he thinks the earliest date for which Josephus' specific use of the term *sicarii* (to refer to the party led by Judas' descendants) can be demonstrated. But in *War* 7.253f. Josephus speaks of the *sicarii* as uniting to form a definite organization in the days of Judas the Galilean—and the presumption is strong that this was the organization founded by Judas and led by his descendants, cp. 7.262 (πρώτοι). If so, *Zeloten*, 67, is mistaken in making the party of Judas different from and prior to the *Sicarii*.

⁵⁹ *Zeloten*, 66; the alleged reason—that the adjective is here determined and without further specification—is false; the specification αὐτῶν is indicated by the context and was understood by the ancient translators, see above at notes 44 and 45.

⁶⁰ *Zeloten*, 68.

⁶¹ *Zeloten*, 72f.

⁶² *Zeloten*, 73.

⁶³ *Zeloten*, 65, 2,400 men, *War* 5.248ff., vs. 10,000 followers of Simon ben Giora, 6,000 of John of Gischala; and 5,000 Idumaeans.

⁶⁴ *Zeloten*, 67.

conjecture, not justified by anything in the text. The passage declares that the order is one of increasing wickedness, with the Zealots coming at the end because, to the crimes of others, they added hypocrisy, by their claim to be zealots for the good deeds.⁶⁵ But along with this rhetorical order there is a chronological consideration—Josephus thrice and emphatically indicates that the *Sicarii* came first in order of time;⁶⁶ it would be plausible therefore to suppose that the Zealots, placed at the end, became an organized and important group only late in the revolt. [12]

Oblivious of this consideration, Hengel tries to show that Judas of Galilee's fourth philosophy was the single controlling organization behind all the revolutionary movement from 6 to 66.⁶⁷ Here again his basic argument (1) is familiar: misinterpretation of Josephus' statement that all the troubles began with them.⁶⁸ He also argues (2) that Judas' party had a clear succession of leadership through the whole period (but this does not indicate that it controlled the other groups); (3) that there are no traces of party conflict till late in the revolt (but this probably indicates that the early incidents were largely spontaneous, not managed by any organized party); (4) that Menahem's claim to become leader of the whole movement must have been based on his recognized authority over it (but this is false; it was based on his armed followers, and the other *revolutionists* did not recognize it); (5) that the murder of Menahem began the breakup of the movement (but Josephus says nothing of this, and he would have been delighted to report it); (6) that Josephus' failure to say more about Judas' sect is due partly to unwillingness, partly to ignorance (but ignorance is unlikely and unwillingness inexplicable; he would have been happy to blame most of the trouble on a single sect); (7) that the sect must have had a strong organization because two procurators had to resign themselves to negotiating with its leaders (but *Ant.* 20.215, 255, which Hengel cites, say that the procurators were bribed to cooperate; a terrorist organization can be effective, even though small; and even a large organization would not imply direction of the whole revolutionary movement). In sum, this collection of arguments is worthless.

Fortunately Hengel's book goes on to a full and richly documented exposition of theological positions which may plausibly be attributed

⁶⁵ *War* 7.263, 265, 267, 268-70.

⁶⁶ *War* 7.254, 262, 324. I see no reason to doubt that these passages refer to the organization of the party and its attempt to start a revolt in the days of Judas of Galilee. Drexler's supposition that they refer to otherwise unknown events of 66 or thereabouts (*Untersuchungen*, 286) seems to me groundless.

⁶⁷ *Zeloten*, 86ff., whence the following six arguments are derived.

⁶⁸ See above, following n. 30.

to the Zealots or to the *Sicarii* or to both—and even if the attribution should be incorrect, the exposition would be valuable as an account of themes which were of great importance [13] in the thought of first-century Judaism.⁶⁹ But all that concerns us here is the distinction and external history of the sects. To this Hengel returns in his last chapter,⁷⁰ an account of the development of the Zealot sect.

He recognizes that the many messianic and pietistic revolts of Herodian times were spontaneous and unconnected outbreaks, diverse in origin and nature, and showing no sign of long preparation or unified leadership,⁷¹ but he attributes to Judas of Galilee the introduction of the organization which “eventually succeeded in bringing almost all Palestinian Judaism into open revolt against Rome.”⁷² For this theory he still has no substantial evidence. None of the major political and religious disturbances between the suppression of Judas in 6 and the rise of the *Sicarii* after 54 has any reported connection with Judas’ party. Josephus has no hesitation about referring to this party; he reports that the two sons of Judas were crucified by Tiberius Alexander about 45,⁷³ so presumably the party continued existence and resistance, but achieved no results worth mentioning. The social conditions to [14] which Hengel attributes growth of the troubles—overtaxation of the peasantry, etc.—⁷⁴ were of a sort to favor the development of local robber bands, which is just

⁶⁹ In fact, the extensive documentation of all of these ideas makes it impossible to consider any of them characteristic of either the Zealots or the *Sicarii*. Presumably these sects were distinguished, as were the other Jewish sects of the time, less by their theological concepts than by the *details* of their halakic rulings and, of course, by personal and historical conflicts. On the differentiation of ancient Jewish sects (including Christianity) see M. Smith, “The Dead Sea Sect in Relation to Ancient Judaism,” chapter thirteen above.

⁷⁰ His discussions of prophecy (235ff.), exegesis (240f.), the wilderness (255ff.), and martyrdom and suicide (262ff.) involve a number of identifications of historical figures as Zealots, but these are purely conjectural and need not be refuted. In his account of the resistance to Rome as a “holy war” two errors on p. 289 may be mentioned: there is no evidence that Eleazar ben Dinai had any connection either with the Zealots or with the *Sicarii* (and Josephus would almost certainly have mentioned such a connection had any been known or suspected); the gathering into Jerusalem of bands from all over the country (*War* 4.135) did not precede but followed Menahem’s putsch and death (*War* 2.442-47) and Menahem cannot plausibly be represented as the leader of those who joined his murderers. Hengel supposes (289, n. 5) that after Menahem’s death “the war probably ceased to be a holy war.” At least the survivors of Judas’ sect seem to have done nothing substantial for it; they sat it out on Masada. But it is only then that the Zealots, as an organized group, appear. I believe that the ancient Jews would have considered any war in which they were engaged a holy war. Therefore the appearance of elements of holy war theory and practice is not evidence for the existence of any special organization; it testifies only to the common Old Testament background.

⁷¹ *Zeloten*, 324, 333ff.

⁷² *Zeloten*, 336.

⁷³ *Ant.* 20.102.

⁷⁴ *Zeloten*, 341.

what Josephus says they did produce. They would not favor the growth of a single, organized, ideologically motivated party—the means of communication were lacking, the grievances were largely economic, there was no strong motive for submitting to a central organization, and there was natural disinclination to do so—each local leader had his own interests, and foremost among them would be his leadership. Consequently it is not surprising that there is no evidence of any major, country-wide resistance organization, even down to the beginning of the war. The *Sicarii* may have numbered several thousand, but hardly more—terrorist bands depend on tight secrecy, and as numbers increase, the difficulty of maintaining secrecy increases greatly. Individual prophets attracted large followings, but they were evidently individualistic lunatics, not representatives of any organization, and Josephus explicitly distinguishes them from the *Sicarii* as he does the *Sicarii* from the ordinary brigands.⁷⁵ Admittedly he sometimes calls all revolutionists “brigands,” and this is made an argument—with an undistributed middle—for supposing that all brigands must have been revolutionists and therefore Zealots and therefore *Sicarii*.⁷⁶ The fallacies are obvious. That robbers had the sympathy of the peasants of their neighborhood—often, no doubt, their relatives—proves nothing as to their ideology;⁷⁷ the Mafiosi still do. That the *Sicarii* ever had very large support among the people seems unlikely—at least the populace of Jerusalem joined in murdering Menahem and his followers, and the followers who escaped made no attempt to raise the countryside but only fled to Masada.⁷⁸ Nor does any trace of any other more extensive revolutionary organization appear. When the Jerusalem leaders decide to organize resistance after the defeat of Cestius Gallus, there is no question of any organization with (or against) which they will work; they send out individuals of quite different backgrounds and affiliations to different parts of the country.⁷⁹ In particular, Josephus’ two detailed accounts of his attempt to organize the war in Galilee contain no mention of either Zealots or *Sicarii*. Yet he would have been happy to shift all the blame he could onto them. Evidently neither group was of importance in that part of the country. These

⁷⁵ War 2.254, 258; to interpret 2.264 as reporting the cooperation of an organization of ληστροί with an *organization* of γόητες (!—so Hengel, 239) is amusing. What the Greek means, however, is that the two sorts of fanatics, by their different actions, produced a common effect—that of stirring up the people.

⁷⁶ E.g., the interpretation of Mark 14:48 to mean, “as against a Zealot,” *Zeloten*, 346.

⁷⁷ Contrast *Zeloten*, 357ff.

⁷⁸ War 2.445–49.

⁷⁹ War 2.562–68. The δῆμος that was *gradually* won over to Eleazar was that of Jerusalem.

facts being so, Hengel's account of the development of the Zealot party is mainly a work of fantasy.

After Hengel's book appeared, Zeitlin pointed out again the facts as to Josephus' statements about Zealots and *Sicarii*,⁸⁰ Salomonsen attacked especially Hengel's connection of the Zealots with the Pharisees,⁸¹ and Baumbach reviewed the evidence, noticing the work of Lake, but following Zeitlin in supposing the Zealots were a Jerusalem priestly party, sharply opposed to the *Sicarii* organized by Judas of Galilee and mainly of Galilean peasant origin.⁸² This reconstruction neglected what Jackson had already pointed out,⁸³ that Judas' nickname, "the Galilean,"⁸⁴ probably indicated the district from which he had come to Jerusalem. Since he raised his revolt in opposition to the introduction of the census in 6 A.D. and the census at that time was introduced in the former kingdom of Archelaus—mainly Judea—the probability is that he worked in Judea, and that is the only place where the *Sicarii* are found—there is no good reason to connect them with Galilee.

Moreover, it is also somewhat unlikely that the Zealots were a Jerusalem priestly party. Here the evidence is somewhat less clear. The main passage is *War* 4.129-61, where Josephus de[16]scribes at length the formation of the Zealot party. He says that when Vespasian, having conquered Galilee, began to move south in mid-winter of 67-68, the conflict in the southern towns between the advocates of resistance and the advocates of surrender became acute. The former, having most of the younger men, got the upper hand and began by looting their neighbors, then ravaged the countryside, then withdrew to Jerusalem, where they merged into one gang and eventually became strong enough to terrorize the city, arrest, imprison, and murder a large number of prominent citizens, get control of the Temple, and appoint a new high priest of their own choosing. They called themselves "the Zealots," Josephus says, "on the pretense (ὡς) that they were zealous for good deeds, and not for the worst actions possible."⁸⁵

From this time on Josephus frequently refers to this party. It had a complicated history, shifting its allegiance from leader to leader,

⁸⁰ S. Zeitlin, "Zealots and *Sicarii*," *JBL* 82 (1962), 395ff.

⁸¹ B. Salomonsen, "Nogle synspunkter fra den nyere debat omkring Zeloterne," *Dansk Teologisk Tidsskrift* 27 (1964), 149ff.

⁸² G. Baumbach, "Zeloten und Sikarier," *ThLZ* 90 (1965), 727ff.; his "Bemerkungen zum Freiheitsverständnis der zelotischen Bewegung," *ThLZ* 92 (1967), 257f., reports a popular development of the same ideas.

⁸³ J. Foakes Jackson, *Josephus and the Jews* (N.Y., 1930), 264.

⁸⁴ Cp. *War* 2.118 (ἀνὴρ Γαλιλαῖος); 433 (τοῦ καλουμένου Γαλιλαίου); *Ant.* 18.4 (Γαυλανίτης ἀνὴρ ἐκ πόλεως ὄνομα Γάμαλα; 23 (ὁ Γαλιλαῖος); 20.102 (τοῦ Γαλιλαίου).

⁸⁵ *War* 4.161.

sometimes allying with other parties, sometimes divided against itself, but—to judge from Josephus' expressions—always a recognizable group. At the end of his story, therefore, when Josephus is looking back over the whole course of events, he distinguishes the Zealots clearly and places them last among the groups responsible for the disaster.⁸⁶

This much is clear—but there are three passages in War 2 where Josephus refers to zealots. What can we do with these? One, 2.444, has already been disposed of—the term there certainly means “fanatical adherents.”⁸⁷ In the other two I think it means individual zealots. The type was becoming common in Jewish society—preachers had been praising it ever since Maccabean times; Roman taxation and misgovernment had produced much fanatical hatred which expressed itself as piety. In fact, the popularity of the ideal must be supposed to explain why a party should decide to call itself “*The Zealots*,” as Josephus says our heroes did.⁸⁸ Consequently it is likely that before the formation of the party there were many individual zealots in the city, and that these made up a considerable part of the following of Eleazar ben [17] Simon (*War* 2.564) and posed a considerable problem for leaders of the pro-Roman party, as Josephus says they did (*War* 2.561). From leadership of a group including many such fanatics, Eleazar went on to play an important role in the Zealot party (*War* 4.225 [?]; 5.5, 10, 12, 21, 99, 250), but this does not prove that the party was generated from his followers or was, to begin with, mainly made up of them.

These earlier references to considerable groups of zealots therefore need not stand in the way of our accepting at its face value the account Josephus gives of the organization of *the* Zealots as a party. If so, the roots of that party were mainly in the Judean peasantry, and the facts that the first things they did were attack the city aristocrats, seize control of the Temple, and elect as High Priest a villager of their own sort—all these⁸⁹ fit perfectly with peasant piety. It is understandable, too, that they soon found themselves besieged by the city population, the *πληθος* or *δημος*.⁹⁰ If this interpretation is correct, Baumbach's sociological analysis was based on two false premises and may be dismissed.

⁸⁶ *War* 7.260-71.

⁸⁷ Above, at notes 43 and ff.

⁸⁸ *War* 4.160.

⁸⁹ *War* 4.138-61.

⁹⁰ *War* 4.162, 193-207.

The more recent works I have seen on the Zealots and *Sicarii*⁹¹ are not important for the purpose of the present paper—deter[18]mination of the origin and relations of the two groups. Therefore the results of the preceding discussion may be summed up as follows:

From at least Maccabean times many Jews fostered the admiration of “zeal,” and individuals undertook, or were thought, to be “zealots” on the models of Phineas and Elijah. This admiration and these models were presumably influential in shaping the resistance to direct Roman government, in which resistance the first prominent figure was Judas of Galilee. It seems unlikely, however, that the organization Judas founded—Josephus’ “fourth philosophy”—called itself “the Zealots,”⁹² for had it done so, the same title could hardly have been taken, as it was in the revolt, by a quite different party. Whatever it called itself, Judas’ sect survived, continued its opposition to the Romans, was led by his descendants, and in the mid-fifties, when Roman control of the country began to disintegrate, made itself notorious by a series of murders of distinguished individuals. These won this party the name of “the *Sicarii*,” by which Josephus consistently refers to it from this time on, but we cannot suppose that every assassin (*sicarius*) in Palestine was therefore a party member. All that we know of the party locates it in Judea, where the census was introduced and where Judas of Galilee presumably staged his opposition. Neither Josephus’ detailed accounts of events in Galilee

⁹¹ On G. Driver, *The Judean Scrolls* (Oxford, 1965), see the crushing review of R. de Vaux, “The Judean Scrolls. 2. Essenes or Zealots,” *NTS* 13 (1966), 89ff. C. Daniel, “Esséniens, Zelotes, et Sicaires,” *Numen* 13 (1966), 88ff., is ignorant nonsense. On Brandon, *Jesus and the Zealots*, see above, n. 35. (The argument that Josephus did not call the Zealots by their name because the name was an honorable one and he did not wish to admit their moral claims is refuted by the fact that he does call them by their name, often, and emphatically.) K. Wegenset, “Zeloten,” *RE* R2 18 (1967), 2474ff., abbreviates Hengel—a pity, since it will probably be quoted as Scripture by generations of graduate students. S. Hoenig, “The *Sicarii* in Masada,” *Tradition* 11 (1970), 5ff., has applied the opinions of Zeitlin to the propaganda of Yadin, with devastating effect. V. Nikiprowetzsky’s resume of his lectures on the Zealots (quoted in A. Dupont-Sommer, “Histoire ancienne de l’orient,” *Annuaire, École pratique des hautes études*, IV^e section, 1969–1970, 132ff.) reports an attempt to compromise the common opinion and that of Zeitlin. N. was forced to suppose Josephus’ terminology inaccurate; it is easier to sacrifice his theories than Josephus’ statements. A concluding touch of humor was furnished by the *ex cathedra* comment of the *directeur d’études* (Dupont-Sommer) on “zealots” and “*sicarii*,” “En fait, Josèphe emploie indifféremment l’un ou l’autre terme.” H. Kingdom, “Who Were the Zealots and Their Leaders in A.D. 66?” *NTS* 17 (1970), 68ff. reviews the evidence in Josephus and corrects some details of Lake’s account but shows almost no knowledge of the rest of the discussion and bumbles to the usual incredible conclusion that the “zealots” of Menahem and their priestly murderers were one and the same party.

⁹² Since we never hear what Judas’ party did call themselves, it is not unlikely that the name was “Israel,” that is, that they claimed to be the only true Israel and thought those who submitted to the Romans were apostates. This point I shall argue in another paper.

nor the Galilean material in the Gospels shows any trace of it, and the notion that it organized all the resistance to the Romans is unsupported by evidence and refuted by the lack of evidence. It is also refuted by the course of events, for the party played only a minor role in the war against Rome. In 66 it allied with that portion of the priesthood which had started the revolt, and its alliance enabled them to get control of the city.⁹³ It also got control of Masada,⁹⁴ which enabled it to recruit and arm a considerable number of troops. Relying on these, its leader, Menahem, attempted to take control of Jerusalem, but the priests [19] who had started the revolution attacked him in the Temple and murdered him and most of his followers.⁹⁵ In this they had the help of the Jerusalem *demos*.⁹⁶ Most of the *Sicarii* fled to Masada and there did nothing of importance for the rest of the war, nor thereafter, until the place was taken by the Romans in 73. A few remained at large and some of these escaped to Egypt and Cyrene after the war, but there too they failed to secure general support and were handed over or betrayed to the Romans.⁹⁷

In all this history there is no evidence of any connection of these *Sicarii* with the Zealots. The latter, as a party, did not come into existence until the winter of 67-68 (more than a year after Menahem had been murdered and his followers driven out). There had, indeed, been many individual zealots in the city before this time; they had formed an important element in the following of Eleazar ben Simon,⁹⁸ and had posed a serious problem for those leaders who wanted a peaceful settlement with Rome,⁹⁹ but there is no clear evidence that they yet formed a definite party, and Josephus in *War* 4.130—61 gives a full description of the formation of the party in Jerusalem, as a result of the common interest of the rural resistance groups who took refuge in the city when the Romans moved south from Galilee, but not before. We may therefore plausibly see in the Zealot party the representatives of Palestinian, principally Judean, peasant piety, hostile alike to the rich of the city, the upper priesthood of the Temple, and of course the foreign rulers. In Jerusalem it was a relatively small but highly militant and effective party, which tried to strengthen itself by various alliances, played an important and determined role in the defense of the city, and was finally involved in its destruction.

⁹³ *War* 2.425ff.

⁹⁴ *War* 2.408, cp. 433f.

⁹⁵ *War* 2.433-48.

⁹⁶ *War* 2.449.

⁹⁷ *War* 6.409-19; 437-50.

⁹⁸ *War* 2.564.

⁹⁹ *War* 2.651.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

ON THE WINE GOD IN PALESTINE (GEN 18, JOHN 2, AND ACHILLES TATIUS)

[815] As the great increase of learning has made it necessary for most historians to limit their studies to one country, and one period of that one country, the importance of tradition as a factor in history has been somewhat obscured. Students of a particular area and age too often fail to realize that many of the actions they have to study were determined by patterns established far away and long ago. In such circumstances the history of a tradition like Judaism, which must be traced through millennia of time, through every country of the world, and through every field of human endeavor, is particularly apt to suffer from the fragmentation of learning into separate faculties and departments and fields. Accordingly it is an amazing piece of good luck that in this century we have had such a scholar as Professor Baron, whose extraordinary breadth of learning has enabled him to present the whole of Jewish tradition in a single history. His example is the model which the present study would imitate, albeit in miniature, by calling attention to an element which seems to have had some importance in Israelite and Palestinian Jewish tradition for about 1500 years. Let us begin with a pagan example.

Achilles Tatius is remembered as the author of a Greek romance, *The Adventures of Leucippe and Clitophon*, preserved in some twenty-three manuscripts of which the earliest dates from the twelfth century. The work was long thought to be Byzantine, but recently some papyrus fragments have been discovered and the earliest of them dates from the second century A.D.¹ Accordingly the date [816] of composition can hardly be later than the first half of the second century, and is probably earlier. This change in date changes also the importance for Jewish and primitive Christian tradition of an episode at the head of the second book (2.2.1-3.3) where the author is speaking of the festival of Dionysus at the beginning of the vintage in Sidon (about the same time of year as Sukkoth, the Israelite vintage festival).²

¹ E. Vilborg, *Achilles Tatius Leucippe and Clitophon, A Commentary* (Göteborg, 1962) (*Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia*, XV), p. 9.

² Deut 16:13.

"The Tyrians," Tatius' hero says,³ "think Dionysus their own, since they also keep repeating the myth of Cadmus. And they tell a myth about the origin of this feast. At one time wine was unknown among men.... [But there lived among the Tyrians] a hospitable shepherd⁴... [and] Dionysus came to visit him.... He puts before [the god] such food as earth and the udders of cattle provide, and their drink, too, was what an ox would drink, for as yet there was no beverage from the vine. Dionysus praises the oxherd for his friendliness and offers him a cup as a pledge of friendship. And the drink [in it] was wine. The shepherd, drinking, goes wild with pleasure and says to the god, 'Whence, my friend, do you have this purple water? Whence have you found such sweet blood? This certainly is not what flows on the ground. That goes down into the breast and gives a simple pleasure, but this, even before the mouth, gladdens the nose. When you touch it, it is cold, but no sooner does it leap down into the belly than it breathes out, down below, the fire of pleasure.' And Dionysus said, 'This is water of summer, this is blood of the grape cluster.' The god takes the herdsman to [817] the vine, and taking some of the clusters and squeezing them and, at the same time, pointing to the vine, 'This,' he said, 'is the water, this is the spring.' Thus wine came to men, according to the Tyrians' story.

"On that day they celebrate a festival [in honor] of that god. So the father [Tatius' hero's host], anxious to entertain his guests well, not only had prepared a dinner luxurious in other respects, but also set out a precious crater sacred to the god, second only to that of Glaucus the Chian. The whole was a work of carved glass. Vines, growing from the crater itself, were wreathed all around it. Their clusters hung down on every side.... Dionysus was represented beside the clusters, that he might cultivate the vine with wine. As the drinking progressed, I was already shamelessly looking at [my beloved]. Then Eros and Dionysus, two mighty gods, taking possession of her soul, so excited her that she was no longer shamefast, the one kindling her with his accustomed fire, the other bringing wine as fuel."

Such is the text. Some difference in the order of elements appears in one of the papyri, but it need not detain us. It is immediately obvious that we have a striking parallel to the Johannine story of Jesus' miracle at Cana in Galilee, John 2:1-11, when Jesus comes to a marriage feast where the wine has run out and changes water into wine.

³ This translation is based on the text of E. Vilborg, *Achilles Tatius Leucippe and Clitophon* (Stockholm, 1955) (*Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia*, 1). Vilborg's text differs only slightly from that of earlier editions and the differences, except as noted below, are not important for the purpose of this essay. My remarks on the history of the text are taken from the introductory chapters of Vilborg's edition.

⁴ Vilborg, text, p. XXXVII, thinks Tatius, for artistic variation of wording, wrote "shepherd... oxherd... shepherd." The MSS wrote "oxherd" throughout, but "shepherd" is preserved in the papyri.

Scholars had long maintained that the Cana story had a Dionysiac background.⁵ It has no Synoptic parallel; the miracle it reports is not even of the same type as any of the miracles reported in the Synoptics; in this respect it is unique among the Johannine stories of Jesus' "signs"; therefore the supposition that it came from some alien tradition was plausible.⁶ Moreover, its introduction could be [818] explained by a polemic motive found elsewhere in John—the desire to contrast Jesus as the true, spiritual vine, with Dionysus, the false, earthly one.⁷ However, the Dionysiac myths cited as parallels were somewhat remote in time, geography, and content.⁸ Consequently a plausible case could be made out by those who wanted to deny the Dionysiac reference and to explain the story wholly from Jewish analogies and concerns—the multiplication of food and "healings" of springs in the Old Testament, the contrast, in the Johannine story, between the Jewish water of purification, which is transformed, and the wine of Christian baptism with the spirit, which Jesus gives to men.⁹ Now, however, the main reasons for denying a Dionysiac reference are refuted.¹⁰ It appears that when the Gospel according to John was being written there was next door to Galilee, at Sidon (a city whose territory Jesus is said to have visited, Mark 7:31, and from which men came to Galilee to hear him, Mark 3:8) an established public festival of which a myth obviously similar to the Cana story was the central theme. [819]

Moreover, the myth as told by Achilles Tatius has a number of parallels to other passages in John which show that the Dionysiac

⁵ Conspicuously W. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 2nd ed. (Göttingen, 1921), p. 62; W. Bauer, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 3rd ed. (Tübingen, 1933) (HNT 6), ad loc.; R. Bultmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes*, 16th ed. (Göttingen, 1959) (KKNT, II Abt.) ad loc.

⁶ So R. Brown, *The Gospel according to John i-xii* (New York, 1966), pp. 101ff., who, however, denies Dionysiac influence.

⁷ John 15:1.

⁸ The followers of Dionysus called forth springs of wine from the earth; springs at Dionysus' shrines flowed wine, or became intoxicating, during the god's festivals; empty vessels left in his temple were found filled with wine; and these miracles were located in Greece and the Greek islands. See the passages cited by Bousset and Bauer, above, n. 5.

⁹ So E. Hoskyns, *The Fourth Gospel*, ed. F. Davy (London, 1940), I, 199ff.; R. Brown, cited above, n. 6; at most length H. Noetzel, *Christus und Dionysos* (Berlin, N.D. [c. 1960]).

¹⁰ Noetzel's main objections seem to me those he discusses on pp. 26ff.: (1) no cult of Dionysus with such mysteries in the neighborhood of Palestine; (2) no Christian cult with a miracle involving visible transformation (this is false; see Hippolytus' account of Marcus, *Philosophumena* 6.39f.); (3) in the Dionysiac miracles the change is not effected by the god in person; (4) nor is water transformed into wine, rather, wine is produced; (5) Bousset and Holl were mistaken in relating the feast of Epiphany to that of Aion-Isiris-Dionysus in Alexandria (correct, but now unimportant); (6) Jesus worked in a Jewish, not a hellenistic environment (false antithesis); (7) Jesus' miracle was a sign of the arrival of the messianic age (irrelevant). Of these seven objections I think nos. 1, 3, and 4 are substantial, and these are met by the report of the ceremony in Sidon.

influence in the fourth Gospel was not limited to the Cana passage. The conversation between the shepherd and Dionysus is echoed by the conversation between the woman of Samaria and Jesus in John 4, where the contrast is no longer between water and wine, but between mere natural water and the living water of the spirit. In almost the very words of the shepherd the woman says "Whence do you have the living water?" (John 4:11). The blood to drink, in the other half of the shepherd's question, "Whence have you found such sweet blood?," recurs in John 6:55, "My blood is the true drink." The shepherd's words on the way wine enlivens the stomach are recalled by similar sayings of Jesus in John 4:14 and 7:37ff. on the water of life.

Yet more important, the whole episode in Achilles Tatius has the structure of the Christian communion service from the canon on, and the Cana story is generally recognized to refer to communion. The pagan story, like the canon, begins with the account of what the god did, then comes the cup, and as the communicants partake of it the god takes possession of them and creates in them mutual love. How far this symbolism was taken over by the early Church can be seen from the most famous of all ancient Christian communion cups, the Antioch chalice, which, like both our stories, probably comes from the Syrian coast.¹¹ A simple chalice of early date, undoubtedly a relic treasured by some Christian community, has been given a magnificent silver encasement expressing the Christian—and Dionysiac—notion of the communion. The decoration corresponds closely to that of the cup in Achilles Tatius: a vine grows around the chalice and in the midst of this vine is represented the deity present in the wine. It is hard to suppose that in either instance the decoration was without religious significance. The pagan parallels show that Christian literature and art, from the time of the Gospel on, was developed [820] in part by imitation of Dionysiac motifs; the Christian parallels show that Dionysiac decoration was not merely decorative, but could express religious ideas that the Christians wanted both to appropriate and to contradict.

Tyre and Sidon were not alone on the Palestine-Syrian coast in their devotion to Dionysus, nor was Christianity the only branch of the cult of Yahweh to take over Dionysiac ideas and symbols.

The legends of Damascus, Nysa-Scythopolis and Raphia gave Dionysus a part in these cities' foundations.¹² He appeared on their

¹¹ F. Filson, "Antioch, Chalice of," *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (New York, 1962), I, 148; a better photograph in A. Grabar, *L'Age d'or de Justinien* (Paris, 1966), p. 312, comment p. 313.

¹² Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnicorum*, s. vv. *Damaskos* and *Rapheia*; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 5.18(16).74; Diodorus Siculus 3.64.5-7, 65.7; A. Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth Shan* (Philadelphia, 1930), pp. 44f.; H. Seyrig, *Antiquités Syriennes VI* (Paris, 1966),

coins and also on those of Caesarea, Aelia, and perhaps Philadelphia (Amman).¹³ He was identified with the Nabatean god, Dusares.¹⁴ A tomb with Dionysiac frescoes has been found at Ascalon.¹⁵ These are only a few places which come immediately to mind, but they suffice to show the distribution of the cult of Dionysus throughout the area. A search would undoubtedly reveal much more evidence in Palestine itself, to say nothing of Phoenicia and Syria where the god's cult was important at Heliopolis (Baalbek), Byblos, Apameia and other sites. Wilamowitz thought that the Dionysiac mysteries were the only ones which extended throughout the Hellenized world and lived on through centuries.¹⁶ Nock declared Dionysiac devotion "probably the strongest form [821] of individual piety in the Eastern part of the Empire."¹⁷

Accordingly it is not surprising that Yahweh was often identified by gentiles with Dionysus. Plutarch, *Quaestiones Convivales* 4.5, end, and 6, accepted the identification; Tacitus, *Historiae* 5.5, end, knew, but rejected it; it was still accepted by the oracle of Apollo at Clarus, in the late second or third century, and thence by Cornelius Labeo and Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.18.19ff.) in the fourth and fifth; in the latter half of the sixth century the Christian John Lydus found it still worth contradicting (*De mensibus*, 4.53).¹⁸

The surprising fact is that this identification first appears among the Jews themselves. On the famous *Yehud* coin of the British Museum (fourth century B.C.)¹⁹ the deity is represented as Zeus, but has attributes associated with Dionysus—the satyr's mask, the chariot of

115ff. (= "Note sur les cultes de Scythopolis," *Syria* 39 (1962), 207ff.); G. Hill, "Some Palestinian Cults of the Graeco-Roman Age," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 1911-12, pp. 411ff., esp. p. 414f.

¹³ Hill, loc. cit. and *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine* (London, 1914; repr. Bologna, 1965), p. 325; *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia* (London, 1922; repr. Bologna, 1965), p. xl; W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria* (London, n.d.; repr. Bologna, 1964), pp. 282, 288.

¹⁴ F. Cumont, "Dusares," *RE* V. 2 (1905), 1865ff., esp. 1867.

¹⁵ A. Biran, "Archaeological Activities 1965," *Christian News from Israel*, 17 (1966), plate 4 and p. 26.

¹⁶ *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, 3rd ed. (Basel, 1959), p. 381.

¹⁷ Review of Harder, *Karpokrates*, in *Gnomon*, 21 (1949), 227.

¹⁸ To this list Hippolytus, *De antichristo* 49, adds nothing; it is merely a distorted reflection of 1 Macc 1:8ff. and 55. See H. Willrich, "Dionysos in Jerusalem," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 24 (1926), 170ff. The "Bacchius Iudaeus" making his submission on the coins of Plautius (c. 54 B.C.) remains enigmatic: with E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, 3rd/4th ed. (Leipzig, 1901-09) I. 295f. cp. F. Cumont, "Les mystères de Sabazios et le Judaïsme," *CRAIBL* 1906, 66.

¹⁹ Best illustrated in S. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology* (London, 1930) (*Schweich Lectures*, 1925) Plate XXXII. Discussion, pp. 147ff.; cp. E. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, (New York, 1953-68) (*Bollingen Series*, XXXVII), I, 270f. and III, no. 670; bibliography, B. Kanael, "Altjüdische Münzen," *Jhb. für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* XVII (1967), 223ff.

Triptolemus.²⁰ Admittedly, the relation of this deity to Yahweh is not certain, but it must also be admitted that a deity [822] who appears on the coins of a state is probably one whom the state worships. The burden of proof is therefore on those who would deny the identification of the coin deity with Yahweh. And there is a little evidence in favor of the identification. A figure which may be a satyr holding a lyre is represented by a graffito in a Yahwist burial cave, probably of the Persian period, at Beit Lei.²¹ It seems likely that before the Maccabean revolt in 168 Yahweh was identified in Jerusalem with Zeus and Dionysus and was worshipped there in forms normally used for the worship of both these gods.²² (If so, we have here the same combination of pagan elements as appeared on the coin). Bickerman has argued strongly that these ceremonies were introduced by hellenizers among the Jerusalem priesthood, not by outside influence.²³ His case is strengthened, first, by the fact that when the Maccabees came to introduce their (counter?) festival of Hanukkah they introduced some Dionysiac elements.²⁴ Evidently these were popular. In the second place there is the report concerning Jewish worship of (Dionysus-)Sabazius in Rome before [823] 139 B.C., a report which Bickerman has also explained as due to the Jews' identification of Yahweh with a deity better known to their neighbors.²⁵ Similar Jewish "interpretation" of Yahweh probably lay

²⁰ On the connection of Dionysos-Iakchos with Triptolemus see W. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der gr. und röm. Mythologie* (Leipzig, 1916-24) vol. V. E. Fehrle's article, "Triptolemos", cols. 1128ff. esp. 1128f., and 1131. M. Nilsson, *Geschichte der gr. Religion*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1955), p. 586. The winged-wheel chariot of the coin appears as the chariot of Triptolemus in, e.g., E. Tillyard, *The Hope Vases* (Cambridge, 1923), pl. 8, no. 86; pl. 19, no. 120; N. Alfieri and P. Arias, *Spina* (München, 1958), nos. 22 and 35; K. Kerényi, *Die Mysterien von Eleusis* (Zürich, 1962), Tafel 35 (the Elusian relief from Mondragone). [Triptolemus in his serpent chariot is identified as IAO on a number of magical gems, notably a yellow jasper in the British Museum].

²¹ J. Naveh, "Old Hebrew Inscriptions in a Burial Cave," *Israel Exploration Journal* 13 (1963), 74ff. Unlike Naveh's drawing of the figure (p. 77) the stone shows goat legs and feet, with horizontal base lines below the pointed hooves. I prefer the pottery dating (Persian period) to the proposed "palaeographical" dating (eighth century B.C.).

²² The sacrifices of pigs, 1 Macc 1:47, suggests Dionysus (F. Abel, *Les Livres des Maccabées*, Paris, 1949, ad loc.; E. Bickermann, *Der Gott der Makkabäer*, Berlin, 1937, p. 134 and n. 3). 2 Macc 6:7 reports the introduction of Dionysiac ceremonies, notably processions in which the participants were crowned with ivy. Abel, ad loc., suggests a pagan development of Sukkoth.

²³ *Gott*, 126-36; contrast I. Heinemann, "Wer veranlasste den Glaubenszwang der Makkabäerzeit?", *MGWJ* N.F. 46 (1938), 145ff. Abel, in his commentary, compromises, admitting both royal inspiration and local initiative; so also in his *Histoire de la Palestine*, I (Paris, 1962), 109-132.

²⁴ 2 Macc 10:7, the procession with thyrsi.

²⁵ Valerius Maximus 1.3.2, discussed by Bickerman, "The Altars of Gentiles," *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité*, 3^e ser., V (1958), 144ff. I can see no reason to suppose that these Jews, in spite of the way they identified their god, must have been "orthodox" in other respects.

behind the opinion which Tacitus rejected and Plutarch approved.²⁶ Plutarch's approval is too well grounded to be based on his own knowledge. His reading did not extend to the Septuagint, nor his experience to the ceremonies of the inner courts of the Jerusalem temple, from which gentiles were excluded. How did he know that the High Priest had to wear bells on his cope (Exod 39:25f.) or that honey was prohibited in sacrifices to Yahweh (Lev 2:11)? His own misinformation, or that of some gentile source, has corrupted his argument, but is not sufficient to account for it. Its presumably Jewish source therefore serves to strengthen Bickerman's theory that it was the Jews of Italy who represented Yahweh as Sabazius in 139 B.C. A century later we find the ivy wreath and grapes on the coins of Antigonus Mattathias (40-37);²⁷ then, over the entrance of Herod's temple, the great golden vine which seemed to some a proof that the resident deity was Dionysus.²⁸ After this comes the coinage of the Jewish revolts in 66-73 and 132-35, with its chalices and amphorae, vine leaves and grape clusters.²⁹ (The lyre on the coins of the second revolt recalls the one in the hands of the satyr in the Beit Lei burial cave.) [Pausanias had heard of some shrine in Palestine which was said to be the tomb of a Silenus (6.24.8).] The [824] evidence of the coins is continued by the decoration of Palestinian tombs and synagogues, much of it using the familiar Dionysiac vocabulary.³⁰

The popularity of the cult of Dionysus in Palestine, the sense which pagans found in these symbols (as shown by the interpretations already cited) and the frequency with which these symbols were used on religious buildings and funerary objects (where ancient decoration was commonly significant)—these factors taken together make it incredible that these symbols were meaningless to the Jews who used them. The history of their use shows a persistent association with Yahweh of attributes of the wine god. This association explains why some Jews identified the two deities, others at least chose Dionysus as the *interpretatio graeca* of Yahweh, and yet others contrasted Yahweh—or his *logos*—as the true vine, with Dionysus, the false one.

²⁶ Tacitus, *Historiae* 5.5, end; Plutarch, *Quaestiones Convivales* 4.5, end, and 6.

²⁷ A. Reifenberg, *Ancient Jewish Coins*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem, 1947), p. 42 and pl. III.

²⁸ Tacitus, loc. cit.; cp. Josephus, *War* 5.210; *Antiquities* 15.395. The uncertainty as to Tacitus' sources is demonstrated at length by A. Hospers-Jansen, *Tacitus over de Joden* (Groningen, 1949), pp. 110ff. Lydus, *De mensibus* IV. 53 probably reflects Tacitus.

²⁹ For 66-73, L. Kadman, *The Coins of the Jewish War of 66-73* (Jerusalem, 1960) (*Corpus Nummorum Palaestinensium*, 2nd. series, III); for 132-135, S. Yeivin, *Milhemet Bar Kokba* (Jerusalem, 1957), pl. 3; the best prints are in Goodenough, *Symbols*, III, nos. 677-699.

³⁰ Goodenough, *Symbols*, III, nos. 24, 232, 477, 487, 488, 489, 516, 537, 550, 564, 619, 620, 622—a list limited to clear cases.

If we now look for the source of this association we are led back to very early Biblical material. For it cannot be supposed that the wine god came to Palestine only with the Greeks—not even though the Greeks came there in the second millennium B.C., as their pottery indicates. Palestine was presumably a grape growing country from time immemorial, and the god was doubtless as old as the use of his gifts. If Biblical story (Exod 6:3) is to be believed Yahweh was the new-comer in the country. His association with the wine god—and with other deities—will have begun with the conquest or shortly after. By the time of our earliest Biblical texts he had become a rather complex concept: he had been completely syncretized with El, Elyon, and Shaddai; with other deities, like Tsur, Gad, and Am, his relations were certainly close. As for the wine god(s)—such phenomena as the Rekhabite reaction³¹ and, even more, the survival of the nazirate as the *status perfectionis* of a man devoted to Yahweh,³² indicate that Yahweh's original attitude to wine was not a friendly one. Down to the time of Hosea, most Israelites believed that wine was given by Baal, not Yahweh.³³ On the other hand, the author of Judges 21:19ff. thought that in the time of the Judges the girls of Shiloh already went out to dance in the vineyards on the feast of Yahweh—as they still did in the time of the Mishnah (Ta'anit 4:8); the legend of Jephthah's daughter looks like a nationalistic explanation of a maenadic custom;³⁴ wine, though secondary in sacrifices to Yahweh, became an accepted element in them after the tribes settled down;³⁵ and there is no doubt that one of the original elements of Sukkoth was a vintage festival. Plutarch's source and his own judgment were right about this—the feast was certainly sacred to a wine god. But who was this wine god, and where did he first become associated with Yahweh?

It is possible that a partial³⁶ answer to these questions may be found in Genesis 18:1-15, the myth of Abraham's entertaining Yahweh and two angels and receiving as a reward the promise of a son from Sarah. Ever since the time of Delitzsch³⁷ this myth has been recognized as an

³¹ Jeremiah 35:1-11, cp. Diodorus Siculus 19.94; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, tr. J. McHugh (London, 1961), pp. 14f.

³² Numbers 6:1-21.

³³ Hosea 2:7, 10 (Hebrew).

³⁴ Judges 11:40.

³⁵ R. de Vaux, *Studies in Old Testament Sacrifice* (Cardiff, 1964), p. 41.

³⁶ Partial, because there were doubtless many wine gods in Palestine and the history of Yahweh's relation to them will have been different in every district. In Gen 18:1-15 we have the Hebron legend, and Hebron was an important center of the cult, but not the only one.

³⁷ T. Gaster, *Myth, Legend, and Custom in the Old Testament* (New York, 1969), pp. 156f.; F. Delitzsch, *A New Commentary on Genesis* (Edinburgh, 1894), II, 44; further development by H. Gunkel, *Genesis*, 4th ed. (Göttingen, 1917) (GHKAT I. 1) ad loc.; followed with minor additions by J. Skinner, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on*

example of a common type, known from many Greek and Roman parallels. Numerous scholars have [826] remarked that the myth presumably was that of the sanctuary of Hebron—the center of a grape growing district, as Skinner observes—and many have thought it pre-Yahwist, since it tells of the appearance of three deities, not one. The Yahwist retelling, with its change from the plural to the singular, has created difficulties in the text.³⁸ It is not improbable that the three deities and their host, the original hero of the shrine (who may or may not have been named Abraham) made up the “four” referred to in the ancient name—or nickname—of Hebron, *Ḳiryat ha’arba’*, “the city of the four,”³⁹ commonly syncopated to *Ḳiryat ’arba’*. And it is not unlikely that the three deities may be the three giants whom the Yahwist hero Caleb drove out of Hebron when he took it (Josh 15:14; Judges 1:20; cp. Josh 11:21f.; 14:15).

The names of the three figures at Hebron differ from one Biblical source to another, for reasons we cannot now discern. In one set of stories they are Sheshai, Ahiman, and Talmi, Aramaic names which, as Moore remarked, tell us nothing.⁴⁰ In Gen 14:13, however, they are Mamre, Eshkol, and Aner, all of whom made a covenant with Abraham (as did the deity who appeared to him in Hebron, if Gen 15:18 or 17:1-27 is to be associated with that shrine). Of these, Mamre and Eshkol had their individual holy places, Mamre at his oak grove and sacred well, modern Ramet el Ḥalil, just outside Hebron, Eshkol in his valley famous for its grape vines—his name means “grape cluster.” The story in Numbers 13:23f. of the spies who returned from Eshkol’s valley carrying one great cluster of grapes hung from a pole between two [827] men may have had its background in a conventional

Genesis, revised ed. (New York, 1925), p. 302; C. Simpson, *Genesis*, in *The Interpreter's Bible* (New York, 1952); G. von Rad, *Das erste Buch Mose*, 5th ed. (Göttingen, 1958) (ATD 2/4); both ad loc. The earlier commentaries, especially, cite numerous Greek and Roman parallels, reflecting the happier days of Biblical scholarship, before the specialization of “ancient near eastern” studies had entailed ignorance of half the Old Testament’s *Umwelt*.

³⁸ See the variants to vss. 3, 9, etc.

³⁹ *Ḳiryath ha ’arba’*, only in Gen. 35:27 and Neh 11:25; *kiryath ’arba’*, Gen 22:2; Josh 14:15; 15:13, 54; 20:7; 21:11; Judges 1:10. See B. Mazar, “2. Ḥevron”, *Encyclopaedia Biblica* III (1958), 16ff.

⁴⁰ G. Moore, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges*, (Edinburgh, 1895), pp. 22ff. on Judges 1:10. The names occur also in Num 13:22 and Josh 15:14; Moore discusses the development of the story and the genealogy of the giants. It may be remarked that the common theory of the city’s origin from a union of four villages (so Moore and Mazar) is not contradicted by the theory that four deities were worshipped there; in fact, the two are complementary, since the four deities can be explained from the four towns.

group in the ceremonial procession of some wine god's festival.⁴¹ The importance of the grape cluster along the Palestinian coast is attested by the frequency with which it was used there as an amulet; most of the preserved examples are from hellenistic strata, but some are earlier.⁴² Moreover, the connection of the wine god of Hebron with the wine god of Tyre is argued by the fact that both Hebron (Mamre) and Tyre were the sites of famous *yerids*—fertility festivals which also served as fairs. The main ceremony of these *yerids* was one of water-pouring, like that attached to the feast of Sukkoth in Jerusalem.⁴³

Yahweh's appropriation of the functions, attributes, and rituals of the wine god did not, of course, put an end to the latter's worship. We have already seen that it persisted among Israelites to the time of Hosea and was still widespread among Palestinian pagans in Roman times. How closely it was, even then, associated with both Jewish and Christian worship is shown by a description of the cults at Mam(b)re. The description is preserved for us by [828] Sozomen (*Historia ecclesiastica* 2.4.2ff.) but certainly comes from a pre-Constantinian source, for it speaks of the area as almost free of buildings, while Constantine erected a large church there. Sozomen's source says that Jews, Christians, and pagans all revered the site, the Jews because of the god who appeared to Abraham, the pagans because of the appearance of the *logos* (with which they identified the deity of Gen 18). Consequently, all frequented the same place,

“some offering prayers to the supreme god, others calling on ‘the angels’ and pouring libations of wine and sacrificing incense or an ox or a goat or a sheep or a rooster, for each keeps whatever best animal he has, fattens it up at home through the whole year, and brings it for a feast for himself and his family. And all honor the spot, fearing to be punished by the gods if they did not. Therefore they do not there have connection with

⁴¹ Compare the reports of the *oschophoria* at Athens in which two boys disguised as women carried in procession a vine branch with grapes from the temple of Dionysus to that of Athena Skiras, M. Nilsson, *Geschichte der gr. Religion*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1955), pp. 125, 530 n. 3, 586. Nilsson thinks the branch was hung with grapes as a sort of Maypole. The texts he cites are not consistent in their descriptions of the ceremony. Prof. Gaster has pointed out to me that the ritual cry used in the *oschophoria*, ἐλελεῦ, λοῦ, λοῦ, also suggests a Semitic origin; see Plutarch, *Theseus* 22. 3 (with a legendary “explanation”).

⁴² Unfortunately these are classed as “beads” and not given separate notices in gallery books. Specimens are to be found in the major collections in Jerusalem, Beirut, and Damascus.

⁴³ The ceremonies were described and their similarities noted by I. Lévy, “Cultes et rites syriens dans le Talmud,” *Revue des Études Juives* 48 (1901), 183ff., esp. pp. 192-201 (a reference I owe to Professor Lieberman.) There were also *yerids* at Gaza, Akko, and Heliopolis-Baalbak (ib.) where the cult of Dionysus is commemorated by a famous temple. Of the passages Lévy quotes, Jerome on Jeremiah 31:15 and on Zechariah 3:4-5, end, Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra*, p. 257 (= Eusebius, *Peri ton topikon onomaton* 114. 16), and *Yerushalmi* ‘*Avodah Zarah* 1:4, end, contain further references to the festival/fair, but nothing to help identify the deity.

women (although these come, as to a festival, with all their finery) nor do they otherwise indulge themselves, though they all tent together and sleep near each other. For the place is a field and open to the sky and has no buildings save only those built of old by Abraham beside the oak and the adjacent well. At the time of the festival nobody draws water from the well for, in Greek fashion, some put into it burning lamps and some pour in wine, or throw in round, sacrificial cakes, and others, coins or myrrh or incense, and consequently, as might be supposed, the water, having all this stuff in it, becomes useless.”

Sozomen then goes on to tell how St. Helena, the mother of Constantine, got wind of these goings on and persuaded Constantine to build a church on the site and prohibit all non-Christian worship. In this report his narrative is based on Eusebius’ *Life of Constantine*. From Constantine’s letter, as quoted by Eusebius (3.51f.) it appears that there were pagan idols and a pagan altar on the site. These the emperor ordered destroyed. From their destruction—presumably—came the fragments discovered by Mader in his excavation of the site. Of these fragments the one certainly recognizable was a head of Dionysus.⁴⁴ Or should we say, Dionysus-Yahweh-Eshkol?

⁴⁴ E. Mader, *Mambre* (Freiburg in Breisgau, 1957) with the review by R. de Vaux, *Revue Biblique* 65 (1958), 594ff., esp. p. 596, to which I owe my awareness of Sozomen and his source.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

HELIOS IN PALESTINE

[199] 1. THE GOLD-PLATED STAIRCASE

The Temple Scroll, now available in Yadin's magnificent edition,¹ mostly confirms the impression of the Dead Sea Sect that has become common,² i.e. they were a clique of sanctimonious fanatics who became sectarians primarily as a result of their severe interpretations of the Mosaic Law. Other factors—over-confidence in their own interpretations, contempt for those who did not agree with them, pretensions to hobnob with angels, consequent revelations both prophetic and legal, and ultimate remodeling even of the Law to suit their own prejudices—all these, and personal and political conflicts as well, presumably played their parts in the origin and development of the sect, but the root would seem to have been unusually strict adherence to an unusually severe set of legal interpretations, especially in Sabbath and purity law and possibly in that of the calendar.³ The resultant pattern is one familiar in the history of religions.

However, this genetic account should not be mistaken for a complete description. While the peculiar legal position of the sect was the primary cause of its separation from the rest of Judaism and thus contributed to its other peculiar developments, it can never have been more than one factor in the life of this group. Not to mention economic and emotional necessities, other intellectual interests will have been present, among them, that in supernatural beings, the angels of light and of darkness prominent in the sect's literature. One of Professor Scholem's innumerable discoveries was the relation of the Qumran material to the magical and mystical traditions in the Hekhaloth books.⁴ Such factors must have played roles of some importance in the sect's background and development.

¹ *The Temple Scroll* (ed. Y. Yadin) (Jerusalem 1977), 3 vols. and fascicle of 'Supplementary Plates.' Yadin's achievement is remarkable both in consideration of his other duties, and in comparison with the records of other scholars, some of whom, without any such duties, have now withheld Qumran material from the public for over 25 years.

² I shall not document the obvious.

³ Holding to 1 Nisan as the beginning of the year as well as of the months; unquestionably a conservative position, but perhaps in the history of the sect a secondary development.

⁴ *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition*² (New York, 1965), 16-19, 29-30, 48. and esp. 128, the note to p. 29 (on the parallel of Strugnell's 'Angelic Liturgy' to the Hekhaloth texts).

Consequently the points at which works preserved by the sect (whether or not composed by its members) diverge from the Mosaic Law are of interest as evidence either of non-Pentateuchal elements that shaped the development or of abnormal results to which it led. The production of what were intended to be additional books of the Law (*Jubilees* and *The Temple Scroll*) will seem to many modern readers the ultimate divergence. When these books were written, however, the authors did not have behind them a bimillennial tradition of the fixity of the canon. The final redaction of the Pentateuch by the Jerusalem priesthood, probably in the mid-fifth century,⁵ was perhaps still a living memory, especially in priestly circles. The yet later revision of Pentateuchal genealogies and of the history of Kings by the authors of Chronicles was almost surely remembered, and the vocabulary of many Dead Sea writers indicates that they were much influenced by the school of the Chroniclers. It is more surprising that the Chroniclers' revision ultimately secured general acceptance than it is that other, more drastic, revisions continued to be produced.

We should therefore not consider the production of a new book of the Law as the one great innovation, but should also look at the other changes. These are of two sorts. Most are mere additions along Pentateuchal lines: The Pentateuch provides for temple vessels, the *Temple Scroll*, for a special structure to house them; the Pentateuch provides for a festival at the offering of the first loaves from the new grain, the *Temple Scroll* adds festivals for the offerings of [200] the new wine, the new oil, and so on. The likes of these are understandable extrapolations from the earlier text.

By contrast, a radical innovation, not explained by anything in the Pentateuch, appears in columns 30-31. First we must notice its place in the structure of the text. The scroll as preserved begins with the Deuteronomic commands to obliterate all Canaanite places of worship and to worship Yahweh alone (col. 2). Then, when Yahweh gives you peace, you are to build him a temple, of which the description seems to begin with the ark (col. 3, line 9) and to move outwards, though this and the following columns are so fragmentary that it is difficult here to be precise about the structure.⁶ After the table of shew bread, the incense (col. 8), the Menorah (9), etc., we reach the altar for sacrifices (11-12) and the text turns to a description of the sacrifices, first the daily burnt offering, then special sacrifices for sabbaths, new moons,

⁵ M. Smith, *Palestinian Parties and Politics that Shaped the Old Testament* (New York, 1973), 173-82.

⁶ The purification basin, which should be outside, appears in col. 6, while in col. 7 we are back in the Holy of Holies discussing the cherubs above the ark.

and festivals (13-29).⁷ The rules for sacrifices on the various festivals of the year end with those for Sukkot (col. 29), and with assurance of the blessing that will follow on their performance—Yahweh will dwell in his temple and hallow it with his glory ‘until the day of blessing when I myself shall build my [new] temple to establish it for myself forever according to the covenant I made with Jacob in Bethel.’⁸

Herewith⁹ the text returns to the building of the sectarians’ man-made temple and the first relatively coherent passage reads as follows:

And you shall make a staircase ... in the temple you are to build ... And you shall make the staircase tower [the *mesibah*] north of the cella [the *hekhal*], a square structure twenty cubits from [outer] corner to corner for [all] its four corners, and seven cubits distant from the cella at its north west [end]. And you shall make the thickness of its wall four cubits [and its height forty cubits]¹⁰ as [that of] the cella. And its inside [dimensions] from corner to corner [shall be] twelve [cubits]. And inside there shall be a square pillar in the middle of it, four cubits on each side. [And the structure]¹¹ which surrounds [the pillar shall be] an ascending staircase [to the roof-level of the temple].¹²

Here nine lines have been wholly lost and of five more there are only terminal fragments.¹³ That of line 11 reads ‘the gate’ and that of line 13 ‘the priest second [in rank],’¹⁴ so it seems likely that the lost lines described some ceremony to be performed in or on the tower. The text then goes on:

And on the roof of [this] structure [you shall make a gate]¹⁵ opening towards the roof of the cella and a walk made from¹⁶ this gate to the

⁷ Beginning with the new year, the first day of the first month. As remarked above (n. 3), this may reflect adhesion to a calendar older than that in the present Pentateuch.

⁸ *Ibid.*, lines 2-10 of Yadin’s text, II, 90-92. The quotation is from lines 9-10. (My translation, as are all others unless a translator is specified.) Yadin rightly emphasizes (I, 141) that this proves the temple prescribed in the scroll is not that of the End, but is a structure to be erected by the ‘Israelites,’ i.e. the members of the sect, when they shall be able to do so in the present dispensation.

⁹ I cannot agree with Yadin’s commentary (II, 92) which supposes that the text lost on the top of col. 30 continued the subject of col. 29. The end of 29 seems a rhetorical conclusion for the whole section on sacrifices.

¹⁰ Yadin’s conjecture, filling a break in the text and almost certainly correct.

¹¹ Restoring *wehabbayiṯh* in the gap in line 10.

¹² Reading *’el gag* at the end of line 10 and conjecturing *hahekhal* as the first word of col. 31.

¹³ Yadin’s line numeration is deceptive; he counts only lines of which fragments have been preserved or can be conjectured. The manuscript in this section had twenty-two lines to a column, see I, 11, inf.

¹⁴ Yadin’s lines 2 and 4. Yadin’s conjecture, *hakkohen haggadol*, at the end of line 14 (his line 4) rests only on the final *waw* and *lamed* and his *’el habbayiṯh* at the beginning of line 14 is also uncertain.

¹⁵ Yadin’s restorations.

¹⁶ Reading *mi* for Yadin’s uncertain *bi*. Even if *bi* is the correct reading it is probably a scribal error; in the script the letters *m* and *b* are closely similar.

entrance [of the roof of]¹⁷ the cella so that one can go by it to the roof of the cella. All this staircase tower you shall plate with gold, its walls and its gates and its roof, inside and out, and its column and its stairs. And you shall do as I tell you in all [details].

From here the text goes on to specifications for the basin for ablutions prescribed by Exodus (30:18; 40:7,30) and described or mentioned by 1 Kings (7:23-26), 2 Chronicles (4:10), and the Mishnah (Middot 3.6). The author of the *Temple Scroll* has a number of ideas for improvements of water supply and disposal, but essentially his feet are now back on traditional *terra firma* and there they stay as he goes on to subsequent provisions—a storehouse for the temple utensils (col. 33), a slaughterhouse for the sacrifices (34), a wardrobe for the priests (? 35), the dimensions of the altar court (36), etc. All these, as said above, are essentially extrapolations from the requirements made by the Pentateuch. They show some peculiar legal interpretations and considerable freedom in prescribing architectural adjustments, but nothing radically new.

By contrast, the staircase-tower has no basis whatever in the Old Testament and has left no trace in the Mishnah. Yadin finds anticipations in the references to stairs from one story to another of the rooms along the outer walls of the cella of Solomon's temple (1 Kings 6:8), and [201] of Ezekiel's (41:7), but he is forced to admit that these reflect wholly different architectural forms (I, 166). In the Mishnah the route to the upper story of the temple consisted of three long, straight staircases along the walls, by which one was led around three sides of the temple; one entered from ground level at the north-east corner, and emerged at the southeast on the level of the upper chamber, where there were two posts by which one could climb to the roof (Middot 4.5). Because these staircases went around the cella they were called a *mesibah*, like the stair in the *Temple Scroll*, but the similarity of name cannot conceal the complete architectural discrepancy. Josephus' account of Solomon's temple reports a staircase in the thickness of the wall (*Ant.* 8.70); again, as Yadin observed (I, 167) this is totally different from the structure in the *Temple Scroll*. A closer parallel was found by Yadin in the description of the New Jerusalem from Qumran cave 5¹⁸ where spiral staircases of almost the same dimensions as that described in our passage flank gateways to the city and to its inner insulae and lead to the roofs of the gates and/or adjacent walls. Similar staircases stand beside the gates to the outer court in the *Temple Scroll* 42, 7-8, and at least these latter

¹⁷ Yadin's restoration.

¹⁸ 5Q15, col. II, lines 2-5, cf. col. I, 13, in *Discoveries in the Judean Desert of Jordan III*, ed. by J. Milik et al. (Oxford, 1962), I, 189-92.

seem to be conceived as free-standing structures, like that beside the cella.¹⁹ At all events the three passages suffice to show that the corkscrew staircase built around a square central pillar was an architectural form favored by the visionaries of the Dead Sea documents.

This is not surprising when the form occurs within a building made almost wholly of stone, like a city wall. Stone walls are expensive, and no other form of staircase requires so little walling, especially if set in a corner of outer walls which had to be built anyhow. But when located outside the building, as a completely separate structure of which the chief function would seem to be that of giving access only to the building's roof, it becomes the most expensive possible form of staircase. When, besides this, it is to be gold plated, inside and outside, it becomes equally conspicuous as a budgetary item and an historical problem.

Standing just inside the gates of city walls such towers (without gold plating) might have military justification as means by which defenders could get up to or down from the tops of the walls even if the enemy had broken into the outer chambers of the adjacent gates. But this does nothing to explain such a tower beside the cella of the temple. Nor is it to be explained as the only means of providing a staircase for a building of which the original plan had none and was unalterable, *qua* sacred. In fact other, less expensive forms of outside and inside staircases were possible, as Kings, Josephus, and the Mishnah show. Consequently we should look at the architectural remains of late Hellenistic and early Roman Palestine and vicinity, to see whether and where such structures actually occurred.

This was done, apparently without knowledge of the *Temple Scroll*, by A. Negev, in his article, 'The Staircase-Tower in Nabatean Architecture,' *Revue Biblique* 80 (1973), 364-82 (henceforth 'Staircase-Tower'). Defining 'the staircase-tower' as 'a staircase of a special type... the typical element of which was a square tower in the center of which stands a solid pier' (p. 364), Negev found that this appears first, about 175 BC, in the *Oasr el 'abd*, the Tobiad temple in Transjordan, next in the early first century BC at Qumran, and in a Hasmonean structure near Jerusalem, in the late first century BC at Masada, and from then on in most Nabatean temples in the Negev, Transjordan, and the Hauran, whence it passes to South Syria and Lebanon (p. 379). Unfortunately, these conclusions need careful checking. In the first place, Negev did not distinguish between free-standing towers and

¹⁹ The former may be conceived as built inside the (double?) walls. The texts are not clear, but this is suggested by the fact that their outer dimensions are not given, only their inner.

those built inside the structures they served. However, the staircase spiraling around a central core is a fairly simple invention which might be expected to appear independently at many times and places, while the erection of a separate staircase tower to give access to the top of a nearby temple is a peculiar procedure of which the rare instances might well be related. Admittedly, there will be borderline cases. The tower of *Qasr el 'abd*, for instance, had only one side in common with its temple; a [202] second side flanked a porch with columns *in antis*; the whole must have added greatly to the expense of the structure. Consequently it seems a possible parallel to the *Temple Scroll* tower, though its placement in relation to the cella was different.²⁰ Further, Negev's archaeological examples sometimes seem not to fit his requirements. For example, the tower at Qumran, as described by de Vaux, did contain a circular staircase but was by no means a 'staircase-tower.' The stair was perhaps of wood, occupied only one small corner of the structure, and served not for ascent from outside, but for descent from the upper story to a lower storeroom that had no outside entrance.²¹ Nevertheless, like the tower of the *Temple Scroll*, its upper story opened onto a bridge that connected it with the roof of the rooms used for assembly, i.e., the 'temple', of the sect,²² and, also like the tower of the *Temple Scroll*, it stood on the north side of this 'temple.' Apparently the architectural history of staircase towers requires a separate study (and in this numismatics may be helpful).²³

²⁰ M. Brett, 'The *Qasr el 'abd*: A Proposed Reconstruction,' *BASOR* 171 (1963), 39-45, with plans on pp. 41 and 43. The cella here faced north and the tower stood at the north-east corner, by the entrance, while the cella of the *Temple Scroll* faced east and the tower stood by its north-west corner, see the plan in Yadin I, 159.

²¹ R. de Vaux, *L'Archéologie et les manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (Schweich Lectures, 1959) (London, 1961), 5.

²² So I understand de Vaux, *ibid*. His description is not perfectly clear. Was the 'terrace' reached by the bridge from the roof of room 4? I suppose so.

²³ R. Ami, 'Temples a Escaliers,' *Syria* 28 (1950), 82-136, and S. Downey, 'Temples a Escaliers: the Dura Evidence,' *CSCA* 9 (1976), 21-39, consider all types of temples containing staircases. Since life on the roof has been a common characteristic of near eastern culture from immemorial times, we should be more surprised when near eastern temples do not contain staircases to the roof than when they do. Consequently it seems unlikely that the presence of a staircase will distinguish a significant category. For numismatic evidence see M. Price and B. Trell, *Coins and their Cities* (London, 1977), especially 117-119, on the roles of towers in religion, and, for representations of towers with temples, figs. 285 (= p. 13), Capitolas; 288, Abila; 302? (= p. 172), Neapolis; 429 ?, Anzarbus; and 502, Isauria; compare 432, Rome (contiguous colonnades instead of towers). Some coins of Tripolis show side by side two structures of which one is clearly a temple, the other in some specimens looks like a tower and reaches exactly to the eaves of the temple. On better specimens, however, the lower structure also seems to be a temple and since the city had two great gods, Astarte and Zeus Hagios, I suppose these coins show the temples of both; cp. G. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia* (London, 1910), Pls. XXVII, 14, and XLIII, 11 and 12, and p. 214; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie* (Paris, 1927), 76 and n. 4. Other coins that may be relevant are *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum ... Danish National Museum* 37. *Phoenicia*,

But the evidence will have to be limited carefully to what seems strictly relevant. It would not do to consider all towers that stood beside temples—for instance, ziggurats. What is needed here is evidence of towers that served as means of access to the temple's roof as did the Nabatean ones.

This leads to the question, what did they want to do on the roof? The Mishnah says nothing of that, but does refer to workmen going through the upper story to get at the Holy of Holies (Middot 4.5 end). The picture of a procession of cleaning men solemnly ascending a gold plated stair-tower built solely for this purpose is, however, implausible. Far better was the explanation advanced by Negev for the Nabatean towers; he wrote, "It seems that Ami was right [in the study cited by the preceding note] in suggesting that the staircase-tower fulfilled an important function in the ritual of the temple... A hint of a ritual which took place on the roofs of the houses may be found in... Strabo (*Geog.* 783 = 16.4.26, end) who tells us that the Nabateans worshipped the sun and built altars on the roofs of their houses on which libations were poured and incense burnt" ('Staircase-Tower' 380; he had already shown that such staircase towers were also common in Nabatean private houses from the first and second centuries AD). This accords again with the numismatic evidence; Price-Trell (*supra*, n. 23) present a number of coins showing altars on temple roofs (e.g., Figs. 38, 51, 288). It also accords with common sense; the great expense of the proposed building and its symbolic gilding require some ritual use of the most solemn and important sort, but no hint of the ritual appears either in the Pentateuch or in the *Temple Scroll*. This silence cannot be accidental. The gold plated staircase leads directly to the mystery of the rooftop worship.

II. THE EVIDENCE OF JOSEPHUS

This mystery is almost perspicuous. The only gods one goes to the roof to worship are the gods of the heavens, particularly those visible there—heaven itself and the celestial bodies. Of these the sun seems the most likely to have been worshipped by the Qumran sect, since Josephus reports that the Essenes "are particularly reverent towards the divinity [*to theion*] for, before the Sun rises, they say nothing of profane things, but [only] certain ancestral prayers to him, as beseeching [him] to rise" (*War* 2.128). This scandalized Saint

Pl. 10, no. 379, and the coins of Neapolis, of which the best reproduction is cited above (Price-Trell, 172). I do not know why G. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine* (London, 1914), 48, (followed by Price-Trell, 173) identified the structure beside the hilltop temple as an altar. It looks more like a tower. Cp. also Downey, 22, on no. 214 of H. Ingholt et al., *Recueil des Tessères de Palmyre* (Paris, 1955).

Hipolytus the antipope; when paraphrasing it in the *Philosophumena* he concealed the reference by describing the Essenes as “uttering nothing [in the day] if they do not first hymn the God.”²⁴ Similarly the Latin translator of the *War* rendered *to theion* by *Deum* and changed ‘arise’ to ‘shine forth’ or ‘give light’ (*illucescat*) thereby making it possible to understand the prayers as directed to ‘God.’²⁵ Hegesippus omitted the whole section.

A series of modern scholars—Rapoport, Frankel, Graetz, Ginsburg, Derenbourg²⁶—also perceived the difficulty and disposed of it with Talmudic learning and logic; they argued as follows: The prayer of the Essenes was said before sunrise. The Pharisees said the *Shema* before sunrise. Therefore the prayer of the Essenes was the *Shema*.²⁷ This argument was [203] demolished by Zeller’s observation that if the prayer had been the ordinary Jewish morning prayer Josephus would not have referred to it as a peculiar practice of the Essenes,²⁸ and again by Lightfoot’s remark that Josephus “says plainly that they [the Essenes] addressed prayers to the sun, and it is difficult to suppose that he has wantonly introduced a dash of paganism into his picture.”²⁹ Lightfoot also pointed out that prayers to the sun were consistent with Josephus’ report that the Essenes bury their excrement “so as not to insult the rays of the god.”³⁰ This report is the more remarkable because the Biblical commandment which the Essenes thus observed, Deut 23:14-15, says nothing about ‘the rays,’ but justified the practice by stating that “Yahweh your God goes about in the midst of your camp ... so your camp is to be holy, in order that he should not see any shameful thing among you and leave you.” Josephus’ report thus seems to derive from an equation of Yahweh with the Sun God,

²⁴ *Philosophumena* 9.21. S. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome* (Leiden 1979; *Columbia Studies* VIII), 31-47, has persuaded me that I was probably mistaken in supposing Hippolytus independent of Josephus (*HUCA* 29 [1958], 273-313); had they merely drawn from a common source, the text of Josephus, who usually paraphrased, would probably not show so many close parallels to that of Hippolytus, who usually quoted rather accurately.

²⁵ This interpretation is not possible in Greek, where *eis auton* must refer to the masculine sun, not to the neuter divinity.

²⁶ For the opinions of Rapoport, Frankel, and Ginsburg I depend on J. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon* (2 ed., London, 1879), 87-88 and 374, with bibliography on 84. For the others see H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden* III (5th ed., ed. M. Brann) (Leipzig, 1905), i, 93; J. Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'Histoire et la Géographie de la Palestine* (Paris, 1867), 169, n. 2.

²⁷ On Lieberman's correction of this argument, see *infra*, n. 43.

²⁸ E. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen* III (5th ed., Leipzig 1923) ii, 324, n. 1.

²⁹ Lightfoot (*supra*, n. 26), 372.

³⁰ *War* 2. 148f.; Lightfoot (*supra*, n. 26), 87, n. 2, shows by numerous classical parallels that ‘the god’ here means ‘the sun god,’ and observes that Hippolytus omitted the words. (He might also have observed that their omission makes nonsense of the sentence.) The Jewish pseudo-Phokylides thought the sun should not be polluted by exposure of dead bodies (line 101, ed. van der Horst, p. 183, with classical parallels).

present in his rays. Lightfoot said nothing of the equation, but commented on the practice, "We cannot indeed suppose that they regarded the sun as more than a symbol of the unseen power who gives light and life; but their outward demonstrations of reverence were sufficiently prominent to attach to them, or to a sect derived from them, the epithet of 'Sun worshippers,' and some connection with the characteristic feature of Parsee devotion at once suggests itself."³¹ Zeller, on the other hand, argued persuasively for relation to Neopythagoreanism, and more accurately described the implication of this worship, viz.: that the Essenes "saw, in the sun, more than a mere natural object, ... [rather] a living being endowed with its own power and holiness."³²

E. Schürer³³ followed in part Lightfoot, in part Zeller; Bauer³⁴ and Bousset-Gressmann³⁵ followed Lightfoot. Zeller's theory of Neopythagorean influence on the Essenes was supported by Wellmann,³⁶ Cumont,³⁷ and Lagrange,³⁸ and carried to extremes in the work of I. Levy.³⁹ Then came the discovery of the Dead Sea documents revealing the predominance of Semitic material in the sect's literature and so turning the subject over to Semitists. Of these Dupont-Sommer continued to take Josephus' statement at face value, and to postulate Pythagorean influence.⁴⁰ The prevalent interpretations, however, are represented by the commentaries of

³¹ Lightfoot (supra, n. 26), 87-88, citing Epiphanius, *Panarion* 19.2; 20.3; 53.1f.; cp. 30.3: "The Ossenoï went over from Judaism into the heresy of the Sampsaeans" and "The [name of the] Sampsaeans is interpreted 'Sun-worshippers.'" Lightfoot (87, n. 3) comments, "from the Hebrew *shemesh* 'the sun'". He observes later (374) that, "Epiphanius speaks of ... the Sampsaeans or 'Sun-worshippers' as existing in his own time in Peraea on the borders of Moab and on the shores of the Dead Sea."

³² Zeller (supra, n. 28), 334; the argument runs from 307 to 377.

³³ *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* II (3rd/4th ed., Leipzig, 1901-11), 675-76, with the unlikely conjecture that the prayers were *eis ton helion* because spoken facing the sun (which was not yet risen). However, he commented, this orientation for prayer accorded with pagan practice, not Jewish (towards the Temple) so even though they prayed only towards the sun "because they saw in it the representation of the divine light" their practice betrayed alien, Pythagorean influence, as argued by Zeller—a comment derived rather from diplomacy than from knowledge.

³⁴ W. Bauer, 'Essener' *RE Suppl.* 4 (1924), 386-430, esp. col. 428.

³⁵ W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, 21) (3 ed., ed. H. Gressmann) (Tübingen, 1926), 464, referring also to the Essenes in Philaster, *Diversarum hereseon* 10. ('Heliognosti' is the reading of F. Marx' edition; he cites no variants. Is Bousset's 'Heliognostici' a slip?) Bousset thought the prayer to the sun showed undeniable polytheistic influence, and the fear to pollute its rays seemed to him 'echt orientalisches (babylonisch-iranisch)'—this without notice of the many classical parallels.

³⁶ M. Wellmann, "Die Physika des Bolos Demokritos," *ADAW* (1928), 7.

³⁷ F. Cumont, "Esséniens et Pythagoriciens," *CRAI* (1930), 99-112.

³⁸ M. Lagrange, *Le Judaïsme avant Jésus-Christ* (Paris, 1931).

³⁹ *La Légende de Pythagore* (Bibl. de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, 250) (Paris, 1927).

⁴⁰ A. Dupont-Sommer, "Le problème des influences étrangères sur la secte juive de Qoumrân," *Rev. d'Hist. et de Phil Relig.* 35 (1955), 86-90.

Bauernfeind-Michel and Simḥoni, of which the first declares that the Essenes saw the sun as “a representative of the enlightening and healing power of the divine Spirit and thereby of God himself,” as evidenced by the Qumran *Hodayot* iv, 5-6. (‘I shall praise thee, Lord, for thou hast enlightened my countenance by thy covenant and from... [thy commandments, etc.?] I shall search thee out, and, sure as the dawn, thou hast revealed [thyself?] to me by this light,’ cp. line 23.) “Josephus, in our passage, expressed himself badly; his words might give the impression that the Essenes honored the sun as a divine being.”⁴¹ Even worse is Simḥoni, “Josephus’ expression here is not accurate.” Epiphanius is “wholly unreliable” and, anyhow, writes of both *Essenoi* and *Ossaioi* but reports sun worship only of the latter. It is more plausible to believe that the Essenes were the ‘old stalwarts’ of the Babylonian Talmud, Berakot 9b, who made a point of finishing the *Shema*’ at sunrise, etc.⁴²—obstinate reassertion of the position of “most Jewish interpreters.” More subtly S. Lieberman has suggested that these interpreters had in mind, not the *Shema*’, but “the benediction over the luminaries recited by the Pharisees every morning at dawn.”⁴³ This benediction, he points out, was sometimes terminated by Isaiah 60:1 (“Arise, shine, for thy light is come,” etc.) and this verse “could certainly be taken by Josephus as a real invocation of the sun as if entreating it to rise.”⁴⁴ However, Lieberman also quotes the opinion of Rabbi Judah (fl. AD 150) that “If anyone says a blessing over the sun—this is a heterodox practice.”⁴⁵ This opinion Lieberman takes as a reference to the Essene custom. Since blessing the deity is the most conspicuous form of Jewish prayer, Rabbi Judah’s condemnation of the practice may indicate that Josephus’ understanding of it was correct. Hengel predictably follows Bauernfeind-Michel.⁴⁶ [204]

⁴¹ O. Michel and O. Bauernfeind, eds., *Flavius Josephus, De bello judaico I* (2 ed., München, 1962), 432, n. 44.

⁴² Y. Simḥoni, ed., *Yosef ben Matityahu, Toledot Milḥemet Hayehudim ‘im Haroma’im* (Ramat Gan, 1968), 422-25 (Hebrew).

⁴³ S. Lieberman, ‘Light on the Cave Scrolls from Rabbinic Sources,’ *Proc. Am. Acad. Jewish Research* 20 (1951), 399 (reprinted in *Texts and Studies* [New York, 1974], 194). Whatever they had in mind, the earlier Jewish scholars argued from rules requiring recitation of the *Shema*’, and at least Derenbourg and Graetz (*loc. cit.*, supra, n. 26) specified the Essene prayer in question as the *Shema*’.

⁴⁴ Lieberman (supra, n. 43), 195.

⁴⁵ Tosefta Berakot 7. 6; T. Terumot 7.11 end.

⁴⁶ Not to mention his other ‘authorities.’ M. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus* (Wissenschaftliche Unters. zum NT, 10) (Tübingen, 1969), 432, n. 753. Among other desperate devices, J. Strugnell, “Flavius Josephus and the Essenes,” *JBL* 77 (1958), 112, proposed to take *eis auton* of the Essenes’ physical position—they said their prayers ‘facing’ the sun, but not ‘to him.’ Besides being implausible, this forgets “as entreating him to rise,” where the sun is the only possible object of the entreaty.

III. THE EVIDENCE OF PALESTINIAN CULTURE

Current acceptance of such interpretations results mainly from the difficulty of reconciling Josephus' statement with the evidence from Qumran. From that evidence the Dead Sea Sect, commonly equated with the Essenes, appears *prima facie* as described above in section I—an organization for meticulous observance of the Mosaic Law, including its prohibition of the worship of any god save Yahweh. Moreover the pervasive concern for Jewish purity laws, the hostility to Jews who do not follow the rules of the sect (and *a fortiori* to gentiles), and the tiny proportion of Greek to Hebrew and Aramaic material in the finds at Qumran, all make it implausible to suppose that Neopythagorean teachings were known to the members of the sect.

However (to take this last objection first) there is no reason to derive the prayers to the sun from Neopythagorean influence. Sun worship was one of the most prominent elements in the neighboring religion of Egypt, in Syria it increased steadily during Greek and Roman times, and it was also important in Transjordan.⁴⁷ Tacitus remarked that the Roman soldiers who hailed the rising sun at the battle of Cremona (AD 69) followed the Syrian custom; they had picked it up during service there.⁴⁸

In Palestine itself sun worship was well established before the Israelite invasion, as shown by the three towns called *Beth Shemesh* ('Temple of the Sun'), perhaps an *Ir Shemesh* ('City of the Sun'), and certainly an *En Shemesh* ('Spring of the Sun')⁴⁹—names not likely to have been given them by invaders devoted to Yahweh. One of the heroes of early Israelite legend was Samson (*Shimshon*, from *Shemesh*, approximately, 'Sunman') whose adventures have been patriotically retold in Judges 13-16. The Israelites of course shared the common ancient belief⁵⁰ that the sun, moon, and stars were living beings. Yahwist theologians declared the sun had been created "to rule over the day" (Gen 1:16; Ps 136:8) and poets described him as a bridegroom coming out of the bedchamber (Ps 19:6—hardly apt; the sun rarely appears exhausted). Sun and moon were called on to praise Yahweh (Ps 148:3; Dan 3:62 LXX) and the sun was cited as an example of

⁴⁷ For the archaeological evidence for Syria, Transjordan, and Palestine, see H. Seyrig, "Antiquités Syriennes, 95. Le Culte du Soleil en Syrie à l'époque Romaine," *Syria* 48 (1971), 337-73. Strabo's report of the Nabateans' sun worship on the roofs of their houses has been cited above at the end of section 1.

⁴⁸ Hist. 3.24-25. Perhaps in commemoration of the victory, Vespasian gave the sun an important place in his coinage. He was the first emperor to do so.

⁴⁹ *Beth Shemesh*: (1) in Judah, Josh 15:10; 21:16, 1 Sam 6:9-20; 1 Kings 4:9; 2 Kings 14:11, 13; 1 Chr 6:44; 2 Chr 25:21, 23; 28:18. (2) in Naphtali, Josh 19:38, Judges 1:33. (3) in Issachar, Josh 19:22. *Ir Shemesh*: Josh 19:41 (where a few MSS and most editors read 'En). *En Shemesh*: Josh 15:7; 18:17.

⁵⁰ Plato, *Apol.* 26d.

obedience (Ps 104:19—knows when he ought to rise, and rises accordingly). The sun was also, as throughout the ancient Near East, the great witness. When the Israelites worshipped the Baal of Pe'or "Yahweh said to Moses, 'Take all the leaders of the people and impale them to Yahweh before the Sun'" (Num. 25:4). When David sinned with Bath Sheba, the prophet Nathan told him, "Thus saith Yahweh... 'I shall take your wives before your eyes and give them to your companion, and he shall lie with your wives before the eyes of this Sun, for you acted secretly, but I shall do this thing before all Israel and before the Sun'" (2 Sam 12:11-12). Accordingly it is not surprising that many Israelites, like their neighbors, worshipped the sun, and commonly did so on the roofs of their houses. Prophets of the Yahweh-alone party often complain of the practice (Jer 8:2; 19:13; Zeph 1:5); party historians report it (1 Kings 21:3); lawgivers warn against it (Deut 4:19; 17:3), and the author of Job, to prove his hero's devotion to Yahweh alone, makes him boast that he never kissed his hand to the sun—evidently ordinary people did.⁵¹ This worship is also attested by Palestinian seals of the monarchic period.⁵² It was not only private; priests seem to have been appointed by the kings to maintain it in the cities of Judea;⁵³ altars to the sun, moon, and stars stood in both courts of the Jerusalem temple (2 Kings 21:5) and on its roof (2 Kings 23:12), and horses and a chariot given to the sun by the kings of Judah were brought into the temple, presumably for use in the ritual (2 Kings 23:11). These 'abominations' were put down by Josiah in 621, but Josiah was defeated and killed by the Egyptians at Megiddo in 609 and this disaster was probably taken as evidence that his religious reforms were not what the gods wanted. Twenty years later, when Ezekiel envisioned the Jerusalem temple just before its destruction, he saw in the innermost court "between the cella and the altar, some twenty-[205]five men, their backsides to the temple and their faces to the east, prostrating themselves towards the east, to the Sun" (8:16). Only priests should have had access to this area. The participation of priests of Yahweh in sun worship raises a question as to the original meaning of biblical texts in which Yahweh (?) is spoken of as the sun,

⁵¹ Job 31:25ff. Kissing the hand was a regular form of reverence to a deity. See E. Bickerman, "A propos d'un passage de Charès de Mytilène," *Parola del Passato* 91 (1963), 241-55.

⁵² Of the pre-exilic Hebrew seals illustrated in N. Avigad, "Hotam," *Encyclopaedia Biblica* III (1958), 68-86 and pl. 3, two show flying scarabs with the sun globe (in one of these, that of Saul, the scarab is adored by two worshippers), and another two show winged solar discs. Further examples in S. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology* (London, 1930), 48-52 and pls. VI-IX, XII, XIII, XV (henceforth Cook, *Religion*).

⁵³ 2 Kings 23:5; the syntax is not clear, but I suppose the priests referred to by both halves of the sentences were royal appointees, and perhaps a single class.

e.g. Malachi 3:20, where Yahweh is prophesying the events of the end. "And the righteous Sun will rise on you who fear my name, and healing [will come] in his wings." Everyone knew the Sun had wings; the seals regularly show them.

After the fall of Jerusalem we continue to find evidence of sun worship all over Palestine and Transjordan. Most comes from the Roman period, that best represented archaeologically. Seyrig showed that sun-worship in Syria increased during Roman times, thanks to Arabic influence;⁵⁴ probably, therefore, some later items in the following list of pagan sites should not be taken as evidence of earlier practice. This list is based only on coinage and items noticed in reading; it is neither exhaustive nor systematic. Jewish and Christian evidence is omitted. Representations of Apollo and Horus-Harpocrates are included, although their solar reference is sometimes dubious; Serapis and Bes are omitted, although often solar. Nevertheless this collection of notes suggests, at least, how widespread various forms of the cult must have been, and how many types of material reflect its popularity.

Aelia Capitolina: Helios radiate on a coin of Hadrian's time, known by report only.⁵⁵

Akhzib: Statuette of Horus as falcon, Persian/Hellenistic, seen in the Museum of the Dept. of Antiquities, Jerusalem.

Akko-Ptolemais: Apollo, on coins of Antiochus VIII and briefly thereafter.⁵⁶

Apollonia: Temple of Apollo-Reshef.⁵⁷

Ascalon: Temple of Apollo, Avi-Yonah, *Gazeteer* 32.

Two Egyptian bronzes of Horus-Harpocrates with sun disc; two Apis bulls with sun discs, 4th cent. BC.⁵⁸

Head of Apollo on coinage, c. 153-152 BC.⁵⁹

Caesarea: Apollo on coins of Hadrian, Marcus, and Trajan Decius, Hill, *GCOP*, pp. 21, 24, 31.

Helios on coins of Herennius Etruscus, Hill, *GCOP*, p. 35.

⁵⁴ Seyrig (*supra*, n. 47).

⁵⁵ L. Kadman, *The Coins of Aelia Capitolina* (Corpus nummorum palestinensium—henceforth *CNPal—I*) (Jerusalem, 1956), 122, no. 1.

⁵⁶ L. Kadman, *The Coins of Akko-Ptolemais* (*CNPal IV*) (Jerusalem, 1961), 100-103.

⁵⁷ References collected in M. Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer of Roman Palestine* (Qedem 5) (Jerusalem, 1976), 30 (henceforth, Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer*).

⁵⁸ Palestine Archaeological Museum, *Gallery Book, Persian, Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Jerusalem, 1943), nos. 955, 957 (disc broken off), 948, 949 (henceforth, PAM, *Gallery Book*).

⁵⁹ G. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine* (London, 1914), p. liv, note 6 (henceforth, Hill, *GCOP*).

Apollo, Helios Harpocrates, and 'solar types' of magical deities (Chnoubis Pantheos the solar lion) on gems of the Roman period.⁶⁰

Daphne: Josephus, *War* 4.3.

En Gedi: Babylonian seal showing worship of Marduk, Persian period.⁶¹

Galilee: Ex voto bas relief, 3rd cent. AD, Sun in chariot drawn by eagles.⁶²

Gaza: Temple of Helios, Marcus, *Vita Porphyrii* 64.

Temple of Apollo, *ibid.* Also Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer* 59.

Apollo (?) on coins of Marcus, Hill, *GCOP* 156.

Gerasa: Terracotta statuette of Apollo, 2nd cent. AD, PAM, *Gallery Book*, No. 1131.

Dedications to Helios, 2nd-3rd cent. AD, *SEG* VII, 838, 839.

Helios sozas on an altar dedicated to Artemis, 2nd cent. AD.⁶³

Temple of Zeus Helios Megas Sarapis, Isis, and Neotera, and dedication to Z.H.M.S.; AD 143, *Gerasa*, nos. 15, 16.

Temple to Apollo, 2nd cent. AD, *Gerasa*, no. 38.

Gezer: Seal showing worship of sun disc, Persian period.⁶⁴

Jebel Druse: Helios on temple facade, with Baalshamin and Luna, early Roman.⁶⁵

Jerusalem: Bust of Helios, known by report only.⁶⁶

Solar anguipede on seal, Roman, PAM *Gallery Book*, no. 1421.

Kadesh Naphtali: Altar showing deity with sun disc.⁶⁷

Khirbet Tannur: Bust of Helios on temple façade, 1st cent. AD, Glueck *DD* 144 and pl. 136.⁶⁸

⁶⁰ A. Hamburger, *Gems from Caesarea Maritima* ('Atiqot, English Series, 8) (Jerusalem, 1968), 7, 15, 16, 18.

⁶¹ 'Ensiqlopediya leḥafiroṭ 'arkhe'ologiyot be'eres Yisra'el II (Jerusalem, 1970), 443 (Hebrew).

⁶² H. Seyrig, "Un bas-relief Galiléen," *MéUSJ* 46 (1970), 203-205 and Pl. 1.

⁶³ C. Welles, "The Inscriptions," in *Gerasa*, ed. C. Kraeling (New Haven, 1938), 445, no. 195 (henceforth, *Gerasa*).

⁶⁴ E. Stern, *The Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period* (Jerusalem, 1973), 76 (henceforth, Stern, *Culture*).

⁶⁵ N. Glueck, *Deities and Dolphins* (London, 1965), 472 and pl. 138 (henceforth, Glueck, *DD*).

⁶⁶ H. Seyrig (supra n. 47), 356.

⁶⁷ Cook, *Religion*, 196 and pl. 35, 2. The stone is known only from a drawing which shows a rayed disc on the deity's head and an inscription honoring 'the holy god'.

⁶⁸ Of this and the similar pieces from Mahaiy and Qasr Rabbah (infra), Seyrig observes that although they are elements of architectural decoration, not objects of cult, they nevertheless testify to the importance of the sun in the local religion (supra [n. 47], 355).

Lachish: Terracotta statuette of Apollo type, Persian period, Stern, *Culture*, 178. (The 'solar shrine' of Tufnell's volume has now become a temple of Yahweh.⁶⁹ It contained, [206] however, a Horus hawk amulet: *Lachish* III, col. I, p. 143; vol. II, pl. 36.56; overlooked by Aharoni).

Mahaiy (in Moab): Bust of Helios (?), Hellenistic/Roman, Glueck, *DD* 59.

Marissa: Votive inscription to Apollo, 2nd cent. BC.⁷⁰

Inscription, 'Helios and On (?), Myron, priest' (etc.), 2nd cent. BC.⁷¹

Cook, *Religion*, 203, remarks that names compounded with Apollo are unusually frequent in Marissa. So are names compounded with Helios.

Medeba: Helios on coins of Septimius Severus.⁷²

Qasr Rabbah (in Moab): Bust of Helios, Hellenistic/Early Roman, Glueck *DD*, 58 and pl. 137a.

Raphia: Apollo on coins of Septimius Severus, Elagabalus, Severus, Alexander (?), and Philip senior (?), Hill, *GCOP*, 172-74.

Souf (near Gerasa): Dedication to Zeus and Helios, AD 98, *OGIS*, no 620.

Tell Arni: Terracotta of Apollo type, Persian period, Stern, *Culture*, 178.

Tell Megadim: Terracotta of Apollo type, Persian period, Stern, *Culture*, 178.

Tell Sipor: Terracotta of Apollo type, Persian period, Stern, *Culture*, 178.

Terracotta of seated Harpocrates, Persian period, seen in the Museum of the Department of Antiquities, Jerusalem.

The importance is known from literary evidence. Strabo has been cited (*supra*, section I, end); for other passages see Seyrig, 342.

⁶⁹ Solar shrine: O. Tufnell, *Lachish* III (London, 1953), 141-45, pl. 121. Temple of Yahweh: Y. Aharoni, "Trial Excavations at Lachish," *IEJ* 18 (1968), 187; *Investigations at Lachish* (*Lachish* 5) (Tel Aviv, 1975), 11.

⁷⁰ C. Clermont-Ganneau, "Royal Ptolemaic Greek Inscriptions," *PEFQ* (1901), 57. (The restoration, 'to Apollo,' seems virtually certain.)

⁷¹ J. Peters and H. Thiersch, *Painted Tombs in the Necropolis of Marissa* (London, 1905), 60. For On, the deified symbol of the Egyptian city, see H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), 543-45. It may here be a pretentious reminiscence of Gen 41:50.

⁷² G. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia* (London, 1922), xxxvi.

As all this evidence depends on chance survivals, the dates must not be taken as *termini* for the cults. Sometimes accident indicates the cults had long been established. For instance, all the evidence for solar cults in Gerasa dates from the second century AD and later, but about 200 BC a Gerasen on Kos set up a votive inscription to Helios.⁷³ Further, this evidence from occasional finds and particular places is supported by many Jewish and Christian indications of pagan practices in general, for instance the familiar Mishnaic ruling that anyone who finds an artifact bearing a representation of the sun, the moon, or a serpent, must throw it into the Dead Sea (because these objects were commonly worshipped, Mishnah, 'Avodah Zarah 3.3; etc.). Again, oaths by the sun were so common and so much used, even by Jews, that rabbinic law finally permitted them, provided the man who swore had the creator of the sun in mind.⁷⁴

IV. THE PROBLEM OF QUMRAN USAGE

Given the evident popularity of sun worship in Palestine and Transjordan, there is no need to suppose that the Qumran sectarians adopted it from Neopythagoreans. The main difficulty in accepting Josephus' statement at face value, however, is to explain their worshipping the sun at all. The *Temple Scroll* itself incorporates Deuteronomic passages prohibiting the erection of 'asherot, massebot, and the like (cols. 51, 19-52, 3) and punishing with death any prophets or other persons who advocate the worship of gods other than Yahweh (54, 8-55, 21), and in this passage the worship of sun, moon, and stars is specifically forbidden (55, 15-21).⁷⁵ How then could the Essenes have said prayers to the sun, much less have planned a gold-plated staircase for a splendid approach to such worship?

By exegesis. "Rab Judah said in the name of Rab, 'No one can be seated in the Sanhedrin unless he knows how to prove from Scripture that a reptile is clean.'"⁷⁶ Given the absurdities of Essene exegesis, preserved in the *pesharim*, we should suppose them no less capable than the rabbis of getting around the Law. The problem, therefore, is double. First, by what exegesis did they reconcile the texts they revered with the practices they adopted? Second, why did they want to adopt those practices?

⁷³ O. Eissfeldt, *Kleine Schriften* II (Tübingen, 1963), 310-12. Eissfeldt's identification of Helios as Baal Shamem is dubious; if correct it indicates that, conversely, too, Baal Shamem was identified with Helios.

⁷⁴ S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (Texts and Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 18) (New York, 1962), 214-15, supplementing the evidence already given in his *Greek in Jewish Palestine* (New York 1942), 137-38.

⁷⁵ The passages paralleled in Deut are 16:21-22 (cf. Lev 26:1); 13:2-19; 17:2-5.

⁷⁶ Babylonian Talmud, Sanhedrin 17a, end.

Since the exegesis has not been preserved, it must be conjectured and easily can be. One has only to distinguish between “worshipping as a god and reverencing and invoking as a supernatural power, but not a god,” and the problem is solved. Sample solutions can be found in the histories of the cult of the saints and of Mariolatry. Qumran legal documents swarm with elements that more or less openly contradict the ‘plain sense’ of pentateuchal prescriptions. The greatest example is the *Temple Scroll* itself, which, with *Jubilees* makes up a two volume *Torah* apparently intended to take precedence of the Pentateuch—*Jubilees* replacing Gen 1-Exod 24; the *Temple Scroll*, Exod 25-Deut 34—both freely omitting what the authors disliked, correcting what they thought inadequate, and adding what they thought desirable. Exegetic presumption could hardly go further.

But why did they want ritually to ‘reverence’ the sun? An indication may be found in Deut 4:15-24, a passage almost certainly post-exilic (its context anticipates the exile) which may have been aimed against the tendency that triumphed at Qumran. Moses tells the Israelites, “Watch out for yourselves. You saw no image whatever on the day when Yahweh spoke to you at Horeb from the fire. [Take care, therefore,] lest you make any idol ... and lest you look up to the sky and see the sun ... moon, and stars ... and bow down to them and serve them. For Yahweh your God gave them to all the peoples under heaven [as objects of worship], but Yahweh took you ... to be his hereditary people ... Take care, therefore, lest you forget the covenant of Yahweh, ... and make yourselves an idol, an image of anything ... For Yahweh, your God, he is a devouring fire, a jealous God.”

The nearest thing to a visible representation of a god of fire is the sun. From ‘visible representation’ one goes easily to ‘visible representative’—the more easily since this passage all but says that the celestial bodies are supernatural beings given by Yahweh to the gentiles as the proper objects for their worship. Hence it would be easy to conclude that they should be revered (though not ‘worshipped’) by Jews. Just at this time Ps 96:5 was declaring “All the gods of the gentiles are ineffectual [gods]”—a deliberate play on *’el* (god) and *’elil* (ineffectual) which LXX would render “All the gods of the gentiles are *daimonia*.” For the author of one of the supplements to Job the stars were already “the children of the gods” (*bne ’elim*). Soon the writers of Qumran would go on to use *’el* alike for Yahweh, good angels, and bad angels.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ *War Scroll* 14, 15-16; 17; 57; cp., Exod 15:11; Ps 29:1; 58:2?; 89:7; Dan 11:36; J. Strugnell, “The Angelic Liturgy,” *Vetus Testamentum*, Suppl. 7 (1960), 322, 331-32; Y. Yadin, ed. *The Scroll of the War* (Jerusalem, 1955), 210 (Hebrew).

As self-styled 'children of light' the Qumran sectarians had a special interest in the luminaries and especially in the sun; this is shown not only by their prayers for sunrise, but also by their abandonment of the lunar calendar prescribed by the Bible in favor of one represented as solar⁷⁸—one of their more important departures from pentateuchal law. *Enoch* and *Jubilees*, which set forth this calendar, emphasize the role of the sun (vs. the moon) as ruler of the year.⁷⁹ While both works speak of the sun as a 'luminary,' *Enoch* contains a remarkable fragment (82:4-20)⁸⁰ giving the names of the angels who rule the four parts of the year, and of their angelic subordinates. These are all angelic names (mostly ending in 'el) and of the four rulers, the two described in detail, before the piece breaks off, are identified as aspects of the sun. This fragment accords with Josephus' report that the Essene initiate had to swear to keep secret the names of the angels (*War* 2. 142). It accords also with the magical tradition that the sun god has four different forms and corresponding (magically powerful) names in the four quarters of the world.⁸¹ This line of thought is continued by the Qumran *Hodayot* which begin by praising God because, "Thou hast created every spirit ... and [hast known the]⁸² mighty spirits and their natures before they were made holy angels and [became] spirits of the world in charge of their domains—luminaries, of their secrets, stars, of their courses, ... of their burden, lightnings and thunder, of their source," etc. (I, 8-12). To this notion that the spirits were created first, then assigned to their angelic positions according to their natures, Licht could find no parallel,⁸³ but it appears in *PGM* XIII, 161-206 and 475-554 and in 2 *Enoch* 25-30. Since it leaves no doubt that the luminaries are angels, it indicates how the *Words of the Luminaries*,⁸⁴ and more fragmentary passages like *DJD* I, 154 "their

⁷⁸ In fact it was not quite solar, but a compromise between the desires for a solar calendar and for schematization: It prescribes a year of 364 days, to get exactly 52 weeks. Evidently fractions were not the reformers' forte, and they preferred convenience not only to the plain sense of the Mosaic Law, but also to truth.

⁷⁹ *Enoch* 72:4 and 34-37; 82:10-19; *Jubilees* 2:9; 4:21; 6: 36.

⁸⁰ The evidence of the content, that this is a fragment, is confirmed by discovery in Qumran of a part of what was lost, now 4QEnastr^d, see J. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford, 1976), 296ff.

⁸¹ See the magisterial account by A. A. Barb, "Abraxas Studien," in *Hommages à W. Deonna* (Collection Latomus, 28) (Brussels, 1957), 67-85, apropos of British Museum gem G 109. The clearest passage is K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (2 ed., ed A. Henrichs) (Stuttgart, 1973-1974; henceforth *PGM*, cited by papyrus number and line) II, 106-115. Cp. also the magical recitation of the twelve names and forms of the sun for each hour of the day, *PGM* IV, 1649-97 and parallels.

⁸² Insertion justified by preceding context.

⁸³ J. Licht, ed., *The Thanksgiving Scroll* (Jerusalem, 1957), 58.

⁸⁴ Ed. M. Baillet, "Un recueil liturgique," *Revue biblique* 68 (1961), 195-250.

laws cannot be transgressed ... they rule throughout all the world" should be understood.⁸⁵

It also leaves no doubt of the appropriateness of petitioning, praising, flattering, and otherwise trying to bribe these great ministers of the Great King. How to deal with royal ministers was a matter of common knowledge in the ancient world; only in modern times has it become a secret tradition of politicians and [208] businessmen. Nor was the notion that the luminaries were angels and therefore ministers of God dependent on so specific a theory as that advanced in the *Hodayot*. On the contrary, as we have seen, it was common. So, too, was sun worship, and this not only in Palestine, but in the Jewish diaspora. Both in Babylonia and in Egypt the names of Jews from the fifth century BC testify to their parents' devotion to Shamash.⁸⁶ No traces of Old Testament books have been found in the documents from the Jewish colony at Elephantine, but the Jews there had a text of the sayings of Ahiqar in which the great god of wisdom and justice is Shamash.⁸⁷ Perhaps as a result of such syncretism, together with the fact that the Jews in their dealings with the Persians identified Yahweh as *Ba'al Shamem* ('The Lord of the Heavens'),⁸⁸ they began early to gain a reputation for star worship. Theophrastus reportedly reported that they let no sacrifices remain overnight, but burnt them "in order that the all seeing [sun] should not see" [the dead body, and so be polluted]—the same notion Josephus attributed to the Essenes, above, p. 203]—"and at night they contemplate the stars, gazing at them and calling on [them] by prayers."⁸⁹

Something over a century after Theophrastus we find what may be the first evidence of gentile belief that the god of the Jews was the sun. Josephus, *C. Apionem* 2.112-14, says that Mnaseas of Patara told a

⁸⁵ It is not clear how the Qumranites related this theory to that of 'the two spirits' in the *Manual of Discipline* iii, 13-iv, 26 which tells of the creation by 'the God of knowledge' of two primary spirits, one of truth, from light, the other of wickedness, from darkness, and the rule of each over inferior spirits and men of his own sort. Traces of the *Manual's* theory appear in the *Damascus Covenant* (v, 18) and the *War* (13, 10 and often), but 13, 10 is the only passage indicating that 'the prince of light' (or 'lights') of this system might be a luminary, and here it seems plausible to correct *sar me'or* to *sar ha'or*. The *me'orè da'at/pele'* of the *Angelic Liturgy* and *4QBer.*, reported by Strugnell (supra, n. 77), 333, are without context and therefore ambiguous. How these two systems were related to the common angelology with its named personalities (Michael, Gabriel, etc.) is another question—one the Qumranites probably solved as haphazardly, and with as little concern for the differences of the underlying theories, as do the modern commentators.

⁸⁶ M. Smith, *Palestinian Parties and Politics* (New York, 1971), 89.

⁸⁷ A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1923), 204-48.

⁸⁸ In biblical usage, '*elah shemayya*', e.g. Ezra 5:11, 12; 6:10; 7:12, 21, 23 bis; etc.

⁸⁹ Porphyry, *Abst.* 2.26. The two participles presumably have the same object. Theophrastus' use of *theoklytountes* expresses his notion of what the Jews thought they were doing. Dr. M. Lichtenstein suggests that the temple roof served as an observatory.

story about an Idumean who robbed the Jerusalem temple by persuading the Jews that he would produce there an epiphany of Apollo. He then made a wooden frame which he could wear, "and in this he put three rows of lamps, and so [when he put it on and] walked about, it seemed to those at a distance as if stars were moving on the earth. The Jews, therefore, amazed by the marvelous sight, kept well away" and the Idumean got off with their famous golden donkey's head. As Josephus tells the story it is an incredible jumble of absurdities,⁹⁰ which is just what he wished it to seem. How far he distorted it to produce this effect, there is no telling. It shows that by the second century BC gentiles were telling stories of (pretended) epiphanies of Apollo (as an astral god) in the Jerusalem temple, but even so it would hardly be worth reporting were it not that in the Jewish catacomb of Beth Shearim (2nd cent. AD) there is carved a standing figure wearing a *Menorah*—in effect, a row of lights—on its head and a similar figure in the Coptic magical papyri is identified as "Davitheia Eleleth" (David + goddess + 'el + Lilith?) who lies on the tree of life (the lotus of Harpocrates) and rules over the archangels.⁹¹

I have discussed in a previous article the *Menorah* as a symbol of god and of sun⁹²—the Sadducees mockingly called it 'the globe of the sun.'⁹³ On Hanukkah as a solar festival much has been written. The root meaning is obvious: the lighting of an additional light each day after the winter solstice should represent liturgically and assist magically the sun's recovery. How the rite gained acceptance in Judaism and came to be connected with the historical celebration are questions unanswerable for lack of information. That some Jews thought of the sun as the (or, a ?) god of the Jerusalem temple is suggested by the story in the Christian *Paraleipomena Hieremiou* 4. 3:⁹⁴ (When the Babylonians were let into the city) "Jeremiah, taking

⁹⁰ The Idumean promises to deliver his god, Apollo, to the Jews, by making Apollo visit the temple *if they all depart*. But if they must depart when the god comes, he is not delivered to them, but their temple to him. The story as told by Mnaseas may have had behind it some notion like the Roman one of *evocatio*. It belongs to the class of stories in which crimes are committed by men who pass themselves off as deities. A few such stories were true, e.g. Josephus, *Ant.* 18.66ff.; Tacitus *Ann.* 2.85; a modern parallel in Naples, *Il Tempo* (12 July 1968). As to the facts, if any, behind Mnaseas' story, speculation is useless.

⁹¹ A. Kropp, *Ausgewählte Koptische Zaubertexte* II (Brussels, 1930-1931), no. 32, and III, Pl. VIII. Here the *Menorah* has been Christianized as a cross with two unattached lights. Cp. B. Mazar, *Beth She'arim ... 1936-1940* (Jerusalem, 1957), pl. 29, figs. 3 and 5 (Hebrew). Cp. also the interpretation of the *hemhem* crown of Bes as a row of lights, *PGM* II, pl. 1, fig. 6.

⁹² "The Image of God," chapter ten above. Further material in L. Yarden, *The Tree of Light* (London, 1971).

⁹³ Jerusalem Talmud, *Hagigah* 3. 8 (79d).

⁹⁴ This text is also known as *The Rest of the Words of Baruch*. Verse divisions differ in different editions; for some the reference should be 4.4.

the keys of the temple, went out of the city and threw them at the sun, saying, 'I tell you, sun, to take the keys of the temple of God and keep them until the Lord shall ask you about them.'" When the rabbis told the story⁹⁵ they eliminated the sun and addressed the speech to the 'Master of the World' but one version still reported that a hand of fire came down and took the keys. Sun rays ending in hands of fire had appeared already in the time of Amenhotep III.⁹⁶ On the other hand the Jewish version had no need to specify (as did the Christian) that the temple was 'of God' nor to tell the recipient to keep the keys until 'the Lord' would call him to account. The keys were given direct to the owner of the temple, as they should have been. In the Christian version the reference to 'God' and 'until the Lord shall ask you about them' are secondary additions to avoid making the fiery sun god the owner of the temple. Since neither Christian nor Jewish orthodoxy would [209] have made the Sun the recipient of the keys to Yahweh's temple, the report of the return of the keys to the Sun must be the primary element, which orthodox Christians and orthodox Jews diversely distorted.

It should not be supposed from this that the first form of the *Paraleipomena* was an Essene tractate. From the first century on we have plentiful evidence for the worship of angels by Jews of all sorts (including Christians). Jesus himself was thought by many Christians to be an angel,⁹⁷ and Christian worship of the sun, identified with Christ, is well attested as late as the mid-fifth century.⁹⁸ Jewish worship of angels is referred to by many Christian writers from Paul on (Col 2:18).⁹⁹ While the Christian witnesses are often discredited as being Church Fathers, this argument, though plausible, is not sufficient. Even propagandists often tell the truth when it serves their purposes; many believe that truthfulness will increase their credibility. In this case, there is Jewish evidence to support the Fathers' charges. We have already seen that saying a blessing on (= praying to?) the sun was

⁹⁵ *Wayyiqra' Rabbah* (ed. M. Margulies) 19.6; the retelling in the Jerusalem Talmud, *Sheqalim* 6, 3 (50a), got rid of the last trace of the sun by omitting 'of fire.'

⁹⁶ W. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1958), pl. 128; they are frequent in the reliefs of Amenhotep IV, e.g. pl. 116a.

⁹⁷ The evidence has been collected by J. Barbel, *Christos Angelos* (Theophaneia 3) (Bonn, 1941).

⁹⁸ Leo the Great, *Sermo 27 (al. 26) In Nativitate Domini 7*, 4 (Migne, *PL* 54, 218f.)—at sunrise, as the Essenes, and on the steps of the church of St. Peter, with their backs to the church, as Ezekiel's contemporaries. This is the point of departure for F. Dölger, *Sol Salutis* (Literaturges. Forsch., 4/5) (2 ed., Münster in W., 1945), the classical, but not complete, study of the reflections of the sun cult in Christianity.

⁹⁹ Many passages are collected by W. Lueken, *Der Erzengel Michael* (Marburg, 1898); for the roots of the cult in apocrypha and pseudepigrapha see Bousset (supra, n. 35), 330-31; for a recent discussion, M. Simon, 'Remarques sur l'angélolâtrie Juive,' *CRAI* (1971), 120-34.

condemned as heterodox (above, n. 45) and that images of the sun stood first in the list of those prohibited (above, p. 203). The sun also heads a list of beings and objects to whom sacrifices are prohibited,¹⁰⁰ and another list of beings commonly worshipped whom Yahweh does not destroy because of their importance to the world (Mishnah, Avodah Zarah 4.7). The most influential rabbinic exegesis of Deut 13:7-8 ("If your brother entice you ... saying, 'Let us go and serve other gods ... from the gods of the surrounding peoples, those near you or those far off, from one end of the earth to the other.'") stretched the last words to mean "Sun and Moon, which go from end to end of the world."¹⁰¹ Evidently the interpreters wanted an excuse to prohibit a practice they thought important. When (c. AD 130) a Jewish child dedicated an ax 'to the heavens' the rabbis of Jamnia immediately feared he had dedicated it to the sun, moon, stars, and planets (Tosefta Niddah 5.16 [646]). All such material shows by implication what Jews less meticulous than the rabbis were doing. Evidently sun worship was one of the pagan cults most popular in Palestinian Judaism. Even the ministering angels indulged in it daily. Rabbi Meir (fl. c. 150) is said to have said, "When the Sun rises, then all the angels of west and east lay their crowns on the ground and prostrate themselves to the Sun. Immediately the Holy One, blessed be He, is furious."¹⁰² We have no explicit evidence that some rabbis imitated the angels, but some seem to have thought that the biblical description of Yahweh as 'fire' (Deut 4:24; Dan 7:9) was literally true—from this supposed fact they argued that it is impossible to go up to the heavens and join oneself to Him, therefore Deut 11:22 ('To go in all His ways and to cling to Him') must be fulfilled by studying the law and clinging to the rabbis (Sifre on Deut sec. 49).

This is polemic against magical practices, then increasingly popular, which promised to enable their practitioners actually to ascend into the heavens and enter the sun (*PGM IV*, 475-829, the 'Mithras Liturgy') or seat themselves in Yahweh's throne (the *Hekhaloth* tracts),¹⁰³ and return to earth as supernatural beings by adhesion to whom others could be saved. But the rabbis, too, were able to practice

¹⁰⁰ Tosefta Hullin 2.18. In the *gemara* of the Babylonian Talmud (Avodah Zarah 42b, Hullin 40a) this list has been combined with another, so that the sun no longer has first place.

¹⁰¹ Sifre on Deut. (ed. Finkelstein), sec. 88.

¹⁰² E. Melamed, *Halachic Midrashim of the Tannaim* (Jerusalem, 1943), 501, no. 186 end, cited from the Babylonian Talmud, Berakot 7a; 'Avodah Zarah 4a end; Sanhedrin 105b. 'On the ground' is the reading of the Paris manuscript, cp. Rev. 4:10.

¹⁰³ The beginnings of these are found in Qumran, see Scholem (supra, n. 4). For the movement as a whole, and the connexion of its Jewish, Christian, and pagan forms, see M. Smith, "Observations on Hekhalot Rabbati," in *Biblical and Other Studies* (ed. A. Altmann) (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 142-60; *Clement of Alexandria* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), 237-43; I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden, 1980).

magic, and Jews in general (including Christians) were famous for it.¹⁰⁴ Much magic involved prayers to supernatural beings, often to the Sun who was one of the most important gods in magic. A complete magical book, the *Sefer Harazim* (*Book of Secrets*)¹⁰⁵ recently recovered from fragments in the *genizah* of the old synagogue of Cairo, is particularly important because it was not only tolerated but widely influential in orthodox Jewish circles, and it shows clearly that belief in and (*de facto*) worship of a whole heavenly host of angels is compatible with lyrical celebration of Yahweh as the sole, supreme god, who “alone sits in his holy dwelling [in the seventh heaven] ... judging faithfully and speaking justly ... The gods [*elim*] tremble when he sneezes, the pillars [of the world] shake when he roars ... He sits on a throne of light ... and the beasts and the wheels¹⁰⁶ lift him up; they fly with their wings, ... and do not lift up their faces, because of their fear and their [210] terror. Companies upon companies [of angels] stand before him, and immerse themselves in pure rivers, and clothe themselves in garments of white fire, and answer humbly, with a mighty voice, ‘Holy, holy, holy is Yahweh Sabaoth, all the earth is full of his glory,’ ... For there is no god [*el*] beside him, and except for him there is no god [*elohim*] ... Blessed be his name alone ... Blessed be Yahweh forever. Amen. Amen. Hallelujah.”¹⁰⁷

This is particularly impressive because it concludes a text that can best be described as *Who’s Who in the Heavens*. This text lists the names of the angels of each heaven,¹⁰⁸ from the first to the sixth, tells the position and function of each class, the times when they can be called on, and the prayers, sacrifices, and other rituals necessary to make them perform their proper services, to cure, cause sickness, blind, prophesy, secure favor, cause enmity, call up the dead, catch runaway slaves, etc., etc. Particularly important for our purposes is the fourth heaven in which is the bridechamber of the sun, “all of fire, and angels of fire ... surround him and go before him in the day, and angels of water ... at night.” After listing their names the text goes on: “If you wish to see the sun by day, sitting in his chariot and ascending.” Appropriate directions and conjurations follow; when seen he will, if asked properly, reveal the magician’s fate. Next, “And if you wish to

¹⁰⁴ For rabbinic references to rabbinic magic the classic work is L. Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen* (Budapest, 1898). J. Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia IV* and *V* (Leiden 1969, 1970), gives a good account of its social functions and background, not discussed by Blau. On the Christians’ reputation see M. Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (San Francisco, 1978), 50-64.

¹⁰⁵ Ed. M. Margalioth (Jerusalem, 1966).

¹⁰⁶ Of the chariot throne, cf. Ezekiel 1:5-28.

¹⁰⁷ *Sefer Harazim* 7, 6-40. Significantly, this conclusion is again a section of the morning prayers of which we have seen the connexions with the sun.

¹⁰⁸ It is thus clearly related to the *Enoch* fragment singled out above, p. 207.

see the sun at night, going in the northern region"—similar procedures are to be followed. When seen at night he will not only reveal fates, but do other favors. Therefore, "After you see him, prostrate yourself and fall on your face to the earth, and pray this prayer." The prayer is in Greek, though written in Hebrew letters: "Holy, eastern Helios, good sailor, highest governor, most exalted (*hypsistos*), who of old regulate the heavenly wheel, holy umpire, controller of the poles, lord, glorious guide, master (*tyrannos*), soldier"¹⁰⁹—from here the prayer goes on in Hebrew to request the favors desired.

In *Sefer Harazim* Helios is separated from Yahweh by two heavens and a yet greater theological gulf. Nevertheless, they still have important traits in common. Both are gods of fire, the most conspicuous attribute of each is light, both have the gift of prophecy, and both are seated in chariots. The chariots of both were matters of much interest to their worshippers—that of Yahweh became the center of the magical and mystical techniques for ascent into the heavens, that of Helios became the center of fanciful literary accounts, especially of sunrise, which probably had devotional and perhaps also magical importance. One such account appears in 2 Enoch 11-15 (which places the sun in the fourth heaven, as does *Sefer Harazim*), another in the *Greek Apocalypse of Baruch* 6-8.¹¹⁰ These have their counterpart in the Palestinian synagogue mosaics of late Roman times—the most famous are those of Beth Alpha, Hamath-Tiberias, and Na'aran—which show Helios and his chariot often flanked or wholly surrounded by seasons, as the central subject of the synagogue floor.¹¹¹ These, when first discovered, presented somewhat the same problem as Josephus' report of the Essenes' morning prayer, and were received with the same range of attitudes, from over-interpretation to incredulous denial. From the evidence already presented I think they can be seen as typical pieces, showing the (partly mythological) interest in the sun as a great angel, important for the liturgy (especially morning prayers) as well as for his artistic value and practical (magical) utility. (He was especially solicited for dream oracles, and other divinatory services.) By the date of these mosaics—the fourth century AD and later—invocation of angels had evidently been distinguished, at least by the orthodox, from worship of gods, and the theological problems that in Josephus' time would have been raised by

¹⁰⁹ This translation is based on a reconstruction of the Greek somewhat different from that proposed by Margaliot on p. 12.

¹¹⁰ The relation of these was well studied by M. James, who published the latter in his *Apocrypha Anecdota, Second Series* (Cambridge, 1897), lxiii-lxvi (study) and 84-94 (text).

¹¹¹ See H. Shanks, *Judaism in Stone* (Washington, 1979), with photographs and drawings of these mosaics on pp. 16, 112-14, 125, 127, 129, 130, 149, and L. Levine, ed., *Ancient Synagogues Revealed*, Jerusalem, 1981.

such representations of the sun were presumably avoided by this distinction. The less orthodox majority probably dealt with them then as now—by mere disobedience.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

THE GENTILES IN JUDAISM 125 BCE—66 CE

“JEWS” AND “GENTILES”: TERMINOLOGY

By Hasmonean times the people of Palestine had survived and been increased by two thousand years of invasions.¹ The Israelite invasion had been only one in a long series. The series had produced a stock of untraceable complexity, diversified by many small groups with recognizable local characteristics. Such groups were more conspicuous than the population's general uniformity, hence classical Hebrew had no word equivalent to our “Palestinian”; *Pelishtim* means “Philistines,” another peculiar group of invaders. “Canaanite” was sometimes pressed into service for the whole non-Israelite population, but properly speaking the Canaanites were only one of the many little peoples whom the Israelites had found living in the land. According to the stories of the Israelite invasion they had shared possession with Perizzites, Hivites, Amorites, Jebusites, etc.²

Such peoples the Israelites called “the *goyyim*.” *Goy* (the singular) refers to “an ethnic group considered as a political rather than a biological entity”³; it was therefore rendered by the King James translators as “nation.” In this sense it was occasionally used for “Israel” (the Israelites considered as a single group). More frequently, however, *goy* and *goyyim* were used of non-Israelite groups, often by antithesis to Israel, and pejoratively.⁴ Both singular and plural referred to “nations” only;⁵ the classical Hebrew terms for a single alien, qua alien, were *nokhri* and *zar*. There was no term whatever for an individual who worshiped gods other than Yahweh, much less for all such persons.⁶ It was taken for granted that other nations worshiped

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¹ R. de Vaux, “Palestine in the Early Bronze Age,” *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 3 ed., Cambridge, 1971, I.2.235ff.

² Gen 13:7; Exod 23:28; 33:2; 34:11; Num 13:29; etc.

³ I owe this definition to Prof. H. L. Ginsberg.

⁴ Used of Israel: Gen 12:2; Exod 19:6; 33:13; Deut 4:6; etc. Used of non-Israelite groups: Exod 34:24; Num 24:8; Deut. 9:4f.; 19:1; etc.

⁵ The possible use of *goy* to refer to a single individual, in Gen 20:4, is a textual corruption, produced by dittography from the following *gam*; this comment also is due to Prof. Ginsberg.

⁶ “The uncircumcised” (1 Sam 31:4; 2 Sam 1:20; etc.) refers to a difference of practice, not of belief, and would not serve to describe the peoples to the south and east of the Israelites who, although they worshiped other gods, were circumcised.

their own gods⁷ (though individuals among them might also worship Yahweh),⁸ but until the end of the monarchy the Israelites thought of aliens primarily as strangers and as members of other nations, not as worshipers of other gods; there was no term for, nor concept of, “the heathen” as such. Conversely, there is no indication that other peoples, before the Babylonian exile, saw any great peculiarity in Israelite worship. They are sometimes represented as acknowledging the peculiar power of Yahweh,⁹ but almost never as thinking the Israelites religiously peculiar.¹⁰

When, after the Assyrian conquest, “Judean” gradually came to replace “Israelite,” because it designated the people’s most important survivors, and when, in the Babylonian and Persian periods, the term “Judean” added to its former tribal and territorial meanings, the new religious one of “Jew,” the meaning of *goyyim* also changed accordingly—it came to refer not only to nations, but also to groups of non-Jews, “gentiles,”¹¹ conceived as pluralities of individuals. The change was slow and obscure. Many later biblical passages are ambiguous, especially because the earlier meanings were not lost but lived on alongside the new one. Finally, by the Roman period, the singular *goy* came to mean an individual non-Jew, a sense it probably had for the author of Matt 18:17, where it is reflected by the Greek *ethnikos*. By parallel developments, the terms for “alien,” *nokhri* and *zar*, now came to mean also “non-Jewish” or “a non-Jew.” Moreover, this development of generic terms for non-Jews was paralleled by an increasing realization among other peoples that Jews were religiously a peculiar group. In gentile usage the term *Ioudaios* acquired specific religious connotations unlike, and more important than, those of ordinary ethnic adjectives (*Syros*, *Nabataios*, *Phoinix*, etc.)

CONQUESTS, “CONVERSIONS,” AND CONSEQUENCES, TO 76 BCE

These changes accompanied and were partially caused by the great extension of the Judeans’ contacts with the peoples around them. [Many historians have] chronicled the Hasmoneans’ territorial

⁷ Judges 11:24; Deut 4:19; etc.

⁸ 2 Kings 5:17ff.; etc.

⁹ 1 Sam 4:8; 5:7,10; 6:5f. (with Deuteronomic expansion); etc.

¹⁰ The peculiarity of Israel as a people because of its worship of Yahweh was a favorite theme of the later Deuteronomic school (exilic) and their postexilic imitators: Deut 4:7,34; 33:29; Exod 33:16; 34:10; 2 Sam 7:23; 1 Kings 8:53; Ps 147:20—all these are represented as utterances of Yahweh, Israelites, or the authors. So far as I know the only OT occurrence of the theme in the mouth of a gentile is in Baalam’s prophecies (Num 23:9-23) which were certainly inspired, if not by Yahweh, at least by Israelite propaganda.

¹¹ “Gentile” results from the early Christian attempt to translate the Bible literally: *Goy* (“nation”) = Greek *ethnos* = Latin *gens*, whence the adjective, *gentilis/es*, commonly used as a noun. The equivalences were not perfect—in translating, they almost never are—but the translators seem to have thought them the best to be had.

acquisitions. In sum, it took them twenty-five years (167-141 BCE) to win control of the tiny territory of Judea¹² and get rid of the Seleucid colony of royalist Jews (with, presumably, gentile officials and garrison) in Jerusalem. That this colony—"the citadel," as our pro-Hasmonean sources call it—was able to hold out so long, implies that it had friends in the countryside who provided food and materials. However, in the last years before its fall, the Hasmoneans were already strong enough to acquire, partly by negotiation, partly by conquest, a little territory north and south of Judea and a corridor on the west to the coast at Jaffa/Joppa. This was briefly taken from them by Antiochus Sidetes, but soon regained, and in the half century from Sidetes' death in 129 to Alexander Janneus' death in 76 they overran most of Palestine and much of western and northern Transjordan. First John Hyrcanus took over the hills of southern and central Palestine (Idumea and the territories of Shechem, Samaria, and Scythopolis) in 128-104; then his son, Aristobulus I, took Galilee in 104-3, and Aristobulus' brother and successor, Janneus, in about eighteen years of warfare (103-96, 86-76) conquered and reconquered the coastal plain, the northern Negev, and western edge of Transjordan.

All these conquests, and the ninety years of intermittent warfare by which they were achieved, profoundly changed the relations of Jews and Gentiles.

First, they increased their hostility. Those Jews who supported the Hasmoneans emerged as the greatest threat to their neighbors' peace, property, and lives. Their many victims—first the hellenized Jews of Judea and those associated with the Seleucid government, then the former populations of the pagan cities—fled to the surrounding territories and filled them with accounts of Jewish aggression and of the atrocities incident to conquests.¹³ Understandably, Janneus had to go for his mercenaries to Asia Minor, "for he did not accept 'Syrian'" (the term includes Palestinian) "mercenaries because of their deep-rooted hostility to 'the people'" (i.e., the Jews) (*War* 1.88; *Ant.* 13.374). It can reasonably be supposed that there had always been some trouble between the Judeans and their neighbors—the little cities and peoples of the ancient Mediterranean were constantly bickering—but it cannot reasonably be doubted that the Hasmonean conquests

¹² I shall argue elsewhere that the stories of Judas' conquests in Transjordan are fictitious. Anyhow they had no reported consequences and the territories had to be conquered again by Janneus. In *Ant.* 13.125 the words "and Galilee" are probably a gloss; Galilee is not mentioned in the following royal letter.

¹³ Official complaints to Seleucid and Egyptian authorities are often reported (1 Macc 6:22-7; 7:6; 10:61; 11:4f.; 11:21; etc.; *Ant.* 13.328, 334). The private complaints may reasonably be inferred.

greatly exacerbated the relations, made the Hasmoneans' supporters the most notorious body of Jews—"the Jews" *par excellence*—and thus did much to promote the wider hostility towards Jews in general that grew up in the ancient world.

Second, the conquests greatly increased the Judeans' acquaintance with gentiles and their culture, and this not only by contacts in fighting and seizure of property, but also by enslavement, employment of mercenaries, and conversions. Each of these requires comment.

As to contacts, even before the Hasmonean revolt the Judeans had considerable knowledge of gentiles and their culture. The hellenizing movement in Jerusalem that led to the revolt is proof of such knowledge, but even prior to it Judea had been deeply penetrated by elements of Greek culture; this is well known.¹⁴ However, many of the cities conquered under Hyrcanus and Janneus¹⁵ had been more hellenized than Jerusalem, and the conquests acquainted the Judeans not only with these, but also with the mass of gentile Palestinian peasants who still held, as did most Palestinian Jews, to old Semitic ways.

How many of the conquered gentiles were brought back to Judea as slaves, we do not know. 1 Maccabees and Josephus speak of some populations' being exterminated,¹⁶ some driven out,¹⁷ and some permitted to remain if they accepted Jewish practices.¹⁸ Those of Samaria, Gaza, Raphia, and Anthedon, are said to have been enslaved.¹⁹ The Biblical law on these matters reads as follows:

When you go to make war against a city you are to make (an offer of) peace to it. Then if it accepts peace and surrenders to you, you shall use all the people found in it as forced labor, and they shall be your slaves/serfs. But if it will not make peace with you, and makes war against you, you are to besiege it, and when Yahweh your god gives it to you, you are to kill by the sword every male in it. Only the women and the children and the animals and whatever (else) may be in the city ... you are to take as plunder.... Thus you shall do to all the cities that are very far off from you, which are not of the cities of these peoples (who live in the promised territory). However, from the cities of these peoples,

¹⁴ See M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, Philadelphia, 1974, 2 vols., (henceforth "Hengel, *Judaism*") with extensions and corrections in *Jews, Greeks, Barbarians*, Philadelphia, 1980, henceforth "Hengel, *Jews*."

¹⁵ Marisa, Adora, Samaria, and those of the decapolis and the coastal plain.

¹⁶ The *bene baean*, 1 Macc 5:5; the males of Bozrah, Alema, and Ephron (presumably the females were enslaved, 1 Macc 5:28, 35, 51); all in Carnaim (5:44); 8,000 in the temple of Dagon at Azotus (10:84; cf. 14:34); according to *Antiquities*, most of the males in Gaza, who themselves killed their wives and children to prevent their being enslaved, *Ant.* 13.362-4; cp. *War* 1.87f.

¹⁷ The populations of Beth Zur, 1 Macc 11:65f.; Gazara, 13:43; the citadel of Jerusalem, 13:50; Joppa (? 14:34).

¹⁸ The Idumeans, *Ant.* 13.257; the Itureans (?) *Ant.* 13.318 (see below).

¹⁹ *War* 1.65, 87f.

(the cities) which Yahweh your god is giving you as a possession, you shall not let any human being survive. For you shall completely exterminate the Hittites and the Amorites, the Canaanites and the Perizzites, the Hivites and the Jebusites, as Yahweh your god has commanded you.²⁰

However, the Hasmoneans could interpret the Law to suit themselves and slaves were worth more than corpses, so enslavement, even of the resistant and of people from the territory biblically assigned to Israel, is indicated not only by Josephus' reports, but also by the fact that the Romans were later able to restore many of the gentile towns to (the descendants of) their former inhabitants (*Ant.* 14.75f.; cf. 88). (Such restorations of enslaved populations were familiar in antiquity.²¹) Accordingly enslavement, being usual, should usually be supposed when nothing else is specified.

Much has been written about the hellenized slaves of Campania as educators of the Romans;²² slaves from the hellenized cities of the coast and the *decapolis* will have played the same role for the tough hill people of Judea. Conversely, a considerable number of Judeans must have been captured and enslaved during the frequent Seleucid, Ptolemaic, and Nabatean^a invasions of Palestine. As slaves they will have learned gentile ways, and some will have been ransomed and have brought home their learning.

The conquests increased both the wealth of the Hasmoneans²³ and their need for manpower. Therefore they used some of the wealth to pay mercenaries, employed first by Hyrcanus²⁴ and continually thereafter. As to the number and nature of Hyrcanus' mercenaries, nothing is said, but the customary Greek term used for their employment (*xenotrophein*) implies that they were alien, and they seem to have stood by Hyrcanus against Jewish opponents when he had to put down a Jewish revolt.²⁵

²⁰ Deut 20:10-17. The Hebrew expression refers to both, or either, slaves and/or serfs; presumably both were intended, in effect, though the difference of ancient and modern societies is such that our terms are not precise equivalents. The Bible in this instance declares genocide a religious duty, in Jewish terms, "a positive commandment."

²¹ Most famous was the restoration to Thebes of the descendants of those whom Alexander had enslaved, cf. Diodorus 19.54; Pausanias 9.7.1. Aristaeas 12-27 made Ptolemy II liberate the descendants of the Jews enslaved by Ptolemy I.

²² E.g., in a standard text book, M. Carey and H. Scullard, *A History of Rome*, 3 ed., N.Y., 1975, p. 192.

^a [In his revision of the manuscript Smith changed "Nabatean" to "Idumean."]

²³ Even a Seleucid courtier admired Simon's gold and silver plate, 1 Macc 15:32. On Hyrcanus' wealth, *Ant.* 13.249, 273; *War* 1.61. It began with his opening a tomb so rich that he was able to hire mercenaries who made possible the conquests which increased the wealth, and so on.

²⁴ *War* 1.61; *Ant.* 13.249.

²⁵ *War* 1.67; *Ant.* 13.299.

Mercenaries were normally aliens because their employers reckoned on domestic resistance.²⁶ Janneus' mercenaries are said to have been Cilicians and Pisidians.²⁷ Josephus' reports of their numbers vary from 6,200 to 9,000;²⁸ he conjectures that without their help Janneus could not have stayed in power.²⁹ Janneus' opponents, too, did not avoid gentiles. They called in the Seleucid, Demetrius III, who came with a large army.³⁰ He tried to win over Janneus' mercenaries, "since they were Greeks,"³¹ but they remained faithful, while 6,000 Jews went over to Janneus.³² This so disgusted Demetrius that he gave up the war. So the legend.

Such brief invasions, frequent throughout this period, touched many parts of the country and brought many Jews and gentiles into contact, but their cultural influence was probably less important than that of the permanent mercenary corps. This large body of muscular, male gentiles, employed by the High Priests, privileged, well paid, handsomely uniformed, and usually stationed in Jerusalem, doubtless did much to acquaint young Jews and Jewesses with the uncircumcised.³³ Whether the mercenaries were at this time concentrated in one or more barracks, or individually billeted in houses of the citizens, we are not told. No barracks are mentioned.

²⁶ Josephus' report that Hyrcanus introduced mercenaries follows almost immediately his report of the refusal to accept a Seleucid garrison in Jerusalem "because (the Jews' principle of) keeping themselves apart did not permit them to associate with aliens," *Ant.* 13.247, cp. 249. Mercenaries hired by rulers of small states were commonly stationed in the capital, and Hyrcanus' subsequent success in putting down his Jewish opponents suggests that his mercenaries were at hand in Jerusalem. However, as High Priest, he could interpret the law to suit the occasion. The need often to do so may have decided him to leave the tradition-bound Pharisees and go over to the Sadducees who reportedly held that nothing was binding save the letter of the text.

²⁷ *War* 1.88; *Ant.* 13.374.

²⁸ *War* 1.93 vs. *Ant.* 13.377; cf. 337. Their numbers also varied from time to time.

²⁹ *War* 1.88.

³⁰ How large, is uncertain. Josephus' figures (17,000 in *War* 1.93; 43,000 in *Ant.* 13.377 !) include his Jewish allies. That Pharisees, let alone members of the Qumran sect, should have called in unclean gentiles for help, seems unlikely. Josephus reported without comment in *War*, but later, in *Ant.*, was scandalized, not by the introduction of uncleanness, but by the resort to gentiles against a Jewish king, especially since it entailed the loss of territory that the Jews had recently conquered (13.381f.).

³¹ *Ant.* 13.378, a good example of the common near-eastern use of "Greeks" for all speakers of non-near-eastern languages, since communication with them had to be in Greek, the *lingua franca*. See P. Tebtunis #5, line 169 and the comment of the editors, p. 48; H. Windisch, "*Hellen*," *ThWB*, s.v., C.1.

³² *War* 1.95; *Ant.* 13.379.

³³ In the next century, when Jesus' opponents wanted to abuse him, they found ready to hand the charge that his father had been a Roman soldier, M. Smith, *Jesus the Magician*, Harper and Row, 1981, 26ff., 46ff., 58f. The accusation was doubtless a familiar one, often made because often justified.

Billeting was a common practice³⁴ and commonly resulted in close contacts with civilians.

UNITE AND CONQUER

The mercenaries, however, cannot wholly account for the large conquests of Hyrcanus, Aristobulus I, and Janneus—the corps was too small. Even the fighting men of Judea and of the territories acquired by Simon would hardly have sufficed.³⁵ And not only the size, but the speed of the conquests, requires explanation. Aristobulus I reigned “no more than (one) year,”³⁶ of which the first part was occupied by troubles attending his succession,³⁷ the last, by a long sickness.³⁸ Yet his reign saw the annexation of much of Galilee, a difficult country for military operations.³⁹

The speed of Hyrcanus’ and Aristobulus’ conquests might be explained by Josephus’ report that they permitted the conquered populations “to remain in the country if they would practice circumcision and consent to observe the laws of the Jews.”⁴⁰ Nothing of this sort had been done before, and nothing similar is reported later in Janneus’ reign. Janneus seems usually to have destroyed the cities he captured and to have enslaved their inhabitants.⁴¹ If so, both his

³⁴ M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*, Paris, 2 vols., 1949-50, pp. 690-700. For many further aspects of military penetration see M. Smith, *Palestinian Parties and Politics*, London, SCM, 1987, the chapter entitled “hellenization.”

³⁵ Josephus’ reports of the populousness of Jewish territories are often grossly exaggerated, as has been shown by A. Byatt’s attempt to defend them, “Josephus and Population Numbers,” *PEQ* 105 (1973) 51ff.; cp. S. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome*, Leiden, 1979, 202f. The soil of the Judean hills is poor, even by comparison with that of Samaria. Moreover, Josephus reports that the conquests began after a long internecine war, a foreign invasion, conquest of the country, and a siege of Jerusalem. These must have cut the population down a bit.

³⁶ *War* 1.84; *Ant.* 13.318 “a year.”

³⁷ He had to imprison three brothers and starve his mother to death; no doubt this took some time. *War* 1.71, 85; *Ant.* 13.302, 320.

³⁸ Perhaps long enough to put him out of touch with events; his enemies could persuade him his favorite brother was plotting to kill him. *War* 1.74-82; *Ant.* 13.303-18. (But was he?)

³⁹ That the country taken over must have been Galilee is generally recognized, e.g. Schürer-Vermes I.218.

⁴⁰ *Ant.* 13.257, paralleled in 318.

⁴¹ *War* 1.86-9 and 104; *Ant.* 13.356f., 364, 374, 382, 393, furnish the following list of gentile cities taken by Janneus and their fates (? = fate not reported): *Gadara* ?; *Amathous* (first time) ?; *Gaza*: *Ant.* 13.361-364 says it was surrendered to him but the inhabitants were slaughtered and the city destroyed, while *War* 1.87 says the inhabitants were enslaved; *Raphia* and *Anthedon*: *War* 1.87ff. enslaved, *Ant.* 13.357 ?; *Amathous*, (second time) destroyed; either *Pella* (*War* 1.104) or *Dion* (*Ant.* 13.393) or both, ?; *Heshbon*: *Ant.* ib. *Essa* ?, *War* ib. *Gerasa* (probably an error for *Essabon*) destroyed; *Gaulana*, *Seleucia*, *Antiochus’ Gulch*, ibb. *War* destroyed, *Ant.* ?; *Gamala* ?; Gileaditis and Moabitis, probably the villages, were made tributary (*War* 1.184; *Ant.* 13.374) and later traded off to the Nabateans (*Ant.* 13.382). *Ant.* 13.395-7 gives a list of “cities of the Syrians and *Idumaeans* (!) and Phoenicians” which “the Jews had at this time”—i.e., to judge from Josephus’ placement of the list, at the end of Janneus’ victories. It adds to

predecessors' peculiar treatment of the Idumeans and Itureans (and, probably, Galileans⁴²), and his failure to follow this successful example, require explanation.

This requirement has commonly been overlooked. The "accepted authorities"⁴³ have read Josephus as reporting that the Idumeans and Itureans were converted to Judaism by conquest,⁴⁴ and have paid little attention to the questions indicated above: How did the Hasmoneans get enough men to conquer, hold down, and impose circumcision on

the above *Strato's Tower*, *Apollonia*, *Azotus*, *Rhinokoroura*, Mt. Carmel (a fortress?), *Mt. Itabyrion* (a fortress and city), *Scythopolis*, *Madaba*, *Lemba*, *Oronaim*, *Aglain*, *Thona*, *Zoar*, The Cilicians' Hollow. (I omit places taken by earlier Hasmoneans.) The list is rounded off with the words, "and other leading cities of Syria which were destroyed," but the list contains many destroyed places, so this concluding remark cannot be taken as evidence against destruction, even of places of which the fate is otherwise unknown. Destruction or expropriation is presumable for those that later had to be rebuilt or restored to their original inhabitants; lists of these in *War* 1.155f. and *Ant.* 14.75f., and in *War* 1.166 and *Ant.* 14.88 include, of those listed above, *Azotus*, *Anthedon*, *Apollonia*, *Gadara* (?), *Scythopolis*, *Pella*, *Dion*, *Gaza*, and *Raphia*, and they add *Arethusa*, *Dor*, and *Hippos*. Syncellus' list of cities Janneus destroyed (ed. Dindorf. 1.558-9) includes, of those listed above, Heshbon, Pella, Dion, Gadara (and also Moabitis; instead of Gileaditis it has Ammonitis); and it has a number of items peculiar to itself: *Abila*, *Philoteria*, "the country places of the Macedonians," "Malleas of Samaria," and *Gabae*. Of the above those italicized were towns or military centers. Also *Gamala*, though not said to have been destroyed, appears from now on as a center of Jewish settlement (as do Amathous and Gaulana, which were said to have been destroyed). In all these reports of destructions, the only one indicating a concern for conversion is a note that interrupts the list in *Ant.* 13.395-7, of cities held by the Jews. It reads: "Pella—this they (the Jews) destroyed because the inhabitants would not undertake to go over to the ancestral customs of the Jews." The implication—that if they had gone over the city would not have been destroyed—seems hardly compatible with Janneus' policy as indicated in other cases, and the syntax, which attributes the destruction not to Janneus but to "the Jews," and finally the note's incoherence with its context, prevent any use of it as evidence that Janneus carried on his predecessors' policy.

⁴² Josephus' failure to report a conversion of the Galileans is puzzling. My guess is that he expected his readers to understand it as a consequence of the conversion of their rulers, the Itureans. *Cuius regio, eius religio*.

⁴³ E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, 3-4 ed., Leipzig, 1901-9, 3 vols. (henceforth "Schürer"), I.264, 275, the same view repeated in the new edition, edd. F. Millar and G. Vermes, Edinburgh, 1973-87 (henceforth, Schürer-Vermes), I.207, 217; H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, 5 ed., Leipzig, 1905-8, 11 vols (henceforth "Graetz") III.1.72, 119; J. Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 8 ed., Berlin, 1921 (henceforth "Wellhausen, *Geschichte*"), 261, 263; E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, Stuttgart, 1921, 3 vols (henceforth "Meyer, *Ursprung*"), II.273, 277; G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, Cambridge, Mass., 1927-30, 3 vols. (henceforth "Moore, *Judaism*"), I.56, 336, "forcible and skin-deep conversions"; F. Abel, *Histoire de la Palestine*, Paris, 1952, 2 vols. (henceforth "Abel, *Histoire*"), I.211, 216, 225; M. Noth, *Geschichte Israels*, 4 ed., Göttingen, 1959 (henceforth "Noth") 346f. W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums*, 3 ed., Tübingen, 1926 (*HNT* 21; henceforth "Bousset, *Religion*") and S. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 2 ed., New York, 1952ff (henceforth "Baron, *History*") say little about the Hasmonean conquests.

⁴⁴ *Ant.* 13.257f., 318f. *War* speaks only of conquest of Idumean territory and never mentions the Itureans.

territories more than three times the size of their own? Why were the conquests of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus so rapid? Why did the compulsory converts not relapse as soon as the power of the Hasmoneans was broken by Rome, i.e., within 65 years of the “conversion” of Idumea and 40 of the “conversion” of Galilee?

These problems were recognized by Uriel Rappaport in his doctoral dissertation.⁴⁵ He tried to answer them by supposing the conversions were the results of Jewish religious propaganda which had so far won over these populations that they welcomed conversion.⁴⁶ However, for the prior success of the Jewish propaganda the only data that might be thought substantial evidence are the reports of Jewish settlements in Jaffa and Jamnia (2 Macc 12:3ff., 8), Beth Shan (ib. 30f.), and Galilee and northern Transjordan (1 Macc 5:9-54; 2 Macc 12:10-31).⁴⁷ Nothing indicates that these were settlements of missionaries or converts; they may have been merely emigrés from Judea—there had been many reasons to emigrate. If missionaries, they would seem to have made more enemies than converts; the feelings of their new neighbors were such that the Jaffa settlement was destroyed, Jamnia threatened, those in Galilee and Transjordan had to be saved by evacuation. Incidentally, the neighbors’ hostility does not prove the settlers’ missionary zeal; perhaps the neighbors merely wanted to loot. Finally, Rappaport supposes that the missionary message was that of the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha of this period and the contemporary Jewish writers of bogus Greek literature.⁴⁸ But the abysmal intellectual level of most of these works practically proves that their authors were preaching to believers. Moreover, the cost of books in antiquity, and the relative rarity of literacy, make it unlikely that books did much for the conversion of the average man. The missionary theory fails.

Rappaport did better when he built on the observations of Rostovtzeff and Tcherikover concerning the general hostility of the Semitic country people to the hellenized city folk.⁴⁹ He conjectured that the persecutions of Jews all over Palestine, said to have followed closely the first Maccabean successes (and hitherto not well explained⁵⁰), were caused by the fear of the hellenized ruling class,

⁴⁵ *Jewish Religious Propaganda and Proselytism in the Period of the Second Commonwealth*, Jerusalem, The Hebrew University, 1965 (in Hebrew); henceforth *JRP*.

⁴⁶ *JRP* 81f.

⁴⁷ Cf. *JRP* 66.

⁴⁸ *JRP* 86-98, 105-149.

⁴⁹ *JRP* 68, 72ff. and references there.

⁵⁰ Unsatisfactory explanations: Wellhausen, *Geschichte*, 246f., “the old hatred of the Jews” (in northern Transjordan, almost 500 years after the Assyrian deportations—why?); Meyer, *Ursprung*, 224, they now saw clearly their danger from the Jews (this was clear to them in N. Transjordan on account of some Jewish successes in Judea?); Schürer, 211, no explanation; Schürer-Vermes, 164, no explanation; Noth, *Geschichte*, 333, Antiochus IV had forbidden all practice of Judaism, so the officers of all Seleucid

which saw in Judea the beginning of a revolt of the Semitic natives. This makes sense in the main, though it does not fit all details.⁵¹ Additional motives must be reckoned with, especially avarice, which led to looting as soon as men thought that offences against the Jews would not be punished by the government.

Further, Rappaport conjectured that after the Hasmoneans had driven out the Seleucid government and the hellenizing high priests of Jerusalem, and had conquered the hellenized coastal cities of Jamnia and Joppa, they would be seen as the leaders of the most successful example of rural Semitic resistance to urban rule and to Greek ways. Hyrcanus and Aristobulus I could therefore represent themselves as allies and protectors of the country people throughout the rest of the Palestinian hills. This Rappaport believes they did,⁵² and hence following Baron, he explains the rapidity of the "conversions."

He also observes that these hill peoples, the Idumeans, Shechemites, and Itureans, all practiced circumcision,⁵³ and that his will have facilitated their conversion to Judaism. No doubt it did in the long run, but there seems little likelihood that they were immediately converted. We have already seen that Josephus' reports of the

territories had to destroy all Jews (an unlikely conjecture supported by no other evidence—what happened in Antioch and why didn't we hear of it?); J. Dancy, *A Commentary on I Maccabees*, Oxford, 1954, 102f., Judas' cleansing of the temple put Jews outside Judea in the position of "owing allegiance to a foreign power," hence, "the attitude of the Gentiles becomes understandable" (because everybody in the Seleucid empire knew that all foreign subjects ought to be exterminated); also the local Seleucid commanders had to repress Judas' outbreaks (in Galilee and Transjordan, since he was outbreaking in Judea); J. Bartlett, *The First and Second Books of the Maccabees*, Cambridge, 1973, 67, "They do not seem to have been popular" (not really our set, if you know what I mean; therefore they ought to be massacred); J. Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, New York, 1976, 293, the gentiles knew the Old Testament promises that the Jews would possess all the Holy Land; they feared fulfillment and saw Judas "as a second Joshua" (this was what came of their going to Sabbath School.)

⁵¹ Not all the Hasmoneans' opponents were Hellenistic; Rappaport's attempts to make them so, *JRP* 68ff., are sometimes absurd. (Dagon and Ashtoreth become Hellenistic deities! *JRP* 68ff.) In general his use of "Hellenistic" is naive; cp. E. Bickerman and M. Smith, *The Ancient History of Western Civilization*, N.Y., 1976, 142ff.

⁵² *JRP* 75, citing n. 4 of p. 246 of the Hebrew translation of Baron, *History*. This observation led him to see all the Hasmoneans' fights with their neighbors as parts of one great project to drive out Hellenism and purge the Holy Land of idolatry. Hence he attempts to conceal the Hellenistic elements on the Hasmonean side (alliance with Rome, gentile mercenaries, etc.) and the important Semitic elements that survived in the culture of what he calls the "Greek" cities (see previous note).

⁵³ *JRP* 80, citing Jer 9:24f.; Ezek 32:29. For Itureans he might have cited many authors who speak of the Arabs as circumcised and probably include the Itureans among them, e.g. *Ant.* 1.214, cf. Gen 17:23. (For the Arabs, *Ant.* 16.225, but *engraphenai tois ton Ioudaion ethesin* may refer to other things as well.) Evidence for the practice of circumcision by the Itureans is probably to be found in the fact that Josephus expresses no regret at the marriage of Ptolemy Menneus with Alexandra, daughter of Aristobulus II.

“conquests” which precipitated the conversions were problematic; we must now consider his reports of the “conversions” themselves.

War 1.63 is brief: Hyrcanus “captures Shechem and Hargarizim, near which are the people of the Chutheoi who dwell around the temple modeled on that in Jerusalem. And he also captures not a few (towns) of Idumea, and (particularly) Adora and Marisa.” Nothing is said of circumcision of the Idumeans and there is no mention of the Itureans. We are not told how the “Chutheoi”—the Canaanite-Israelite-Mesopotamian natives of the Samaritan territory—were treated. Both silence and historical probability suggest that they were already circumcised and mostly worshipers of Yahweh (with or without other gods) and observant, in their own ways, of the laws of the Pentateuch; they had accepted it.⁵⁴ Therefore they would all have been classed as *Ioudaioi*,⁵⁵ ordered to make their pilgrimages to Jerusalem, and enlisted to strengthen the Hasmonean troops—a function they probably performed willingly when Hyrcanus later destroyed their great enemy, Macedonian Samaria, and then turned them loose to loot the territory of Scythopolis. However, Shechem was destroyed about this time.⁵⁶ It may have been a center of local resistance, or a center of hellenization, like Marisa, resented by the country people (as the reports in *Ant.* 12.257-64 and 2 Macc 6:2 suggest that it was).

Ant. 13.255-8 tells, in almost the same words as *War*, of Hyrcanus’ capture of Shechem and Garizim “and” the Chutheoi, adding a bit about the origin of their temple and its destruction (which may have come sometime after the takeover of the territory). Josephus then continues: “And of Idumea Hyrcanus takes the cities Adora and Marisa. And having subjected all the Idumeans, he permitted them to remain in the land if they would be circumcised and consent to use the laws of the Jews. And they, from desire of their ancestral land, undertook to make the circumcision and the other way of life the same as the Jews. And that time was a beginning for them so as to be Jews for the rest.” I have translated literally to show the ambiguities of the passage. It can be read in two ways: (1) “To make their circumcision” (which they already practiced) “and the rest of their way of life the same as the Jews’.”⁵⁷ Hence “a beginning so as” (eventually) “to become Jews in all other respects.” Alternatively, (2) “To practice

⁵⁴ Smith, *Parties*, ch.7, end.

⁵⁵ For references to the Samaritans (Shechemites) as *Ioudaioi* (“Jews”), see Smith, *Parties* 144f.

⁵⁶ L. Toombs and G. Wright, “The Third Campaign at Balatah,” *BASOR* 161 (1961) 47.

⁵⁷ Prof. Richard Steiner, citing [Jonckheere, “La circoncision des anciens égyptiens,”] *Centaurus* 1,3 (1951) 212-234 (*non vidi*), tells me that there were various methods of circumcision. The Egyptians did not remove the foreskin, but slit it and let it hang loose. Nevertheless, the Greeks spoke of the practice as *peritome*.

circumcision” (which they had not heretofore practiced) “and to make the rest of their way of life the same as the Jews’.” Hence “a beginning, so that they were from then on Jews.”

The second is the common interpretation, but the first is supported by a parallel in Strabo (16.2.34) who says that the Idumeans, having been driven out of Transjordan, “came into contact with the Jews and came to share with them some of their laws.”⁵⁸ The notion of gradual assimilation avoids the difficulties of the reported conquest, and the report can be explained by Josephus’ desire to represent the Jews as a great military power (cf. *War* 1.2-16) and/or, perhaps, by Nicholas of Damascus’ desire to represent the Hasmoneans as tyrants who overran their neighbors’ lands. Finally, it is unlikely that the Idumeans should have begun at once to observe all Jewish laws, without having taken the time to learn them. Hillel’s later summary of the Law, “Don’t do to your neighbor what you would dislike” (b. Shabbat 31a), was not compatible with Hasmonean foreign policy.

All these things considered, it seems likely that “the conquest and conversion of Idumea” went something like this: Hyrcanus, perhaps with some show of military power, made a religious, political, and military alliance with the sheiks who controlled most of the Idumean countryside. Of the cities, the one we know best, Marisa, seems to have been destroyed by Hyrcanus and rebuilt by Gabinius, though the published evidence is not conclusive.⁵⁹

The basis of the alliance would have been family relationships. The Edomite takeover of southern Palestine had been accompanied by much intermarriage with the southern Israelites, whence much of the

⁵⁸ The tractate, *De adfinium vocabulorum differentia*, attributed to an Ammonius whom Christ-Schmid-Stählin placed in the late fourth century (*Geschichte der gr. Litteratur*, 6th ed., II.2.1080) quotes, in its section headed *Idoumaioi*, from a work *Concerning King Herod*, by an unidentified Ptolemy, a statement that, “The Idumeans and the Jews differ ... For the Jews are those who were so from the beginning, by nature, but the Idumeans, who at first were not Jews but Phoenicians and Syrians, having been conquered by the Jews and compelled to be circumcised and to participate in the *ethnos* and hold to the same laws, came to be called Jews.” This has been thought (Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors* I.355f.) a copy of the source used by Josephus; more likely Josephus was its source. Either the excerpter or one of the copyists added the *Verschlimmbesserungen*.

⁵⁹ The account by M. Avi-Yonah, “Mareshah,” in *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem, 1977, III.782-90, gives unlikely conclusions instead of the evidence on which any conclusions should be based. How is it known, for instance, that “inscriptions” (graffiti?) in tombs could not have been written after the city’s destruction? A. Kloner, “Later Excavations,” *ib.*, pp. 790-91, reports that economical “burials” in the columbarium continued to the mid-first century BCE. It is interesting that two highly hellenized groups emigrated from the city to Egypt and established settlements there, one in Memphis, about 120 BCE, another in Hermoupolis Magna, a generation later; U. Rappaport, “Les Iduméens en Egypte,” *Revue de Philologie* 43 (1969) 73-82. However, P. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Oxford, 1972, II.438, n. 751, would move both dates down to the mid first century BCE.

Edomite material in the Old Testament.⁶⁰ The in-laws in fact were brothers in legend, descendants of Abraham and Isaac and of the brothers Jacob (whence Israel) and Esau (whence Edom, whence the Idumeans).⁶¹ Indeed they were brothers even in Jewish law; Deuteronomy had ruled, “You are not to detest an Edomite, for he is your brother” (23:8). The Edomites presumably worshiped Yahweh as well as their own god, Qos, and Apollo, and Resheph; perhaps all four had been identified, as had Yahweh, El, and Shaddai in Israel. Yahweh was probably worshiped as “the god of our fathers,” a cult popular in this period, particularly among peoples on the fringe of the desert.⁶² The alliance—to judge from its results—apparently, like many ancient alliances, gave the contracting parties the rights to intermarry, make contracts binding in the courts of both, acquire property in each other’s territories, etc., but maintained each as a distinct people, though committed to come to the other’s aid in war and to fight under the command of a common (in this case, Judean) leader.

The continued separateness of the people is often expressed clearly. When in 67/68 CE the Idumeans came in force to Jerusalem to support the revolt, and found themselves locked out, they complained (according to Josephus) that they were the *ethnos* “most closely related to” (but not identical with) “the Jews,” and were shut out from their “ancestral cult.”⁶³ Their claim of Jerusalem as an ancestral shrine derived perhaps from the legend that made it the place where Abraham had tried to sacrifice Isaac (*Ant.* 1.226, end). With the alliance they presumably were recognized as brothers and given access to the Jerusalem temple. In return they will have given the Judeans access to the ancestral shrines in their own territory—the oak of Abraham at Mamre, the burial cave of the patriarchs at Hebron, the well of Abraham at Beer Sheba.⁶⁴

Besides these familial, legendary, and liturgical bonds, the alliance was based on common practices, above all, as we have seen, “the covenant of circumcision.” Other such practices may have been the rejection of idolatry⁶⁵ and the observance of the Sabbath; many purity

⁶⁰ Smith, *Parties*, p. 90 and n. 88.

⁶¹ Gen 36:1-19.

⁶² A. Alt, “The God of the Fathers,” reprinted in *Essays on Old Testament History and Religion*, tr. R. Wilson, N.Y. 1968, pp. 3-100.

⁶³ War 4.278f., *patrion hieron*, Thackeray mistranslates by “national.”

⁶⁴ The attack on Hebron by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc 5:65f.) was probably a mere raid for booty and seems to have had no territorial consequences.

⁶⁵ A few statuettes have been found in pre-hellenistic Edomite remains, as in Judean sites of the same period. In both areas the prohibition of images would have been facilitated by the quality of the sculpture, but this does not prove it was universally observed and the preserved material suggests considerable variation from one shrine to another.

rules were probably common, and so on. The proximity of the languages and the common use of Aramaic as a *lingua franca* also helped.

Few things help an alliance so much as common enemies. The Hasmoneans had profited by driving the hellenizers out of Jerusalem, Jamnia, and Joppa; the rural Idumeans had their eyes on the wealth of Marisa and Adora, so they needed help. To get it, they were prepared to make some concessions—Paris was worth a mass. The Judeans also had practical interests. Their most dangerous immediate neighbors were the Nabateans, whose profitable trade route south of Idumea to the port of Gaza⁶⁶ brought business to the Idumean cities and encouraged hellenization (fashionable at the Nabatean court). A Nabatean takeover of at least southern Idumea might be in the offing. Both the Judeans and the rural Idumeans had reason to beware. Consequently the alliance probably contained a string of curses: on the uncircumcised, on idolaters, on those who wear Greek clothes and practice abominations (2 Macc 4:12), etc. More important will have been the provisions for mutual assistance against enemies; they meant practically that the Hasmoneans would help the Idumeans loot Marisa and Adora, and that the Idumeans would join the Hasmonean forces in the hope of more loot elsewhere. Implementation of these military clauses will have rapidly acquainted the Idumeans with Jewish ways; acquaintance will have led to adoption. Thus, from political alliance, the Idumeans moved gradually, but not very slowly, towards *de facto* conversion, which for the circumcised, at that time, was probably the only sort of conversion available.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, the assimilation of the two peoples was not complete by 70 CE. Apart from his dubious conversion story (*Ant.* 13.255-8) Josephus never directly refers to the Idumeans as “Jews,”⁶⁸ and he says that during the war they were almost exterminated by Simon bar Giora because of his “hatred of the breed” (*BJ* 4.535). However, this is probably propaganda. He later repeatedly refers to Idumeans as important among Simon’s forces in Jerusalem (*BJ* 5.249, 358; 6.92, 148, etc.).

This explanation of events in Idumea is supported by the case of the Itureans. Of these Josephus said nothing in *War*, because by the time of the great revolt they were out of the picture, but in *Ant.* 13.318 he

⁶⁶ See M. Stern, “Judea and her Neighbors in the Days of Alexander Jannaeus,” *The Jerusalem Cathedral*, ed. L. Levine, 1 (1981) 26.

⁶⁷ S. J. D. Cohen, “Conversion to Judaism in Historical Perspective,” *Conservative Judaism* 36 (1983) 31-45, pp. 36f. No provisions for the already circumcised are known from this period.

⁶⁸ His nearest approach is to list some Idumeans, in *War* 6.92 and 148, among “the Jews” who distinguished themselves in battle against “the Romans.” This is schematization. “The Romans” include all Titus’ forces—Arabs, Syrians, etc., and “the Jews”—all opponents. See further below.

praised Aristobulus for “having made war on them and acquired much of their land for the Jewish territory, compelling the inhabitants, if they wished to remain in it, to be circumcised and live according to the laws of the Jews.” This echoes his report about the Idumeans in *Ant.* 13.257 (see above). “However,” he goes on, “as Strabo testifies ... quoting Timagenes ... Aristobulus ‘was an equitable man and very useful to the Jews, for he acquired territory for them and won over a part of the Iturean people, binding them (to the Jews) by the bond of circumcision’” (13.319).

This quotation from Timagenes (via Strabo) apparently contradicts Josephus’ preceding reports about Aristobulus I—that he (inequitably) starved his mother to death, imprisoned all his brothers but one, accidentally murdered the one unimprisoned brother because he falsely suspected him of treason, made war on the Itureans and compelled them to accept Judaism. These look like Nicholas of Damascus’ anti-Hasmonean propaganda. Moreover, the contrast here is the same as the one above concerning the Idumeans: Josephus claimed that they were conquered and forced to choose between exile and circumcision, but a passage from Strabo indicated that the so-called “conversion” was actually an alliance. Strabo’s words, “binding them to the Jews by the bond of circumcision,” do not mean “by making them begin to practice circumcision” but “by using the practice of circumcision (common to Jews and Itureans) as a bond (with which to hold together an alliance against the hellenizers).” Apparently Strabo held similar opinions about both these extensions of “Judaism,” and in both instances his opinions are more plausible than Josephus’ (or Nicholas’) conquest stories.

In defense of them we cannot place much weight on Rappaport’s arguments for extensive conversion in Galilee before Aristobulus’ time—the evidence is too slight.⁶⁹ Important evidence, however, has been pointed out by S. Cohen [in a recent study], “Neither in *BJ* nor in *Ant.* does Josephus describe ‘conversion’ as a religious experience or say explicitly that ‘conversion’ entails the rejection of the pagan gods.”⁷⁰ Cohen adds: “Rabbinic law provides a curious parallel, cf. b. Yeb 47a-b. The ... conversion ritual ... omits the requirement of the exclusive recognition of God.” He goes on, “Neither ... *BJ* nor ... *Ant.* states that a ‘convert’ is equal to the native born or somehow joins the larger Jewish community.” To these points he returns several times, and gives as examples the monarchs of Adiabene, Emesa, and Cilicia,

⁶⁹ *JRP* 71f., 80f.

⁷⁰ “Respect for Judaism by Gentiles according to Josephus,” *HTR* 80 (1987) 409-430, at 411.

who were converted to Judaism (i.e. circumcised) but kept their thrones and therefore were not incorporated into Jewish society.⁷¹

Since they continued to function as kings of pagan peoples, they presumably—though Cohen does not notice this—continued to perform the religious functions required of them in the state worship of its native gods and other state ceremonies.⁷² For this they had good biblical precedent: a Syrian general cured by Elisha had promised that he would thenceforth sacrifice only to Yahweh, except when he had to accompany the King to the temple of the state god and participate in worship there; Elisha had replied with a blessing, “Go in peace” (2 Kgs 5:1-28). Similarly, after Nehemiah’s time, the priests who wanted to permit gentile participation in Jewish rites introduced into the Pentateuch a minimal requirement, Exod 12:48-9, “If an alien should dwell among you and would make the passover sacrifice to Yahweh, let every man of his household be circumcised and then he may come near (the sanctuary) to make it, as if he were a native of the land. But no uncircumcised (man) shall eat of it; (in this matter) the native born and the alien dwelling among you shall follow one (same) rule.” This rule was that circumcision by itself gave access to the ethnic rite.

Cohen, neglecting this background, explained Josephus’ silence about converts, conversion, and its requirements and consequences as a matter of tact, not fact—Josephus did not wish to annoy his Roman readers, who were frightened (?) by the many (?) conversions to Judaism and thought the ancient Roman way of life was endangered (?). This comes of taking satirists seriously (Juvenal 14.96-102, and Tacitus, who was also a satirist). Satire, admittedly, has some basis in fact; so does this argument. But we may also suppose that both Josephus and the “curious” rabbinic rule report the primitive law which could readily be obeyed and enforced, whereas abandonment of alien gods, acceptance of all (!) Jewish laws, and the like, could neither be performed nor demonstrated promptly. Besides, in the Hasmonean case, the minimal requirement had the further advantage that most Idumeans and Itureans, and probably many Galileans, had already met it. This was a considerable convenience for rulers who wanted to build a powerful military alliance at once.

The Iturean-Galilean alliance [with the Judeans] was less firmly based than the Idumean. Genesis 25:15 had made the Iturean Arabs descendants of Abraham through Ishmael, but did they care? Not

⁷¹ Cohen 411 n. 7, 412, 421.

⁷² Josephus knows of subversion in Adiabene when the king’s relatives began to give up the practice of the ancestral religion (*Ant.* 20.73), but he says nothing of the king’s doing so. He overcame his opponents, died in peace, and was succeeded by a brother, also a convert, who held the throne at least through Nero’s time, presumably performing his royal religious duties. Nothing is reported of any trouble in Emesa and Cilicia.

unless the putative paternity seemed likely to produce tangible consequences. One such consequence might have been better relations with their relatively new Galilean subjects; the Itureans had overrun the country only in the past twenty-five or fifty years, and many of the Galileans had some Israelite blood and knew a bit of biblical legend. A more tangible benefit of the pact with the Judeans was the promise of their help against Ptolemais, Tyre, and Sidon, the rich cities of the nearby coast. (Admittedly Aristobulus was using the title “Philhellene”—*Ant.* 13.318—but that could be dismissed as diplomatic double talk.) Also they wanted help against the cities of the interior (especially Damascus) and above all against the Nabateans who were pressing north and might make common cause with the coastal cities they wanted as ports. The Itureans, seated mainly in southern Lebanon, may have decided to secure their southern frontier by turning Galilee over to the *Ioudaioi* in return for assurance of military support as needed. The alliance will have been recommended to their Galilean subjects as to the Jews, by talk of the “common covenant of circumcision” and other shared Semitic practices, Abrahamic ancestry, etc. Holding down the Galileans had been a charge on their forces; the Jews might take over the task with better success because of their closer ethnic connection.

The existence of such an understanding, at least at the top level, seems indicated by the course of events. The Itureans as a whole did not become Jews; they continue to appear in Roman documents as an independent people. Neither they nor the Galileans gave up their worship of the old local gods. Several sanctuaries on Mt. Hermon continued in use to the fourth century CE. (One of the gods was Baal, 1 Chr 5:23.) Carmel was both a mountain and a god when Vespasian visited its sanctuary in 67 CE to offer sacrifice; the cult there continued beyond 200 CE, the god being identified with Zeus Heliopolitanus. The high place at Dan was repaired in late Hellenistic or Roman times. Many minor sites have yielded artifacts indicative of the worship of various gods, some Hellenistic, some Semitic.⁷³

The Iturean ruler, Ptolemy son of Menneus, after reaching this *entente* with Aristobulus and attending to some minor affairs, attacked Damascus. The Damascenes called on Aretas the Nabatean to help them. He replied by attacking the *Ioudaioi* (presumably to prevent their intervention, *War* 1.103; *Ant.* 13.392). After defeating them he

⁷³ Continuance of the Itureans, Schürer, I.708f. and notes. Cults on Mt. Hermon, Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. Klostermann, p. 70; R. Mouterde, “Antiquités de l’Hermon,” *Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph* 29 (1951-3) 22-37; on Carmel, Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.78, cf. Suetonius, *Vespasianus* 5.6; M. Avi-Yonah, *IEJ* 2 (1952) 118ff.; at Dan, J. Laughlin, “The Remarkable Discoveries at Dan,” *BAR* 7,5 (1981) 34; Minor finds, see *Hadashot Arkhaiologiot passim*.

imposed a treaty (ib.). It probably required them to help him when requested, since the next time Damascus needed help against Ptolemy, Queen Salome Alexandra, who had succeeded Janneus, sent an army under her son Aristobulus II (*War* 1.115; *Ant.* 13.418f.). The army (diplomatically?) did nothing to speak of, but Aristobulus made friends with Ptolemy. Consequently when Salome died Ptolemy's Itureans helped Aristobulus take the throne away from his elder brother Hyrcanus II. Yet later, when Aristobulus was driven out and finally murdered, Ptolemy took care of his children, married his daughter, and backed her brother's efforts to recapture Judea (*War* 1.185f, 239; *Ant.* 14.126, 297). After Ptolemy's death this policy was carried on by his son Lysander. Gradually, the Iturean kingdom was dismembered (*War* 1.140; *Ant.* 15.92, 94f.; Cassius Dio 49.32; etc.) and its parts were gradually made over to Herod and his descendants.⁷⁴ With one peripheral exception (Philip) the Herodians chosen for these grants were descendants of Aristobulus II, whose daughter Ptolemy had married. They were thus connected with both the Hasmonean and the Iturean royal lines. Presumably it was thought that the old alliance would recommend them to their new people.

In both the Idumean and the Iturean alliances, and in the annexation of Samaria, the Judeans had taken the leading role. They retained it. The whole political-military-religious league that now united the hill country of Palestine from Dan to Beersheba, whatever it called itself, was directed by, and soon came to be called by others, "the *Ioudaioi*."⁷⁵ Thus the term *Ioudaios* acquired a new meaning. For clarity, we may recall that the three main earlier meanings were: (1) one of the descendants of the patriarch Judah, i.e. (if in the male line) a member of the tribe of Judah; (2) a native of Judea, a "Judean"; (3) a "Jew," i.e. a member of Yahweh's chosen people, entitled to participate in those religious ceremonies to which only such members were admitted. Now appears the new, fourth meaning: (4) a member of the Judeo-Samaritan-Idumean-Iturean-Galilean alliance. These members we shall call "*Ioudaioi*," but we shall use the term often for the non-Judean members only. The three older meanings lived on vigorously in their proper contexts, but in discussions of Palestinian politics the fourth meaning now becomes common, and most of those who use it pay no attention to the fact that by religious criteria most

⁷⁴ Details in Schürer-Vermes, *History* I.564ff.

⁷⁵ Such ethnic-religious-military leagues had been common in hellenistic history. In particular the formation, growth, and destruction by Rome of the Aetolian League furnish many parallels to the history of the *Ioudaioi*.

Itureans, many Idumeans, and some Galileans were pagans, i.e. gentiles.⁷⁶

Political and military concerns now became predominant in talk about *Ioudaioi*, because the military coalition thus put together gave its members a splendid opportunity to rob their neighbors. It could field more men than the largest of the independent cities. Some of these cities had some Jewish residents, but all were mostly pagan; the inscriptions found in the ruins of those to the west, north, and north east, are predominantly in Greek. The league members presumably had border quarrels with all cities on which their lands bordered—such quarrels were endemic in ancient society. Each side of course accused the other of harassment. It was a moral duty to defend one's allies. For the league it was also a profitable enterprise; virtue was guided by the sight of its reward. In Italy, Rome had already conquered the entire peninsula by its relentless righteousness in defending its allies.

Hence the campaigns of Alexander Janneus. He is explicitly credited (?) with destruction of eight or nine cities. Their populations were either slaughtered or (probably more often) enslaved. No more "conversions" are reported (see n. 41 above). He had all the men he needed; to take more would only diminish the per capita profit. The list of other places he captured, with unspecified enslavement and slaughter, runs to about fifteen; places that later had to be rebuilt, and rural areas said to have been ravaged, add another dozen. Only two of the many gentile sites in Palestine are known to have escaped: Ptolemais, which called in Egyptians, and Ascalon, which Egyptian influence protected.⁷⁷ A conservative estimate of number of persons killed or enslaved would be about 200,000.⁷⁸ Since most were sold as slaves, and many slaves were used in the land, the profit to the

⁷⁶ This list of meanings has the weakness of most dictionary lists which are based on usage, not intellectual analysis, viz., the different meanings reflect different determinants which are those of most concern in ordinary thought, but not equally important, nor invariably definitive, nor mutually exclusive. Thus the criterion of tribal ancestry was mainly a literary fossil, though some politicians and visionaries (especially messiahs) will have claimed it: both the *nasi* and the exilarch claimed descent from David; Paul claimed to be a Benjaminite (Phil 3:5). Not all natives of Judea became Judeans; the children of most of Herod's "ten thousand" Greek officials would have claimed their fathers' citizenships. Most, but not all, Judeans were also Jews, but those accepted as Jews in the diaspora might be Judeans, *Ioudaioi*, or, most often, neither. And so on. In spite of all this I think the above meanings deserve attention as the main ones implied by common usage.

⁷⁷ M. Stern, "Judea and her Neighbors in the Days of Alexander Jannaeus," in *The Jerusalem Cathedra* 1 (1981) 26-7.

⁷⁸ Allowing an average of 5,000 for each of the 36 cities or settlements specified, and about 20,000 for settlements not recorded specifically and for the unsettled countryside; for more than 20 years of campaigning, this is low. Of the places recorded, few will have had less than 5,000 inhabitants; many were much larger.

Ioudaioi from the slaves alone, not to mention the lands and property acquired, must have been large. Such success will have hastened the allies' "conversion" to Judaism. Military success was commonly taken as evidence of divine approval.⁷⁹

Evidence of the economic consequences for the Galileans can be seen in the coin distribution of the Khirbet Shema/Meiron/Gush Halav area, which had natural trading connections with Tyre. In a sample of 1736 coins from Seleucid through Roman strata there are twice as many Tyrian (autonomous) as Seleucid, and twice as many Hasmonean as Tyrian; and most of the Hasmonean are of Alexander Janneus. With the coming of "Roman" (Herodian ?) times the number of coins falls back to the Seleucid level.⁸⁰ Upper Galilee had nothing to sell the rest of Janneus' territory; all the hill country lived by much the same agriculture and pasturage. The most valuable thing they could export were the soldiers who brought back as their pay those coins, coined from Janneus' loot. Herod, with Roman help, put an end to this profitable industry.

Janneus, however, was not consistently successful. In some of his many defeats the numbers of men lost are said to have run into the ten thousands.⁸¹ Their families probably grumbled. The king's frequent absence from Jerusalem, the increasing importance, in the military and the court, of allies and/or gentiles—Idumean, Galilean, and Iturean leaders, and captains of mercenaries from God knows where—the rise of prices for luxuries due to the influx of money and the spending by the military, the fall of prices for agricultural products as markets (cities) were destroyed and new slaves were put to work on newly acquired lands: all these contributed to hostility among the landed Judeans and Samaritans. Hence the riots and revolts which filled perhaps ten years of Janneus' reign (c. 96-86 BCE). These broke out in Jerusalem (*War* 1.88; *Ant.* 13.372), but the decisive battle was fought near Shechem (*War* 1.92ff., *Ant.* 13.377f.). Though Shechem remained in ruins, a Shechemite population evidently survived in the countryside and infiltrated the revived Samaria, so that the term "Samaritan" gradually came to refer to the fused population and also

⁷⁹ This on the authority of divine revelation, Deut 28:1, 2, 7, 15, 25.

⁸⁰ R. Hanson, *Tyrian Influence in Upper Galilee*, Cambridge, Mass., 1980, pp. 51-53 (= *Meiron Excavation Project*, No. 2)

⁸¹ Josephus' figures are obviously approximations and probably corrupted by copyists, or Josephus, or his sources, or all three. However, they suffice to indicate that the losses were numerous and sometimes large. M. Stern, "Nicholas of Damascus as a Source for Israelite History in Hasmonean and Herodian Times" in *Studies in Bible and Jewish History* (J. Liver volume), Tel Aviv, 1971, pp. 391-94 (in Hebrew), has discredited them as due to the malice of Nicholas, but to suppose all the reports completely false would leave no adequate explanation for the Jews' revolt against a consistently victorious king. On the other hand (as Stern argues) the conquests prove that he often did succeed. He had more men.

to the revised form of the old Shechemite religion. Perhaps the gentry of Samaria and Judea had made common cause.⁸² No trouble is reported in Idumea and Galilee; those peoples and the Itureans are said to have been warlike⁸³ and were profiting from the new order. Alexander Janneus had been brought up in Galilee (perhaps as a hostage),⁸⁴ no doubt he had friends there.

His opponents were not above making gentile friends for themselves: they called in a Seleucid king, Demetrius “the Unready,” as an ally in this war against the High Priest and their fellow Jews. Janneus punished the ringleaders by having some eight hundred crucified and their wives and children killed in their sight, while he dined publicly with his concubines and watched the proceedings (*War* 1.97; *Ant.* 13.380). At this, eight thousand of his opponents fled from Judea to some necessarily unclean land (*War* 1.98; cp. *Ant.* 13.383). Who they were we do not know. What has been told fits none of the three little legal sects—Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes—that Josephus mentions about this time. The *Damascus Document*, of which texts were found in Qumran and Cairo, came from a sect whose predecessors had made a “new covenant in the land of Damascus” (6.19). These may have been the survivors of the eight thousand, but it would be hasty to suppose that there were no other bodies of Jewish refugees from such a ruler, so the connection is not certain.

DAMNOSA HAEREDITAS

Janneus’ achievements have been summarized by Rappaport as follows:

The conquest of Palestine and the eradication of its foreign elements, above all the *poleis*⁸⁵ (which resisted Judaization ... because of a sense of self-esteem, pride in their Hellenistic culture ...) was almost completed ... By the time of Salome’s reign only a few enclaves of Hellenistic cities remained in the country (Ascalon, Acre,⁸⁶ and Philadelphia, the last conquered by the Nabateans). Another few decades were required to convert the rest of the country to Judaism. Toward this end, it was desirable that alien pockets be eliminated, and particularly that the destroyed and disenfranchised *poleis* be forgotten and their former

⁸² The identity of their last holdout is uncertain, *War* 1.96. Marcus ad loc., citing Abel and Avi Yonah, opts for Misilye, ten miles NE of Samaria. The 40,000 of *Ant.* 13.377 is probably the total of Demetrius’ army plus his Jewish allies. A. Schalit’s conjecture, a fortress on Gebel Qarantal, is too far away and not a city (“Der Schauplatz des letzten Kampfes,” *Josephus-Studien*, ed. O. Betz et al., Göttingen, 1974, 300-318).

⁸³ *War* 1.93. Schürer-Vermes 1 (1973) 562 and references there.

⁸⁴ *Ant.* 13.322.

⁸⁵ I.e. the cities organized on Greek lines.

⁸⁶ I.e. Ptolemais.

inhabitants (whether continuing to reside in their old locations or finding refuge elsewhere in Palestine) be reconciled to their loss.⁸⁷

This happy account of a successful religious persecution does not fit the facts. There was little likelihood that the destroyed or disenfranchised *poleis* would be forgotten; many of their former residents were present in the country as slaves; to suppose that they would be reconciled to their loss is absurd. Most of those enslaved or driven out were not “foreign elements,” but descendants of Palestinian peoples who had been in the country prior to the Israelite invasion or had arrived and become thoroughly at home in the course of the many subsequent centuries. Even in the “hellenized” cities the element of the population derived from the Aegean coastlands was usually minuscule; the “hellenizers” of Marisa, Shechem, and probably Jerusalem, claimed only to be “Sidonians”—and were probably lying.⁸⁸

Moreover, Janneus’ conquests cannot plausibly be represented as a religious persecution to achieve the conversion and purification of Palestine. He was not a religious type. His crucifixion dinner party (though Rappaport may see it as a devout interpretation of Ps 23:5) embarrassed even Josephus,⁸⁹ who reports that he was nicknamed “the Thracian” “because of his cruelty.”⁹⁰ He held the High Priesthood in defiance both of biblical law⁹¹ and of much pious opinion,⁹² and his legal administration was such that his widow, Salome Alexandra, reportedly had to pacify “the Judeans” by reinstating the old laws which had been “according to the ancestral tradition” (*Ant.* 13.408, cf. 296f., and *War* 1.108). Given these facts his conquests can most plausibly be explained as results of avarice and the desire of power, and his destructions by the hope to leave no center of political resistance. Dionysius I of Syracuse followed similar policies.

⁸⁷ U. Rappaport, “Jewish-Pagan Relations and the Revolt against Rome in 66-70 CE,” *The Jerusalem Cathedral*, ed. L. Levine 1 (1981) 86.

⁸⁸ Marisa, see E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, New York, 1955-68, 13 vols., I.65ff. and III. nos. 7-16; Shechem, *Ant.* 12.257-64 and 2 Macc 6:2; on these, Smith, *Parties* 52 and notes 87-90.

⁸⁹ *War* 1.97; *Ant.* 13.381-3. Admittedly the story smacks—not to say, “smells”—of the propaganda against tyrants that was circulated by Greek philosophical schools (resolute liars in their defense of truth), and Nicholas doubtless knew and used such material. Nevertheless, it cannot wholly be dismissed, because (a) some tyrants did (and still do) behave in such ways; (b) Janneus’ introduction of crucifixion is attested by 4Q 169 (Peshar Nahum) I.6-8, which has no such pseudo-philosophical overtones.

⁹⁰ *War* 1.88; *Ant.* 13.374, 380-83. M. Stern’s apology, “Thraquidas,” *Tarbiz* 29 (1960) 209 overlooks the facts that Janneus had recruited Cilicians and Pisidians as well as Thracians, and at the time in question had few or no mercenaries—they had “all” been killed, *Ant.* 13.378.

⁹¹ G. Hölscher, “Levi,” *RE* 12 (1925) 2189-91.

⁹² *Ant.* 13.292; CD 8 (MS B 15-19; A 3-7); b. Qiddushin 66a; Pss. Sol. 17:5-9; Test. Moses 5:5.

In *War* Salome's return to old Judean law precedes the rise of the Pharisees, who are introduced afterwards, as hitherto unmentioned, and "grow up beside" the queen "into power" (*War* 1.110) as authorities on those Judean laws that she was reviving. In *Ant.* 13.399-406, the Pharisees are already, at Janneus' death, the most powerful party in Jerusalem. Janneus, in a melodramatic deathbed scene, tells Salome she must conciliate them. She does so, by promising them control of his funeral and a voice in her government.

If this story were true,⁹³ it would indicate that the Pharisees had not been important in the revolt against Janneus. Had they been his main opponents they would have lost some thousands in the fighting, eight hundred in the crucifixion, eight thousand by flight, and all whom Janneus was able to catch during the last ten years of his reign (86-76 BCE). Josephus says in *War* 1.91 and *Ant.* 13.376 that in six years of

⁹³ The story is immediately recognizable as folkloristic; it gives us a verbatim account of the proceedings at one of those private deathbed scenes about which ancient religious writers are often incredibly well informed. For the type see J. Munck, "Discours d'adieu," *Aux Sources de la tradition chrétienne* (Goguel volume), Neuchâtel, 1950, pp. 155-170. Admittedly, folklore may sometimes tell the truth. But this is one of many passages in *Ant.* which declare the Pharisees to be the party with most influence over the people, the party that must be won over by any government desiring popular support. In "Palestinian Judaism in the First Century," chapter nine above, I listed these passages and argued that they were probably invented by Josephus to win Roman support after 70 CE for the Pharisees. D. Schwartz, "Josephus and Nicolaus on the Pharisees," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 14 (1983) 157-71, tried to refute this theory by pointing out that in a very few passages of *War* Josephus does attribute to the Pharisees great influence over the people, and in a very few of *Ant.* he does tell unpleasant stories about them, stories probably derived from Nicholas. However, Josephus is a notoriously careless writer (as demonstrated fully by Cohen, *Josephus*) so it is not surprising that when using Nicholas he carelessly took over a few bits of gossip about the Pharisees that were not to their credit, but not severely damaging. As for the *War* passages that attribute to them predominant position and influence, these, as shown in my article, are refuted by the actual course of events—in which the Pharisees were usually unable to stop popular movements of which they disapproved, and almost never able to do anything of much political importance. Therefore the few, exceptional *War* passages making these false claims for them are best understood as additions inserted by Josephus when he revised the work in the 90's. (For such a revision of book 7 see S. Schwartz, "The Composition and Publication of Josephus's *BJ* Book 7," *HTR* 79 (1986) 373-86, esp. 379ff.) The long digression on the three "forms of Jewish philosophy," *War* 2.119-166, which breaks the course of the narrative, contributes nothing to it, and reflects sources quite different from anything Josephus used elsewhere in the work, seems a clear case of such interpolation. It, at least, used elements partially reliable, whereas the story of Hyrcanus' quarrel with the Pharisees in *Ant.* 13.289 was cut from the same sleazy stuff as the following death-bed scene. Readily recognizable as folkloristic motifs are: the banquet at which the host asks a foolish question, the one wicked guest who gives an unwelcome answer, the evil counselor of the good but foolish king, the humane courtier(s) who will not impose the severe penalty ordered/desired by the tyrant. The whole was inserted to explain how it happened that the Pharisees were not in power till Salome put them there; its historical value is therefore as evidence that when Josephus wrote *Ant.* 13 the Pharisees were already claiming immemorial authority and making up stories to explain away historical facts that contradicted their claims.

the civil war Janneus killed “no less than 50,000 Jews,” a round figure meaning approximately “lots and lots.” That he spared opponents after consolidating his power is not likely. Given the losses necessary to produce such exaggeration, could those remaining in Jerusalem (not a big city) have been strong enough to threaten Salome’s hold on the throne when she returned at the head of a victorious army (*Ant.* 13.405)?

Since the deathbed story is false, we are left with no more than the fact that the reports about the resistance do not fit the Pharisees. Further evidence comes from Janneus’ coinage. The issues with inscriptions fall into two groups: (1) “Of King Alexander” in Greek and/or “Yehonathan the King” in Hebrew, (2) “Y(eh)onathan High Priest and the League of the *Yehudim*” in Hebrew only—evidently Judean leadership had made Hebrew the official language of this Semitic-speaking league. More than 90% of the largest groups of the first type were restruck with the later legend—evidence that the change was important. *Prima facie*, the change indicates a limitation of royal power by association with the “league” (“union,” “association,” vel sim.) of the *Yehudim*, in Greek *Ioudaioi*.⁹⁴ But which *Ioudaioi*? If Josephus’ report, that Janneus’ mercenaries were killed off but that he nevertheless overcame his Judean opponents,⁹⁵ be true (and the latter clause seems guaranteed by the course of later events), then after the killing he must have found other support, most likely from the military allies classed as *Ioudaioi*—the Idumeans, Galileans, and Itureans. This “League of *Ioudaioi*” may therefore have been given official position

⁹⁴ Y. Meshorer, *Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period*, tr. I. Levine, Tel Aviv, 1967, pp. 56-59, 118-21, and pl. II and III. The argument of M. McLean, “The Initial Coinage of Alexander Jannaeus,” *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 26 (1981) 159, discounting the importance of the change of title because “one would expect all the Anchor/Diadem coins to have been recalled” overestimates the control of circulation by ancient states with minimal means of supervision. H. Minc’s “Coins of Alexander Yannai,” *Journal of the Society for Ancient Numismatics* 12 (1981) 49-57, 64-67, trying to reverse the sequence of the overstriking, does not convince me. Overstriking is usually clear, so the consensus of the earlier experts is weighty. Moreover, the formula “and the league of the *Yehudim*” continued to be used on the coinage of Hyrcanus II, more likely a perpetuation of Janneus’ last usage than a resumption of a formula he had dropped eight years earlier.

⁹⁵ *Ant.* 13.377f. says all Janneus’ 6,200 mercenaries were killed in the battle against Demetrius; *War* 1.93ff. tells of eight or nine thousand defeated, though fighting bravely. Janneus reportedly had “about 20,000” *Ioudaioi*, as distinct from his mercenaries, *Ant.* 13.377 (*War* 1.93 says “10,000”). The total force of his opponents, including Demetrius, came to 43,000 (*War* says 17,000). After the battle 6,000 Judeans went over to Janneus, and this decided Demetrius to withdraw, but the remaining opponents were strong enough to keep up “a long war” before their final defeat. From such data the most that can securely be inferred is that there was very strong opposition in Judea and Samaria. Hence the inference, that the forces which enabled Janneus to keep up the fight were probably those of the Idumean and Galilean allies, i.e. *Ioudaioi*, not Judeans.

as associate of the High Priest. The allies had agreed to be members of a military union, not subjects of a monarchy.

Such demonstration of the throne's dependence on the allies may explain Salome's decision to try to rebuild support in Judea. Other factors contributed. The rich places had already been looted (except for Acre and Ascalon, but those were protected by Egypt); the Nabateans were already beginning to take back Transjordan; a woman pushing sixty (as Aristobulus' widow she had managed Janneus' accession), she was not well suited for the role of a military leader; to entrust campaigns to others was to invite usurpation. She prudently preferred peace. She managed to get large credit for piety (*War* 1.108), but she greatly increased the mercenary, i.e. gentile, element in the army, a bulwark against Judeans, allies, and aliens alike (*War* 1.112; *Ant.* 13.409). In Judea, prudence may have led her to patronize a small party which would depend on her (as *War* 1.110 suggests the Pharisees did). If the [rabbinic] story that the leading Pharisee, Simeon ben Shetah, was her brother has any basis beyond the wishful thinking of later Pharisees, we should have a further reason for her choice. At all events she seems to have placed many Pharisees in positions important for her proposed legal reform.

Josephus' story is that they used their legal powers to harass those of Janneus' friends who had encouraged him to execute his Judean opponents. Given Janneus' career it is likely that his circle was mostly military, and Josephus indicates as much in the speech made up for their defense, and by his story of their means of escape (*War* 1.113-114; *Ant.* 13.408-14). Looking for a defender, they turned to Janneus' second son, Aristobulus. His mother had made his elder brother, Hyrcanus, High Priest, in accordance with the biblical, Judean law of primogeniture. Aristobulus therefore welcomed military petitioners. By defending them he formed a powerful body of supporters. Yet more, he got them strategic positions as commanders of the minor fortresses about the country (*War* 1.114; *Ant.* 13.415-17). He also strengthened his ties with the military by serving as commander of the force his mother sent to aid Damascus (*War* 1.115; *Ant.* 13.418). At the same time he used this expedition to establish good relations with Ptolemy, son of Menneus, the Iturean ruler of southern Lebanon, nominally his opponent (see above). The understanding with Ptolemy will have helped him with the Itureans in Galilee.

Thus prepared, when his mother fell into her last illness he raised an army (with Ptolemy's help?) and soon had control of twenty-two fortresses. Many supporters came to him from Iturean Lebanon (*War* 1.117; *Ant.* 13.424-47). When his mother died he defeated his brother Hyrcanus II (most of whose soldiers deserted), forced him to retire to private life, and illegally took over the high priesthood (*War* 1.119-22;

Ant. 14.4-7). In these events the Pharisees did just what we should expect of a small party of jurists who owed their positions to the favor of a deceased ruler—they vanished. Of their legendary power to move the people to paroxysms of resistance, there is no trace. Presumably Hyrcanus was their candidate. He and they were both Salome's protégés, and by biblical law he, as first born, had the right to the place. No doubt, in defense of their discreet silence, they reflected that almost nothing legally takes precedence of saving one's life. The rest of the Judeans seem to have thought the same. In spite of Salome's attempt to regain local support, there is no trace of any substantial local action on behalf of her legitimate heir. Perhaps Janneus had made so clean a sweep of the province that there were no important local leaders left.

With his establishment of Aristobulus II as High Priest of Jerusalem and leader of the "union" of the *Ioudaioi*, Ptolemy the son of Menneus came to the height of his power: he controlled all southern Lebanon, held two seaports on the Mediterranean coast, and was threatening Damascus on the east, Berytus on the west.⁹⁶ The alliance of Itureans and *Ioudaioi* had long given him a body of supporters in Galilee, and the military repute of his people makes it likely that many of them had been earning money in Janneus' army as mercenaries or hired leaders of Galilean levies.⁹⁷ Now that he had strengthened these ties by his help to Aristobulus, the whole union of the *Ioudaioi* was in his sphere of influence, and he could hope to keep it there by a dynastic marriage—a plan he still tried to carry out after Aristobulus' death (see above).

This plan threatened the hopes of another planner, Antipater the Idumean, who "by ancestry, wealth, and abilities was the foremost of his *ethnos*,"⁹⁸ i.e. of the Idumeans, as distinct from the Judeans. According to Josephus, his father had been "appointed" by Janneus "general of all Idumea" (*Ant.* 14.10). "Appointed" reflects Josephus' story of a Judean conquest. Perhaps his text, or the text he used, originally had "recognized as," sc. from among competing leaders of the Idumean allies; the difference in Greek is only one *iota*.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ H. Volkmann, "Ptolemaios (60) Sohn des Mennaos," *RE* 23 (1959) 1766-1767.

⁹⁷ Schürer I.708f. and notes.

⁹⁸ *War* 1.123; *Ant.* 14.8-13. There is no good reason to doubt Josephus' report of this, nor his report of Nicholas' lie and the reason for it, *Ant.* 14.9. Other stories are collected by Marcus, ad loc. Antipater may have been an Ascalonite—his father may have been given honorary citizenship in the neighboring city; such civic honors were often given to potentially useful officials of neighboring kingdoms. The temple-slave yarn is typical of early Christian slander.

⁹⁹ Read in *Ant.* 14.10 *apodexanton* instead of *apodeixanton*. That he probably held the office by inheritance rather than appointment was also suggested by M. Gihon, "Edom - Idumea and the Herodian Limes," in *Doron* (B. Katz vol.) edd. S. Perlman et al., Tel Aviv, 1967, p. 208 and n. 19.

Whatever his office, he had made friends with the adjacent Nabateans, who had the largest army in the vicinity. Now he needed their help because of his old enmity to Aristobulus (*War* 1.123).

He too, Josephus says, devised a plan: to persuade Hyrcanus to flee to the Nabateans, and the Nabateans to restore him to his throne, expelling Aristobulus and his allies. Thus Idumea, Judea, and Samaria, at least, would become a Nabatean puppet kingdom, with himself as governor and Hyrcanus reduced to High Priest of the Jerusalem temple. This plan, once formed, he held to, modified as events required, and eventually carried out, though with Roman rather than Nabatean backing. At first, however, all went well. He persuaded, Hyrcanus fled, the Nabateans invaded, Aristobulus was defeated and his followers were besieged in the temple. But just then the Romans arrived.¹⁰⁰

The Judeans who had taken no part in the brothers' war emerged in the Romans' peace conference.¹⁰¹ Representatives of "the (Judean) *ethnos*" claimed that their people's "ancestral custom was to obey their priests,¹⁰² but these (Hasmoneans) had attempted to change the constitution and enslave the people" (*Ant.* 14.41). Besides these, a thousand *Ioudaioi* organized by Antipater on behalf of Hyrcanus, appeared and claimed, among other things, that "the *ethnos*" (sc. the Judeans) had revolted from Aristobulus because of his bad character. Aristobulus, too, sent a delegation—of young men from his own entourage, ethnicity unspecified; from what Josephus says of their appearance and behavior they seem to have been the sons of his father's officers.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ *War* 1.124-7; *Ant.* 14.8-29 adds that after the victory of the Nabateans the people (*demos*) of Jerusalem went over to Hyrcanus, but the priests remained loyal to Aristobulus and protected his interests by holding the temple as a fortress. This is puzzling. By priestly law the High Priesthood should have gone to the elder son, Hyrcanus. Presumably Aristobulus' troops had taken the temple and so controlled the priests. Josephus may have used this as evidence of priestly approval of Aristobulus—by making a case for the claims of Aristobulus' line he could flatter its last important representative, his patron Agrippa II. (An interesting detail of the story is the report that Aretas put the camps of the *Ioudaioi* and the Arabs side by side, *Ant.* 14.21. These *Ioudaioi* whom he commanded were probably in large part Idumeans, the "Arabs" were Nabateans, and Idumean-Nabatean relations were at this time good.)

¹⁰¹ The Shechemites may have appeared, too, but from here on Josephus says little of them. Janneus' punishment after the revolt may have left them insignificant. The non-Jewish cities are also unmentioned.

¹⁰² This claim could have been made (honestly) only by the Judeans. The Idumean and Galilean *Ioudaioi* had been allies (not subjects, see above) of the High Priests only some sixty and forty years prior to the conference.

¹⁰³ *War* 1.131-2; *Ant.* 14.42-46. In spite of the illegality of Aristobulus' claim, those of his party who held the temple observed the sabbath laws—perhaps they wanted to conciliate the priests, perhaps sabbath observance was like circumcision, one of the Semitic practices common to the Hasmoneans and the hill peoples who allied with them, but perhaps this detail is merely a Josephan use of a common topos—almost

These are the parties Josephus records. Besides these the interests of the captured cities were represented by Pompey's trusted freedman, Demetrius, from Gadara (*War* 1.155; *Ant.* 14.75). The eminent philosopher, Philodemus, may have used his influence; he, too, was a native of (the same?) Gadara, and was now living near Naples as philosopher to L. Calpurnius Piso Caesonius, consul in 58 BCE along with Pompey's protégé Gabinius. Another distinguished emigré had been the philosopher Antiochus of Ascalon, whose city had narrowly escaped Janneus. He had died in 68, but had visited Palestine with Lucullus in the early 70's and had probably spoken to him about its recent history.¹⁰⁴ Lucullus was still influential, as was Cicero, who had formerly studied with Antiochus. These are only the best known representatives of what must have been an important body of informants, whose work was reflected a generation later by the geographer Strabo's *en passant* description of the Hasmoneans as "tyrants" and their adherents as "pirates" and "brigands."¹⁰⁵ Pompey was in constant correspondence with his fellow senators. When his campaign took him into Palestine his friends in Rome probably wrote him whatever they thought might be useful about the recent history of the country.

When matters went from arguing to fighting, Hyrcanus had enough influence with the Judeans around Jerusalem to prevent them from acting on Aristobulus' side—so Josephus (*War* 1.153; *Ant.* 14.73), but the presence of Pompey's army was probably the chief deterrent. Josephus does not say that Hyrcanus could persuade them to act on his own side.

The force which neither Hyrcanus nor Aristobulus could control was Aristobulus' soldiers. When he himself surrendered and ordered that his money, and access to Jerusalem, be given to Pompey, "his soldiers would not permit this" (*Ant.* 14.56; *War* 1.140). When Pompey reached Jerusalem they tried to shut him out; when this was prevented by the people, they seized the temple and stood a siege until it was captured. Of course it was damaged and polluted in the process. Nevertheless, their refusal and resistance are commonly represented by modern scholars (though not by Josephus) as expressions of religious devotion. They can more plausibly be explained as acts of

everybody who fought the Jews was said to take advantage of the sabbath laws, *Ant.* 12.4, 274f.; 13.337; etc.

¹⁰⁴ For all this information see the *Kleine Pauly* under the names of the persons concerned; for Antiochus add G. Luck, *Der Akademiker Antiochos*, Bern, 1953 (*Noctes Romanae* 7) 13ff.

¹⁰⁵ *Geography* 16.2, 28, 37, 40. Parallels are cited by Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, 1.292 and 306.

any army largely of professional soldiers, who saw that with submission to Roman rule their occupation would be gone. The life of adventure and looting that had prevailed in Palestine for forty years would cease. Yet worse, they would be called to account for their crimes, beginning with disobedience to Pompey. Roman punishments being what they were, it is understandable that many chose suicide, and chose the temple as the fortress in which they could exact from their enemies the highest price for their lives. As followers of Aristobulus, all but the mercenaries were probably *Ioudaioi*—members of the military alliance. How many of them were Jews, there is no telling. Their treatment of the temple would seem more easily understandable if the Jewish contingent were small.

Pompey's settlement of Palestine was dictated by fairly clear considerations: (1) The *Ioudaioi* had overrun their neighbors and so created a territory large enough to be potentially troublesome for Rome; both justice and prudence required that they be cut down to size. (2) His own conquests and dispositions of territories would have to be justified to the Senate. (3) The most effective justification would be money—additional income for Rome, pay and bonuses for his soldiers, gifts for his friends, and funds for his political war chest. He therefore imposed a tribute on Jerusalem and on “the country” (Judea? *War* 1.155; *Ant.* 14.74). He took a thousand talents from Ptolemy, the son of Menneus (*Ant.* 14.39). “He took from the *ethnos* (here apparently the *Ioudaioi*) the cities in *Koile Syria* (i.e. Palestine and Transjordan) which they had captured ... and shut them up in their own limits” (*War* 1.155; *Ant.* 14.74; similarly he expelled Ptolemy from the coastal cities of Lebanon, Strabo 16.2.18 755). “He had Gadara rebuilt” and liberated the other cities not utterly destroyed,¹⁰⁶ “all of which he gave back to their true citizens and enrolled in the province of Syria” (*War* 1.155-7). Enrollment in a province normally entailed payment of the taxes imposed on the province, but it also guaranteed against future conquest; henceforth the city would be Roman territory and therefore, probably, safe. The next half-century would see Palestinian cities petitioning for admission.

War 1.155ff. and parallels^b are remarkable for their use of “the people” (*to ethnos*) and “the country” to refer to all the members of the alliance and to all the territories they, as separate peoples, had originally held, or, as members of the alliance, had early acquired and

¹⁰⁶ I.e. Hippos, Scythopolis, Pella, Samaria, Jamnia, Marisa, Azotus, Arethusa, Gaza, Joppa, Dor, and Strato's Tower, *War* 1.154-7; *Ant.* 14.74-6 adds Dium. Gabinius, who carried through the rebuilding in 57 BCE, added Anthedon, Apollonia, Raphia, Adora, and others, *War* 1.160-6; *Ant.* 14.82-8.

^b [Smith is apparently referring to the use of *ethnos* in *War* 1.155//*AJ* 14.74, and *chora* in *War* 1.153-154//*AJ* 14.73.]

solidly settled. This may be anachronistic retrojection of the Roman imperial use of the first century CE, but it also accords with Josephus' purpose to represent "the Jews" as a single, great, and powerful people, and Palestine as their ancestral country (*War* 1.1-8, 17f., and *passim*). It also anticipates the actual fusion of the *Ioudaioi* into a single people, a process continued through the first century CE and beyond. How far that process had gone in Pompey's time, and what he thought "the *ethnos*" and "their own limits" to be, we cannot be sure.

Gabinus, when he came back as proconsul half a dozen years later, defined the limits so as to produce five territories with independent civil governments: the regions of Jerusalem, Amathous (for central Transjordan), Jericho (for the southern Jordan valley), Sepphoris (for Galilee), and Gadara (?) for northern Transjordan—more likely "Gamala," since he was rebuilding Gadara as a city of gentile refugees (*War* 1.170; *Ant.* 14.91). The Idumeans, not mentioned, may have been separated from the *Ioudaioi* altogether, and so, too, the Shechemites. Hyrcanus was restricted to governance of the temple.

This arrangement was soon junked by the war of Aristobulus II and his descendants against Hyrcanus II—a dynastic fight in which neither side represented "the Jewish nation." Both parties were backed by non-Judean elements of the *Ioudaioi* and also by gentiles: Hyrcanus by the Idumeans, Nabateans, and finally, Romans; Aristobulus' family by the Galileans, Itureans, and finally, Parthians. The greater backers were the least active. For action Aristobulus and his sons had the descendants of Janneus' friends in Galilee and soldiers settled in the Peraea. There, too, they suffered their defeats: Machaerus, Itabyrion, Taricheae, the Galilean caves.¹⁰⁷ Hyrcanus' interests were represented by Antipater, his most dangerous enemy. Where Antipater raised his forces we are not usually told. Most likely, Idumea, although when near the end of his life he went to Transjordan for "Arabs and natives" (*Ant.* 14.277, *cp.* *War* 1.223; for his use of Arabs, *sc.* Nabateans, see also *War* 1.187; *Ant.* 14.128).

For twenty years there is no mention of substantial Judean support for Hyrcanus. Then, about 43 BCE, we are told that Malichus, who poisoned Antipater, had so much popular support in Jerusalem that Antipater's sons, Phasael and Herod, dared not attack him for fear of a civil war (*War* 1.227f.; *Ant.* 14.283).¹⁰⁸ The long absence of support

¹⁰⁷ Machaerus, *War* 1.171-4; *Ant.* 14.92-7; Itabyrion, *War* 1.176f.; *Ant.* 14.100-102; Taricheae, *War* 1.180; *Ant.* 14.120; the Galilean caves and Ezekias, *War* 1.204; *Ant.* 14.159.

¹⁰⁸ His brother also had control of many fortresses and the support of a leader of the mercenaries, as well as an alliance with "the tyrant" of Tyre, *War* 1.236-8; *Ant.* 14.294-8. Again, gentiles in the background. Perhaps even in the foreground, since Malichus is a Nabatean name and A. Schalit's conjecture, that the man may have been a mercenary who rose to command, is not unlikely (*König Herodes*, Berlin, 1969, 749f., henceforth

for Hyrcanus may have been due, as Josephus indicates, to Hyrcanus' sloth and Antipater's activity. However, other factors were probably contributory. One may have been the hostility of the old Jerusalem priesthood towards the Hasmonean High Priests, as upstarts and illegal. This feeling was expressed by their delegates to Pompey (*Ant.* 14.41; Diodorus 40.2).¹⁰⁹ Another factor may have been the hostility of the Judean landlords. Josephus has a report that he probably heard as a child in Jerusalem: When Hyrcanus was deprived of political power, "the people ... glad at being freed from monarchic government, henceforth conducted their affairs as aristocracies" (*War* 1.170; cp. *Ant.* 14.91).

In spite of all this, the Hasmonean high priesthood lasted more than a century (153-37 BCE). It had no serious rival, and no comparable successor, so it came to occupy a higher place in Jewish imagination than it had actually enjoyed in popular esteem. By historians it has been credited chiefly with carrying through the Maccabean revolt, shaking off the Seleucids, and saving Judaism (for better or for worse) from syncretism. That was truly an important achievement, but a second, comparable to it, was the transformation of the Jews from a little provincial people (albeit one with important colonies in distant lands) to the chief element of a powerful military-political-religious complex of which the brief conquests not only made them notorious throughout the near east, but also produced in Palestine the many curious combinations of Jewish and gentile elements that must be posited to explain the diverse Palestinian products of the two first centuries, BCE and CE—the Palestinian apocrypha and pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, the Dead Sea sects and the works they produced, the Herodian dynasty, temple, priesthood and state religion, the Sadducean party that worked with it, the Shechemites who went their own way, the Pharisees, the many individual pietists and prophets (among them John the baptist), the miracle workers like Jesus and Simon 'the magician,' the legalistic revolutionaries like Judas of Galilee (or Gamala?), the devout assassins, the sacrilegious zealots, the many leaders, the more numerous partisans, the innumerable victims, the local cults and cultures of the diverse cities—old Semitic, hellenized, new foundations (Greek and Herodian)—and the religious groups from which would grow Christianity, the cult of Simon, and other similar sects, rabbinic Judaism and its variants; and

"Schalit, *Herodes*"). Josephus' representation of Hyrcanus as no less afraid of Malichus than of Antipater, may not be far from the truth.

¹⁰⁹ Its background has been traced by J. Sievers, *The Hasmoneans and their Supporters from Mattathias to the Death of John Hyrcanus I*, Scholars Press, 1990 (USF Studies in the History of Judaism 6).

finally, enveloping all these distinguishable groups, the life of the ordinary people of the land. All these are parts or products of the amazing amalgam that the Hasmonean conquests produced, and none of them is free of the pervasive influences of hellenistic culture and Jewish tradition.

KING HEROD, THE IOUDAIOS

The Parthian invasion and the end of the Hasmonean high priesthood [need not be rehearsed here]. Once again the gentiles, this time solicited by a Hasmonean and/or his gentile backer (Lysanias, successor of Ptolemy son of Menneus, *War* 1.248f.; *Ant.* 14.330f.) had produced a major change in Judaism and left the Jews to work out the consequences. Similarly, the Romans appointed Herod merely 'King,' without bothering to say, of what. The act bestowed a recognizable status in the Roman hierarchy of administrators, the territory and subjects attached were adjustable. On his coinage, Herod wisely left the question open; he used always 'Herod, King' without further definition which might turn away the awards he hoped yet to receive. He seems to have loved mainly power, and wanted all he could get.

Nevertheless, he was in fact limited by the supporters he could attract. His grandfather, father, and brothers had held important administrative posts under Janneus, Salome, and Hyrcanus. They had presumably built up a corps of followers, most of them Idumeans from their own estates or tribe, but also many mercenaries. He himself had begun administration at age 25 in 47 BCE,¹¹⁰ and had thus made friends (as well as enemies) in Galilee, Samaria, and Judea, where he had held authority. He and his brothers with their friends had been able to defeat, without foreign help, the conspiracy started by Malichus (*War* 1.227-40; *Ant.* 14.283-99). In this conflict he had captured (and kept) Masada. When he had to flee Judea in 41 BCE he could take a company of—reportedly—9,000; it enabled him to beat off a serious Judean attack. On reaching safety in Idumea he sent away most, but left 800 as guards for his women folk in Masada. Besides these, shortly afterwards, when he went to Egypt and thence to Rome, he took with him enough to fill a trireme (*War* 1.280f.; *Ant.* 14.378).

Consequently, when he got back to Ptolemais in 39 BCE with his new Roman title, he was probably able to recall quickly many of his former soldiers, as well as to hire new mercenaries. (Roman troops were not available. Ventidius, Antony's general, had left a small force to besiege Jerusalem, but was busy with the rest in Syria.)¹¹¹ Herod, with his own troops, went first to Galilee where he had been governor.

¹¹⁰ *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, 2nd ed., IV.1 (1952) 83, correcting *Ant.* 14.158 (cf. *War* 1.203).

¹¹¹ H. Gundel, "Ventidius (5)," *RE* 2R 8 (1955) 807-12.

“Almost all Galilee came over to him.”¹¹² This statement obviously came from a eulogy. Probably he did get some men. Next, to Joppa, an old Judean colony that had profited from piracy (Strabo 16.2.28); it had to be conquered and he had enough men to conquer it. This provided money, gave him a tax-free port and perhaps some ships, and opened the way for relief of Masada, which Antigonus’ forces were besieging, and for rescue of his family. Going through Idumea he attracted a large following, old friends and new joiners (*War* 1.293; *Ant.* 14.398). From Masada to Jerusalem his following increased; country places submitted, deserters from the city came in numbers. Thus far (if we can trust Josephus, who is hostile) he had had no substantial help from the Romans.

What follows is often incoherent and self-contradictory, perhaps a drastic abbreviation of several texts. The basic facts: Galilee often revolted, but was resubjugated; Jericho was divided, the rich for him, the poor against; the Judean countryside was generally hostile; Idumea (except for occasional trouble makers) and Samaria (with similar exceptions) were friendly. He quartered his family in Samaria and celebrated there his marriage with Mariamme, which made him grandson-in-law of both Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II. When he came back to the siege his army is said to have totaled 30,000 besides his former troops (*Ant.* 14.468), and he now had large Roman support. Nevertheless, although the Pharisees urged them to admit him (*Ant.* 15.3), the people of Jerusalem stood a long siege. Since the city was controlled by Antigonus, the question of Herod’s popularity is left open. Some indication is given by troop figures. Allowing for exaggeration, we may suppose he had 30,000 men in all. If 10,000 were mercenaries (Janneus had had only six to nine thousand) there would remain about 20,000 partisans who were willing to follow Herod and fight for him when his chances were still uncertain. (He might be killed in battle or poisoned, Antigonus might win over the Roman commander, the Parthians might come back ... Who knew?) In proportion to their families and friends, the men who came out to fight for him were probably less than one to ten; so his force of 20,000 probably came from a body of more than 200,000 supporters in the population. Did Antigonus have more?

In reading Josephus’ reports of popular support for the Hasmonians, we must remember that Josephus himself was of the Hasmonian family; this we know, for Josephus tells us so. The knowledge of it grew in him with time: When he began *War* he was merely “son of Matthias... a priest from Jerusalem” (1.3). After a dozen years in Roman Jewish society, he was “nearly” related to the

¹¹² *War* 1.291; *Ant.* 14.395; cp. *War* 1.303; *Ant.* 14.413 (revolts).

"Kings from the Hasmonean line,"¹¹³ this is why he has an honored place in the priesthood, and thinks it beneath him to tell anything false about them (!). A few years later, and all ambiguity is gone: "I am of the royal family on my mother's side" (*Vita* 2). From a witness so highly placed above prejudice we should expect perfect veracity, were it not that he was also much indebted to his (not-very-close) relative, King Agrippa II, for information and patronage.¹¹⁴ Agrippa II was great-grandson of both Herod and Mariamme the Hasmonean, but Herod had executed both Mariamme and his grandfather (Aristobulus IV), and even worse had been a *parvenu*, so Agrippa II much preferred to recall his relation to the "Kings from the Hasmonean line." Also, he may have harbored some hope of an ultimate restoration, a hope Josephus tactfully encouraged by providing historical evidence of the popularity of former Hasmonean rulers. Such evidence should therefore be discounted sharply, and the fact that Hyrcanus II and Herod were put in by the Romans should be balanced by the fact that Antigonus was installed by the Parthians, and Aristobulus II by the Itureans and Janneus' bully boys (whom the Pharisees had tried to execute).¹¹⁵

Allowance must also be made for Josephus' misunderstanding of the events. He had grown up while the revolt of 66 CE was brewing and had been so much involved in it that he got a place on a committee sent to Galilee by some Jerusalem leaders, a place he parlayed into some sort of local command that led the Romans to think him important. His failure as a commander, acceptance of the Roman triumph, success in exploiting it for his advantage, and complete rejection, for political purposes, of his earlier revolutionary dream, "The people will unite against the Romans," did not obliterate the influence of this dream on his thought about pre-revolt history.¹¹⁶ He had been taught, as an adolescent, to see the preceding century as a prelude to the realization of this hope. When the hope proved false in the present, he nevertheless continued to see the past as he had before, substituting his more realistic view only when forced to do so by his own memories of events or his new determination to exculpate the people as a whole from the charge of revolt.

¹¹³ *Ant.* 16.187. The ambiguity is that of Swift, "The Progress of Marriage."

¹¹⁴ S. Schwartz, *Josephus and Judaean Politics*, Leiden, 1990 (Columbia Studies in Classical Tradition 18), 110-160, gives a detailed history of this relationship.

¹¹⁵ Compare the credulity of M. Stern, "Social and Political Realignments in Herodian Judea," *The Jerusalem Cathedral* 2 (1982) 40f.

¹¹⁶ Nor even the influence of his revolutionary values. The heroism he most admires, even in his enemies, is the ability to hold to one's principles, endure torture, and die without flinching. He praises it with the eloquence of one who could not display it; cf. *War* 2.152f.; *War* 7.333-336; *Ant.* 15.287f. This lofty glorification of suicide with its Stoic facade, is built on self-hatred.

Hence his misunderstanding of the reign of Hyrcanus II, an age of dynastic conflicts, not revolts of the *ethnos*—neither side was “the *ethnos*”—against outside powers.¹¹⁷ Similarly he misunderstood the politics of the early years of Herod’s reign when the old, Hyrcanian party split, some joining Herod’s followers, others joining the Aristobulus-Antigonus party which now, lacking a viable candidate, concentrated its attack on Herod as a parvenu, not of royal stock, only half a Jew, an insult to national tradition. So long as they had any hope for Roman support they could not add, as an objection, “an agent of Rome.” Only as they gradually gave up hope of a Roman reversal did they gradually begin to accuse Herod of serving the Roman cause. Thus the dynastic conflict gradually, but only gradually, turned into a disorganized but widespread ethnic resistance. More information would probably show that Herod at first succeeded in building a substantial Herodian party, but lost much of it in the domestic reign of terror at the end of his life.^c What then remained was shattered by the division of his kingdom and the quarrels of his sons, so that the “Herodians” of Mark (3:6 and 12:13) and Matthew (22:16—still cooperating with the Pharisees!) puzzled even Luke, as they have most later commentators. Agrippa I had not the time, nor Agrippa II the position, to rebuild the party. By the late fifties CE various resistance groups were able to join in opposing simply “the Romans,” though their junctures were far from complete or permanent.

How much of this history Josephus knew, is hard to say. His chief “modern” source, Nicholas, failed him shortly after Archelaus’ deposition. From then, on to his own time—roughly from 6 to 56 CE (when he turned 18)—his information about Palestine is spotty. Fortunately for history, however, he was a lazy and careless author.¹¹⁸ Instead of research and reconstruction, he much preferred free paraphrase of available sources. When one of these sources praised Herod highly, Josephus would transcribe or paraphrase the eulogy without taking the trouble to reconcile what he was copying with his own slanders. The praises are no less obviously prejudiced than the polemics, but prejudiced statements are often true, so neither can be

¹¹⁷ None of the Hasmoneans had been anti-Roman in principle. From Judas Maccabeus on they had sought Roman assistance and often got it. Even Antigonus in his last days was intriguing for the support of the officer in charge of the siege, *Ant.* 14.403f; *War* 1.302; *Ant.* 14.412; etc. U. Rappaport, “La Judée et Rome pendant la regne d’Alexandre Jannée,” *REJ* 127 (1968) 329-45, tries to find a long-term anti-Roman policy in the adjustments by Salome and Jannaeus to the temporary predominance of Tigranes and Mithridates in their part of the world, but the long-term policy he reveals is, in fact, opportunism.

^c [Below Smith doubts the veracity of this reign of terror.]

¹¹⁸ S. Cohen, *Josephus*, especially the passages cited on p. 276 under the heading, “Josephus: ... inconsistency and sloppiness.”

rejected at once. Both must be evaluated by comparison with the course of events. What were the facts?

It is certain that Herod's reign gave the Judeans and the *Ioudaioi* peace. After seventy years of recurrent wars, from 107 to 37 BCE, the thirty three years of his reign saw fighting only in three: an operation against the Nabateans was assigned him by Antony in 32 and ended in 31; he himself in 9/8 led a brief punitive campaign against brigands in Trachonitis.¹¹⁹ Whether or not during this long peace (guaranteed, not to say, enforced, by Augustus) he chose to keep his army at 30,000, is unknown, but unlikely.¹²⁰ He didn't need it. Never, during his reign, did he have to deal with any serious revolt. Had there been one, Josephus would have happily reported it.¹²¹ That their absence was due solely to suppression seems unlikely because, once resistance to the Romans became serious, the Romans themselves were unable to keep the country quiet.

Moreover, Herod was not indifferent to his people's needs. He made severe financial sacrifices to relieve a famine in 25 BCE (*Ant.* 15.299-316); about 20 BCE he cut taxes by a third after bad harvests (*Ant.* 15.365); in 14 he cut them by a quarter after his great expenses to win Agrippa's support for the Jews of Asia (*Ant.* 16.62-5). Augustus, who was a sharp judge of administrators and particularly disliked revolts (they were expensive) was well pleased by Herod's performance and showed his pleasure by repeatedly extending his territories.¹²²

This record, especially the absence of revolts, makes most unlikely Josephus' claims that Herod was generally hated by his subjects. We

¹¹⁹ *War* 1.364-72; *Ant.* 15.108-20; 16.286-99; cf. Nicholas of Damascus, FGrHist 90 F 136. Herod also contributed 500 men (mercenaries?) to the exploratory campaign of Aelius Gallus in Arabia in 25-24 BCE (*Ant.* 15.317).

¹²⁰ The sudden diminution of Judean coinage in north Galilee (see above n. 80) argues against it, but is not conclusive. Herod probably preferred to recruit fellow Idumeans.

¹²¹ The worst thing he could find was a conspiracy when Herod was reported to be dying: about forty young men cut an eagle off the pylon of the temple. They were rounded up, apparently without serious trouble, and condemned to death; the condemnation was approved by a public assembly; yet Josephus calls the episode a "revolt of the common people" (*demotike epanastasis*), *War* 1.648-55, 667-73. His judgment was apparently based on the fact that after Herod's death a series of protests, organized to make trouble for persons involved in the event, got out of hand (because Archelaus, not yet confirmed as king, was afraid to suppress them at once), and led to a riot in which many were killed. A riot is not a revolt.

¹²² Herod probably had Judea, Idumea, the southern Perea, and Galilee after Actium. In 30 BCE he was given Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and Strato's Tower (along the coast), Jericho and its district, Samaria, and in northern Transjordan, Gadara and Hippos (*War* 1.396-7; *Ant.* 15.215-17). In 23 BCE Augustus gave him large tracts north-east of them—Trachonitis, Batanea, Auranitis (*War* 1.398; *Ant.* 15.343-8); in 20 BCE, territories north of Hippos—Gaulanitis and Ulatha (the upper Jordan valley, *Ant.* 15.360). In all this period he lost Augustus' favor only for about a year (8/7 BCE) and then (reportedly) because he was slandered (*Ant.* 16.286-92, 335-55).

should therefore look at those claims more closely. Like Josephus' own claims to royal ancestry, these claims too seem never to be mentioned in *War*.¹²³ The silence about Josephus' ancestry we might attribute to his charming modesty, but what could explain his failure to mention so important an historical fact as the general hatred of Herod? In this case, ignorance. Since the charge was probably false (as shown above) it was probably not a common report, but a libel Josephus found in some single source [when writing *Ant.*]. The first time he uses the charge, he cites Strabo as evidence (*Ant.* 15.8ff. citing FG_{GrHist} 91 F 18). Was Strabo the source?¹²⁴

Once he had found it, Josephus treated it with his usual inconsistency. It is rarely mentioned, perhaps because there was little evidence for it, so the best (worst?) he could do was insert it occasionally where it did not fit. For instance, in the episode of the trophies set up around the Jerusalem theatre (*Ant.* 15.267-91). They drew protests because they were thought to be statues. So Herod had one publicly stripped and showed the bare beams beneath the armor. At this the outcries turned to laughter and he won over the majority (280). "Some," however, remained angry, calling him "an enemy of all the *ethnos*." Ten of these formed a plot to assassinate him in the theatre (evidently he was popular enough to go there without many guards). The plot was betrayed and Herod did not think it improbable, "considering the hatred of himself which he knew *most people felt*, and the disturbances arising *on every occasion*" (286, my italics, neither claim substantiated). So the conspirators were invited to the palace. Evidently they thought it safe to accept the invitations, but they were arrested on arrival, confessed the plot, and died with the high moral dignity Josephus sometimes attributed even to unsuccessful murderers (cf. n. 116). No public disturbance followed. Clearly the references here to general hatred of Herod are interpretations added by Josephus and refuted by the facts. Moreover, the following report that Herod's building program was motivated mainly by fear of rebellion, resultant from these events (*Ant.* 15.292), is chronologically impossible for

¹²³ *Seem*—I have checked only the uses of *misein*, *misos*, *ekhthra*, and *ekhthros*, so expressions of the idea in other words may have escaped me.

¹²⁴ The primary source may have been Cleopatra. In Strabo the libel appears as part of an excuse for Antony's execution of Antigonus—contrary to Roman custom. Cleopatra is said to have liked Antony; she hated Herod (*Ant.* 15.75-9, etc.). Her story would have circulated in Egypt. Strabo may have learned it from Aelius Gallus, prefect of Egypt about 25 BCE, when Strabo visited him there. Gallus was the adoptive father of Sejanus, whose hostility to the Jews is either reported or invented by Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium* 24.159f. For data and doubt see M. Smallwood's commentary, Leiden, 1961, ad loc. Further, *PIR*, 2nd ed., I (1933) nos. 179 and 255; G. Aujac and F. Lasserre, introduction to Strabon, *Géographie* I.1, Paris, 1969, p. xxxv.

structures erected before 27/6 (the date of the conspiracy), and is absurd for complexes like Caesarea, Phasaelis, Paneas.

Similarly the account of the famine of 25/4 has been skewed. The pro-Herodian source said it made Herod hated by his subjects but added in his defense “because hard times always make people blame their rulers” (*Ant.* 15.304). It then told of his efforts to relieve the suffering and concluded that these so impressed the *Ioudaioi* “that the old hatreds were eradicated from the entire *ethnos* and the zeal shown in help during the crises seemed a fair exchange” (*sc.* for the prior suffering, *Ant.* 15.315). Clearly “the old hatreds” were those produced by the famine. But Josephus saw his chance and inserted a gloss to make them “the old hatreds stirred up by his recasting some things of the customs and of the monarchy,” matters not here in question.

Again, when he reports the tax cut of 20 BCE Josephus says it was “on the pretext” of bad crops, “but more to conciliate those ill disposed” because his policies threatened their religion and customs (*Ant.* 15.365). “More” is obviously questionable, but here he cites some evidence: assemblies were prohibited,¹²⁵ informers multiplied, and a loyalty oath was imposed (366-71). These do indicate substantial opposition, but neither indicate its cause nor prove that the opponents were the majority. In fact, most of his subjects consented to take the loyalty oath.¹²⁶ Perhaps uneasily, Josephus supplemented his pretended evidence of general hatred for Herod with a passage of psychohistory explaining why Herod hated the Jews. Again the hatred is not demonstrated, but is “explained” by the fact that their law prohibited them from honoring him with statues and temples (*Ant.* 16.158). This is written as if Herod were neither a Jew nor an adherent of the Mosaic law.^d With this Josephus lets the matter drop and turns to gloat over Herod’s domestic disasters (book 16, end, and most of 17).

To close the account, however, he tells the following story: Herod at the end was bitter because he believed the *ethnos* took pleasure in his misfortunes (*Ant.* 17.148); he said he knew the Judeans were praying for his death (17.176); therefore he called in all the distinguished men “of the whole *ethnos*,” shut them up in the hippodrome of Jericho, and, with his sister Salome and her then husband Alexas, had one of those secret bedroom scenes about which Josephus was so well informed (*cp.* n. 93). He told them that before announcing his death they should have his soldiers kill everyone shut up in the hippodrome.

¹²⁵ The assertion that walking or living together was prohibited (in the city!) is absurd.

¹²⁶ As to the Pharisees, *Ant.* 15.369-70 is more ambiguous than the Loeb translation suggests, but *Ant.* 17.42 indicates refusal.

^d [Note, however, that below Smith says several times that Herod was not beholden to pentateuchal law.]

This would assure him that the whole people would mourn when he died, and their mourning would make him happy. Salome and Alexas promised to obey, but as soon as he was dead they dismissed the prisoners unharmed.

This is obviously a folktale. The tyrant who plots to make his victims mourn his death, the notion of mourning as magical (*ex opere operato* it benefits those who die when it is done, regardless of the mourners' intent), the tyrant's good sister/wife/courtier, who foils his dying wish—these need no introduction. Of course, some folktales are basically true, but this is not likely to be one of those. The historical Herod was much concerned about his will, repeatedly altering it and anxious to have it confirmed by Augustus; that he should have done something like this is therefore incredible. Such a massacre would surely have made Augustus declare him insane and annul the will. For the same reason it is incredible that Salome and Alexas, the only parties to the plot, should ever have reported it. Salome was much interested in the validity of that will—it gave her three cities and 500,000 pieces of coined silver (*Ant.* 17.189). She would never say a thing to discredit it. The historical basis may be that an ethnic assembly was called, probably to meet the chosen heirs and hear a final harangue by Nicholas. When the king's illness canceled the proceedings, those invited were held for a few days in the hippodrome and then dismissed at the king's death. The persons immediately in charge of the operation provided no explanation, perhaps from thoughtlessness, perhaps because they had none. Malicious invention took over and drew its inspiration from III Maccabees, which has a plot for a similar massacre. The legend of "the slaughter of the innocents" (*Matt* 2:16-18) came from the same sort of bloodthirsty fantasy.

Finally, the case for general hatred of Herod cannot be proved by the disturbances that followed his death, nor from the fact that a delegation was sent from Jerusalem to ask Augustus to put Judea under direct Roman government, abolishing the monarchy. The disturbances were produced by distinct, limited groups, exploiting the administrative uncertainty between Herod's death and Augustus' approval of Archelaus.¹²⁷ Only in Judea and Galilee did some win brief popular support, in both cases local, and only in the beginning of the trouble in Jerusalem was there a direct relation to hatred of Herod (demands for diminution of taxes, release of prisoners, and revenge for the punishment of those who had cut down the eagle). The delegation sent to Augustus by "the Jews" (the city council in

¹²⁷ *War* 2.5-13, 39-79; *Ant.* 17.206-18, 221-23, 250-98.

Jerusalem?)¹²⁸ is said to have begun its plea for abolition of the monarchy with a denunciation of Herod—a vitriolic example of ancient rhetorical abuse, not supported by particulars.¹²⁹ The report of these proceedings is Josephus', but the rhetoric was whipped up by his secretary from the commonplaces of anti-tyrannical literature.¹³⁰ Granting that something of the sort happened (and, therefore, that Herod had left many wealthy opponents able to send such a delegation), the question is, how far does the rhetoric correspond to the facts? The absence of serious revolts in a reign of more than thirty years, the evidence that Herod made important efforts to help his people, and the inability of Josephus to find good evidence for extensive resistance (this made him resort to the falsifications reviewed above) make it seem that Herod's government was not bitterly or generally hated.

With the legend set aside we can glimpse the actual figure. An Idumean, one of the *Ioudaioi* allied with the Judeans, Herod was by Judean standards only “a half Jew,” as Antigonus called him (*Ant.* 14.403)—a *Ioudaios* by alliance and by the basic rite of circumcision, but not a Judean by ancestry and observance of the pentateuchal law.¹³¹ The history of the *Ioudaioi* and his family history account for many peculiarities of his reign.

His grandfather, governor of Idumea in the days of Janneus, had seen how the support of the *Ioudaioi* enabled Janneus both to overrun the neighboring cities and to put down the resistance of the Judeans and the surviving Shechemites (see above). His father, the general executive officer (*epitropos*) of Hyrcanus II, had taught him that political power depended on manpower, ultimately, therefore, on the Romans, but immediately on the Palestinian troops and mercenaries available. His displacement of the Hasmoneans assured him of much hostility in Judea (however unpopular the individuals, the dynasty had been a matter of local pride). The adherents of Aristobulus' line in Galilee and the Peraea (but not the rest of the populations there) will also have been his enemies. His status as a *Ioudaios* would make the hellenized cities look at him askance. His men and his power would have to come mainly from *Ioudaioi* like himself in Idumea, Galilee,

¹²⁸ *War* 2.80; *Ant.* 17.299-316.

¹²⁹ *War* 2.84-91, enlarged in *Ant.* 17.304-14, but still without any specific reference.

¹³⁰ From Thucydides on, ancient historians commonly wrote the speeches for their characters. Josephus was an exception. The speeches for his characters were commonly written by his assistants who could write rhetorical Greek.

¹³¹ That the reference is to his supposedly Nabatean mother is unlikely. The description in *War* 1.181, “a woman of distinguished (parents) from Arabia,” probably means, “of a distinguished Idumean family living in Arabia.” Otherwise Josephus would have said “of distinguished Arab (parents),” and would have referred to his mother's alien origin from time to time.

and the Peraea, and from the Samaritans. However, with his own skill and forces, and with Roman support, he could, by military successes, win followers from other areas, even from Judea. And there were always mercenaries. The friendly areas are identifiable as those he used for winter quarters. In the first winter after his return from Rome, these were Idumea, Samaria, and Galilee (*War* 1.302f.; *Ant.* 14.411). The following year and a half saw hard fighting only in Galilee, where he won, and in northern Judea and Jericho where, in spite of his attempt to conciliate the people by marrying Mariamme, grand-daughter of both Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II, it was only with massive Roman help that he was finally able to take Jerusalem, a strong position requiring skill in siege warfare. The marriage with Mariamme may have been less effective than he hoped because it was celebrated in Samaria, where he had put his women folk for safe keeping (*War* 1.344; *Ant.* 14.467).

Installed as king and married into the dynasty, he was still, in Judean eyes, at best an ally—in the terminology we are using, a *Ioudaios*, circumcised, indeed, but not otherwise an observer of the law. This he remained; it was often a convenience.¹³² When fleeing Antigonus, he could put up in an Idumean temple (*War* 1.277; *Ant.* 14.374); after being granted kingship he could join in sacrifices to Jupiter Capitolinus and in a dinner given for him by Antony (*War* 1.284f.; *Ant.* 14.383); before a difficult battle he could hearten his *Ioudaioi* and mercenaries by offering sacrifice (*War* 1.380; *Ant.* 15.147)¹³³; he could use pagan symbols on his currency¹³⁴; he could marry his sister to a fellow Idumean aristocrat, Costobar, hereditary priest of the god Qos, make his new brother-in-law governor of Idumea and Gaza, and have his sister divorce him when he proved a traitor.¹³⁵ Besides such minor conveniences, his freedom as a *Ioudaios* was essential for his domestic and foreign policy. The ruler cult around the eastern Mediterranean being as it was, no such cities as Caesarea and Seleucia could have been built without temples for the worship of the emperor. Omission would have been considered *lèse majesté* (*maiestas*, an actionable crime). Not to have built the cities would have

¹³² It had also its inconvenient side. For instance, it may explain *Ant.* 15.420, which Hudson was forced to suppose corrupt.

¹³³ In the *Antiquities* the sacrificial act is described as *kata ta nomizomena*. If this means, “according to the requirements of Jewish law” it is as surprising as a kosher stamp on a ham. Does it mean, “according to (Idumean) custom”? Marcus’ note is preposterous.

¹³⁴ D. Jacobson, “A new Interpretation of the Reverse of Herod’s Largest Coin,” *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 31 (1986) 145–65, esp. 148–9 and 158–65.

¹³⁵ For the name, G. Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names*, Toronto, 1971, p. 491, and M. Smith, *Parties*, 69. For Costobar’s family and career, *Ant.* 15.253–66. Josephus thought Salome’s divorcing him to be contrary to Jewish law, *Ant.* 15.259. This suggests that the Judean-Idumean alliance provided for valid *connubium* with gentiles.

been almost as bad. Such territorial gifts as Herod received required acknowledgment, and the most appropriate acknowledgment was a city commemorating a name or title from the imperial circle.¹³⁶

As a *Ioudaios*, Herod could not only build such temples in Palestine, he could also contribute to the cults of pagan gods abroad, for instance, Apollo at Rhodes, and the Olympian Zeus—he was made honorary president of the Olympic games (*Ant.* 16.147-149). These, and his many contributions to pagan cities, are explained by Josephus as bids for fame and adulation (*Ant.* 16.152ff.). No doubt they were, but they also had a mercenary motive. Most of his gifts went to cities of the Syrian coast, Asia Minor, the Aegean Islands, and Greece. These cities had large Jewish settlements which regularly sent much money to Jerusalem. “Money” meant gold and silver; such coins were in relatively short supply. To have large numbers annually drained from an area raised the price of money there and hindered business. The cities therefore kept trying to hinder such shipments, and the resultant disputes were exacerbated by the other privileges the Jews had been granted, mainly by Julius Caesar: the right not to appear in courts on sabbaths or other Jewish holy days, the rights to form associations, hold funds, erect and own buildings, assemble for worship and common meals, and generally follow the requirements of their own law, including the refusal to contribute to or participate in other cults—an innocent-looking provision which could be interpreted to include freedom from military duty, since the army worshiped as a body.

Herod’s father, Antipater, had established the good relations with Caesar from which these rulings probably resulted.¹³⁷ They had partially fallen into desuetude during the civil wars and the Jewish communities, in conflicts with their local governments, needed an advocate with standing, who could get respect from local governors and even friendly attention from Augustus. Herod was the man, the more so because, as a *Ioudaios*, he was free to make gifts even to the temples and the religious cults^e of the cities concerned. Also he had the services of Nicholas, a highly skilled legal pleader whom Augustus liked.¹³⁸ The result of all this was an empire-wide establishment of Judaism as a religion legally tolerated and protected by the Roman government—the most important achievement of the Herodian

¹³⁶ Paneas was excusable as a reference to the local god. The other places without imperial names were minor sites.

¹³⁷ Both the relations and the rulings are to some extent conjectural. See the excellent reconstruction by Smallwood, *Jews*, 125-37.

^e [Smith’s original typescript reads “costs,” which almost certainly is a typographical error for “cults.” In his last proofing of the manuscript, Smith corrected the word to “funds,” but what are “religious funds”?]

¹³⁸ Plutarch, *Quaestiones convivales* 8.4.1, end (723D) [= FGh 90 T 10].

dynasty, since it was the legal basis of the religion's survival to and through the middle ages.

Herod's status as a *Ioudaios* probably put him also on good personal terms with many in the diasporic communities who were themselves *Ioudaioi* or descendants of *Ioudaioi*.¹³⁹ In the predominantly pagan world of the diaspora it is likely that Jews, Judeans, and *Ioudaioi* often stuck together, overcoming their differences by compromise or neglect. We have little evidence on the requirements for admission to diasporic synagogues; no doubt they differed greatly. We find Philo writing of Alexandrian Jews who thought the commandments allegorical, to be understood, not obeyed (*De migratione Abr.* 16.89). Josephus tells us that the first Jewish mentor of the King of Adiabene assured him, "It is possible ... to revere the deity even without circumcision ... To be a zealous adherent of the ancestral customs of the Jews ... is more important than being circumcised" (*Ant.* 20.41). But what did such people think "the ancestral customs of the Jews" were? In Sardis they seem to have included sacrifice, since the assembly of Sardis gave the Jews there a place to perform it (*Ant.* 14.259ff.).¹⁴⁰

Whatever they were, there is no doubt of Herod's ability to secure Roman approval, or of the financial importance of this for the income of his kingdom. His greatest triumph would seem to have been in 14 BCE, when he got Marcus Agrippa, then Augustus' personal representative in the east, to meet with the representatives of the Jews of Ionia and hear a presentation, by Nicholas, of their grievances against the cities in which they lived, and their petitions for remedies. Agrippa granted them everything they asked for. Herod came home, reported this to an assembly, and at the same time announced a 25% tax cut for the coming year—probably in anticipation of the increased income from Ionia (*Ant.* 16.16-65). If Ionia alone could give so much, what could be expected from the other areas of the diaspora: the Black Sea coasts, the rest of Asia Minor, Syria, Parthia, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Cyrenaica, Africa, Sicily, Italy, Gaul, Greece, Macedonia, Crete, Cyprus—to mention only those with substantial Jewish populations?

¹³⁹ It will probably, however, not have sufficed to overcome the partisan hostility of those who were captured and enslaved as supporters of Aristobulus or Antigonus. Descendants of such were probably the 8,000 Jews of Rome who supported the delegation from Jerusalem asking that the kingship be taken from the house of Herod, and the Herodian territories be added to the province of Syria (see above n. 129). Such a demonstration is easier to understand as an expression of hatred for the Herodians, than as one of appreciation for Roman government. (Cp. Smallwood, *Jews*, 109.)

¹⁴⁰ Additional passages in Smith, *Parties*, 72f. Marcus' note in the Loeb Josephus, ad loc., "'Sacrifices' ... must here be used in the ... sense of 'offerings,'" illustrates the exegetic use of the categorical imperative—the sort without rational basis.

To increase the attachment of diasporic Jews to Palestine, Herod tried to improve Palestine's tourist attractions. First of all, the temple. His magnificent rebuilding, which made it one of the wonders of the world, was not merely to conciliate the Judeans and advertise himself (as Josephus suggests, *Ant.* 15.380). It was also to attract the diasporic Jews and also to hold the loyalty of the *Ioudaioi* (in danger of drifting off, now that the old alliances meant little) and also to provide work for the craftsmen of Jerusalem and attract craftsmen for the work. (When it seemed at last to be about to be wholly completed, in 64/5 CE, the eighteen thousand and more workers still employed on it had to be set to paving the city streets with white stone, *Ant.* 20.222.)

Along with its practical importance, the temple gave Herod a magnificent opportunity to indulge his love of beauty and his great ability and greater passion for monumental architecture.¹⁴¹ But it was also important for his own, Idumean religion. It was his ancestral shrine, as well as the Judeans'; the god was the god of his fathers, as well as of theirs. He consecrated to it his most extravagant gift, and when that was vandalized he reacted with true religious rage. (Following Josephus, *Ant.* 17.149-61, modern writers discussing the incident have spoken only of the religious feelings of the vandals.)

Caesarea and Sebaste are to be seen primarily as approaches to the temple. Caesarea was the monumental gateway to Palestine, built especially for the temple trade from the north and northwest; Anthedon was rebuilt as Agrippias for that from the south. Sebaste was the half-way stop between Caesarea and Jerusalem, a fine new city, well worth several days' rest. From Jerusalem the pious or curious would want to go on to the Idumean Abrahamic shrines of Hebron and Mambre;¹⁴² these also—especially the great *temenos* at Hebron—Herod rebuilt magnificently. (Josephus does not mention them in his list of Herod's buildings; his father, a priest of Jerusalem, had disliked the competition.) For these, too, there was a half-way house, the spectacular castle-palace of Herodium, with accommodations for travelers at the base. Herod built it to be his tomb and monument, at a site where he had defeated the Judeans (*War* 1.265, 419ff., 673; *Ant.* 14.360; 17.199).

The common interests of the *Ioudaioi* and the diasporic Jews found another expression in the creation of a new high priesthood, mainly

¹⁴¹ The eulogy by E. Netzer, "Herod's Building Projects," *The Jerusalem Cathedral I* (1981) 48-61, is wonderfully perceptive of things indemonstrable, but rests on a reasonable inference from the magnificent remains to the character of the man who ordered the buildings.

¹⁴² E. Mader, *Mambre*, Freiburg i.B., 1958.

from diasporic families.¹⁴³ The change was of more than ritual and symbolic importance. It improved the ties of the diaspora to Jerusalem, and also presumably, the contributions. In Jerusalem itself, it created a sharp breach between “the high priests” (those of the chosen families) and the old, hereditary Jerusalem priesthood, probably the backbone of resistance to the new order. The High Priest not only had at least nominal control of the temple money, but also presided over the court which interpreted the law. Presumably temple funds would be made available for the needs of the state, and religious law interpreted to meet them, but the presumption must go almost unsupported, since the transactions of the temple treasury were never reported and whatever reports there were of Herodian halakha have been lost, not to say, obliterated.

Inferential evidence of obliteration is sometimes available. For instance, a major embarrassment to the Herodians must have been Deut 17:15, “You are to appoint a king over you from among your brethren; you shall not have the right to impose on yourselves an alien *who is not your brother*.” Josephus probably had this in mind when he made Antigonus complain to the Romans that their backing of Herod, an Idumean, was contrary to Jewish law (*Ant.* 14.403f.). Characteristically, neither Antigonus (in Josephus’ report) nor Josephus himself said anything of Deut 23:8f., “You shall not despise an Edomite, for *he is your brother* ... the third generation of children born to them shall (be permitted) to enter the assembly of Yahweh (i.e. become Israelites).” The Edomites became the Idumeans. If the story of their compulsory conversion were true, Herod’s grandfather, an associate of Janneus, must have been a convert’s son or himself a convert; Herod’s father, an associate of Hyrcanus, must also have been a Jew, and Herod himself would have been at least of the third generation.¹⁴⁴ Nevertheless, when *his* grandson, “Agrippas the King” (probably Agrippa I), at the end of the feast of booths, had to read the law about the king and came to Deut 17:15, tears came to his eyes. The officiants said to him, “Don’t be afraid, Agrippas; you are our brother, you are our brother” (Sotah 7.8). Had the family been Jewish for five generations, the tears would have been needless and the assurance impertinent. Presumably the family had remained Idumean *Ioudaioi* and the assurance was based on Deut 23:8f. But 23:8f is not mentioned. It must have had an important place in the politico-

¹⁴³ Judean local feeling probably prevented any non-Judean *Ioudaioi* of Palestine from becoming priests of Jerusalem. Who succeeded Costobar in the priesthood of Qos, and who were the priests at Dan, Mambre, and Hebron, we should like to know.

¹⁴⁴ S. Cohen, “Origins of the Matrilineal Principle in Rabbinic Law,” *AJS Review* 10 (1985) 19-53, has shown that determination of gentile status according to that of the mother was not customary before the second century CE.

religious teaching of Herod's priestly supporters. The silence about it in the preserved material shows how thorough the censorship has been.

How much importance Herod would have attached to such arguments is uncertain. This one might have helped reconcile some Judeans, and so have been useful. But his own religious life seems to have been shaped by his Idumean background. Circumcision he insisted on for men entering his family. Even his sister Salome was not permitted to marry the Nabatean grandee, Syllaeus—a marriage which might have been of great economic and diplomatic advantage—because he would not consent to circumcision.¹⁴⁵

Herod's concern for Idumean^f shrines and his rebuilding of Hebron, Mambre, and Jerusalem, have already been mentioned. In accord with this concern are the efforts he reportedly made, when capturing Jerusalem, to keep his gentile soldiers out of the temple, and all soldiers from entering, or even looking into, the holy of holies (*War* 1.354; *Ant.* 14.482ff.). This concern also helps explain why he kept Jerusalem as his capital, instead of moving to Samaria, or even, as the Romans later did, to Caesarea. (Little help is needed, however; money was probably decisive. The contributions from the diaspora determined the buildings of Jerusalem, the buildings then fixed the capital there.)

Since we know so little of Idumean food and purity laws we cannot tell whether his abstinence from pork, attested by Augustus' pun,¹⁴⁶ and his concern for ablutions, attested by the baths and pools of Jericho,¹⁴⁷ were indications of Idumaeen observances or concessions to the Jews of his staff and his harem. The same uncertainty attaches to the consistently aniconic decorations of his buildings. The eagle on the portico of the temple may have marked a final break with his own traditions.^g He either inherited or respected the rural Idumeans' hostility towards hellenization in Idumea—he never rebuilt Marisa nor, from all we hear, Adora.

Josephus claims that none of the pagan temples Herod built was "in the land of the Jews," since the Jews "would not have tolerated ...

¹⁴⁵ *Ant.* 16.225. Some sixty years later, his great grandson, Agrippa II, still observed this rule, *Ant.* 20.139.

^f [Smith's manuscript reads "Nabatean."]

¹⁴⁶ "It's better to be a pig (*hus*) of Herod's than a son (*huios*)," Macrobius, *Saturnaliorum* 2.4.11 [= Stern, *Authors* II.665f.]. The Greek pun is lost in Macrobius' Latin.

¹⁴⁷ S. Singer, "The Winter Palaces of Jericho," *BAR* 3.2 (1977) 6-17. Both the immersion tank and the synagogue of Masada, if Herodian, must have been, because of their size, conveniences for only a few of the large staff, and because of their finish and location, probably not for the king.

^g [Note, however, that above Smith speaks of the eagle as a sacred object for Herod.]

reverence of statues and pictures" (*Ant.* 15.329, a warning to the Romans). Consequently Josephus goes on to claim that Caesarea is in Phoenicia (333). Would he have claimed that Sebaste in Samaria was also outside "the land of the Jews"? Probably, since he tells with pleasure of a later occasion when Vitellius came down the coast with an army and the foremost Judeans besought him not to go through "the land of the Jews" because "it was not their ancestral custom to tolerate images being carried through it"; so he consented and went through—the great valley (*Ant.* 18.122). By "the land of the Jews" Josephus seems to have meant here "the land of the Judeans," i.e. Judea. If Herod held similar views, he may have thought himself within the limits of whatever religious law he revered—a fine subject for speculation.

Without much speculation one can say that the preceding data are not well explained either by the supposition that Herod was a complete unbeliever whose occasional acts of apparent piety were produced by materialistic self-interests or by the (common) supposition that he was an orthodox Jew who was very, very naughty. Complete unbelievers are rare in antiquity, and it seems unlikely that one in Herod's position would have contented himself with such austere decorations in his private quarters. On the other hand, Herod's divergences from what is commonly thought to have then been "Jewish orthodoxy" are so great, that it is easier to think his behavior limited (with expectable lapses) by some set of norms [otherwise] unknown to us. These may well have been the beliefs and practices of an Idumean *Ioudaios*.

THE ROMAN TAKEOVER

In spite of Herod's example, during his reign the position of the *Ioudaioi* declined. A strong central administration maintained a long peace and thus diminished the importance and income of its military allies. Hence the drop in the numbers of coins found in north Galilee (see above). This was probably made more severe by the continued attachment of many Galileans to the family of Aristobulus, which proved dangerous when Herod's sons by Mariamme plotted a revolt. Josephus, to flatter their grandson/grand-nephew, Agrippa II, represents them as completely innocent and reduces the army's support to pity and a speech by one old soldier, but he then adds that Herod found three hundred officers so deeply involved as to deserve execution (*Ant.* 16.375-93). Admittedly Herod's criteria for involvement were low, but he probably valued his army officers—a selected and trained group—and he would hardly have risked widespread disaffection in the army had he not been sure it was already there. We may suppose that after this the backgrounds and

sympathies of Galilean recruits were checked and relatively few were accepted.

Idumeans doubtless continued to be favored in recruitment, but recruitment shrank and pride of place in the army went to the king's bodyguards and corps of exotic mercenaries with bigger bodies and fancier armour. At Herod's funeral the army's procession was led by (1) the bodyguards, (2) the Thracians, (3) the Germans, (4) the Gauls (*War* 1.672; *Ant.* 17.198). Even if the bodyguards were Idumeans, those in the rank and file must have boiled. Four or five years earlier Herod had settled three thousand of them in Trachonitis, only to let them be overrun by the local brigands and the Nabateans (*Ant.* 16.283, 292). And instead of sending more settlers and making the district solidly Idumean, he had got a company of Babylonian Jews who were not *Ioudaioi* at all, but observed the Jewish laws, and had settled them next door and given them exemption from all royal taxes—a favor not given the Idumeans (*Ant.* 17.25). No wonder that after Herod's death the veterans in Idumea revolted and the revolt spread to “10,000” (one of Josephus' too round numbers) before they were calmed (*War* 2.55, 76f.). What they wanted and what they got are alike unknown, but the relations of the Idumeans to the central government seem to have cooled.

The Iturean kingdom had been dismembered and the parts were irregularly being attached to, and taken from, the province of Syria. Some were ruled briefly in the thirties and forties CE by Agrippa I, and for forty or fifty years (c. 51-90/100 CE) by Agrippa II, but there is no evidence that either dealt with *Ioudaioi* as a class. Earlier a few Itureans had found places in Herod's court; Soemus, one of his most faithful friends, was an Iturean who died of being left in charge of Mariamme. Generally, however, Itureans seem to have played no important part, henceforth, in Jewish history.

Like the Itureans, the Galileans had been divided. The splitting up of north Galilee left no political solidarity there. Central and southern Galilee had been torn by fights between Aristobulus' line and, first, Hyrcanus' adherents, then Herod (see above). Many of the partisans of Aristobulus and his sons had been killed or enslaved.¹⁴⁸ Their places were probably taken by migratory workers from neighboring areas; to Matthew, writing a century later in neighboring Syria (?), Isaiah's expression, “Galilee of the (many different) *ethne*,” still seemed appropriate (Matt 4:15; Isa 8:23). However, Herod had had his

¹⁴⁸ The survivors suffered a major defeat shortly after Herod's death when they took up arms and the revolt was suppressed, Sepphoris burned, and its population sold into slavery (*BJ* 2.56,68; *Ant.* 17.271, 288f.). For the earlier calamities, see *BJ* 1.177, 180, 204, 307-8, 310-13; *Ant.* 14.102, 120, 159, 413-17, 421-30. Many Galileans probably accompanied Antigonus and were captured by Sosius or Herod.

Galilean partisans, too, and had rewarded them; they remained strong in the land and probably begat the great-great-grandfathers of the prosperous “Jewish” landowners whose indifference to the law scandalized the Judean rabbis when they came north in the mid second century CE.¹⁴⁹

Samaria, as a Macedonian-Greek colony, had been rebuilt by Gabinius (Shechem had not). Samaria probably got back as many as possible of its former citizens, and was filled out with local people, very likely ones the citizens recommended. The new citizen body expressed their thanks by calling themselves “Gabinians.”¹⁵⁰ Herod rebuilt the city on a much larger scale, adding 6,000 colonists, “many of those who had fought as allies with him in his wars and many people of the vicinity” (*War* 1.403; *Ant.* 15.296ff.), presumably including a good number of ex-Shechemites and other *Ioudaioi*. The city furnished a corps of 3,000 soldiers, first for the army of Herod and Archelaus, then for the Roman governors, then for Agrippa I, and then again for the Romans, thus maintaining the tradition of the connection between the *Ioudaioi* and Samaritans and the Herodian/Roman government.¹⁵¹ They also maintained and intensified the hostility to the Judeans that had been traditional in some Samaritan circles (as that to Samaria in some Judean)¹⁵² and had been communicated to the Macedonians by Hyrcanus’ destruction of the city. Whether the *Ioudaioi* in the new foundation continued to think of themselves as such, and whether the survivors of the Shechemites continued to identify Yahweh with Zeus Hellenios as they formerly had (*Ant.* 12.261-3) is uncertain. However, the common identification of their troops, the *Sebasteni*, as ordinary pagan troops is almost certainly mistaken, and the possibility that the city became a center of syncretistic Samaritanism cannot be ruled out. *Prima facie* evidence is the figure of Simon “magus.”

In these various ways, the Hasmonean structure of religious and military alliances partially disintegrated, partially was replaced by different connections. Another of these connections was that of religious assimilation. The original alliance had been based on common religious practices, but it had brought the peculiar practices, beliefs, and literature of the Judeans to the attention of the allies. That assimilation often followed is certain from the results, though the process is not documented. (“Conversion” is not the right word here,

¹⁴⁹ On these, A. Büchler, *The Political and Social Leaders of the Jewish Community of Sepphoris*, London, n.d. (Jews’ College Publications I), and compare M. Goodman, *State and Society in Roman Galilee, AD 132-212*, Totowa, 1983.

¹⁵⁰ Cedrenus, ed. Bekker, I, p. 323.

¹⁵¹ T. Burkill, “Judea under Roman Governors,” in Schürer-Vermes, *History* I.363-5.

¹⁵² Smith, *Parties*, 144.

since the allies were *Ioudaioi* already in popular parlance. Besides, for the question, “How far must assimilation go before it becomes conversion?” the commonly accepted answers were not worked out before the second century CE.) Change in the opposite direction also occurred, as the case of Tiberius Julius Alexander shows. Presumably he was the most successful of many brothers. Inside the Herodian kingdom it probably paid, for the ordinary man, to be a Judean in Judea and a *Ioudaios* elsewhere. Much attention has been given to the difference between the history of ancient Judaism in Palestine and its history elsewhere, but the difference between the history of ancient Judaism in Judea and its history in the rest of Palestine has been too much neglected.

Josephus’ view of the matter is expressed succinctly in *War* 2.43 (= *Ant.* 17.254). At Pentecost, after Herod’s death, there came to Jerusalem “an enormous crowd from Galilee and Idumea, Jericho and Transjordan,” but “the true (Jewish) people, from Judea itself (*hō gnesios ex autēs Ioudaias laos*) surpassed the others both in numbers and in eagerness” to make trouble. *Antiquities* omits “true.” Perhaps two decades in Roman Jewry had taught Josephus tact, but the original snobbery is clear. For him the *Ioudaioi* were the “mixed multitude” of the exodus; the true Israelites were the Judeans.

Of course Josephus’ view was merely a personal opinion. A similar one, however, seems to have been held by the Romans. On Herod’s death Archelaus was given mainly Judea, Jericho, Samaria, and Idumea, with the title *ethnarch* (“ruler of the *ethnos*”). Antipas got Galilee and the Perea; Philip, the upper Jordan valley, the Golan, and points north-west; both with the title *tetrarch* (“ruler of a district”). For the Romans, it seems, the *ethnos* was the Judeans and allied *Ioudaioi*. The Galileans had broken the alliance, and the numbers of *Ioudaioi* in Transjordan were not sufficient to make them parts of the ethnic territory.

Returning now to the course of events after Herod’s death: since Herod’s treasures were the funds of any future government, the people needed no religious or ethnic motive to riot at a Roman threat to seize them. The revolt of the Idumean veterans has already been explained (see above). That a “Judas of Galilee” led a revolt for which Sepphoris was burnt and its people enslaved (*Ant.* 17.271, 289) suggests that many Galileans had gone from support of the Hasmoneans to hatred of the Romans. The troubles in the Jordan valley and rural Judea sound like slave/peasant revolts without extensive ethnic support,¹⁵³ but this was how Josephus wanted them to

¹⁵³ That the leaders in both areas called themselves kings, wore diadems, etc., probably resulted not from messianic theology, but from common lower-class wishful thinking.

sound. We approach the development of his famous theme, "Our resistance was the fault, not of the whole *ethnos*, but of a few robbers/fanatics." Robbery was endemic in the Roman world, thanks to the social conditions, poor communications, and difficulty of effective prevention and pursuit. It was also, then as now, the means by which many antisocial types supported themselves. Robbers became revolutionists when they could, and revolutionists robbers when they had a chance. Clear distinction is impossible.¹⁵⁴

The division of Herod's kingdom into three meant that there were now three centers to which its income went, and from which it was expended. The share given to Idumea, Judea, and Samaria, therefore dropped sharply; those of Galilee and Transjordan increased. Understandably there was much dissatisfaction in Archelaus' territory—so much that Judeans and Samaritans cooperated (!) in denouncing him (*Ant.* 17.343). By the time Augustus deposed him and took over his kingdom in 6 CE, only the Idumeans remained loyal to the Idumean. Philip and Antipas began building cities in their provinces (*Ant.* 18.27f.): Autocratoris (ex Sepphoris), Livias/Julias (ex Betharamphtha), Caesarea (ex Paneas), and Julias (ex Bethsaida). Having imperial names/titles, these presumably had cults of the divinities referred to, but Josephus says nothing about the cults. They did not produce, from the *Ioudaioi* in those regions, the protests he thought proper.

An attempted protest which failed was that against the census taken when Archelaus' territory was transferred to the province of Syria. The instigator was a northerner named Judas,¹⁵⁵ evidently a devout Jew, who had some Pharisaic support but failed to win that of most

The same things happened in the slave revolts in Sicily, Diodorus 34(35).2.41; 36.4.4 and 5.1; etc. These books of Diodorus are full of parallels to the Palestinian history of this period.

¹⁵⁴ Least of all the distinction between wicked robbers and moral bandits, proposed by R. Horsley and J. Hanson, *Bandits, Prophets, and Messiahs*, San Francisco, 1985, p. 87, n. 9, adopting E. Hobsbawm's romantic imagination (*Bandits*, 2nd ed., New York, 1981) of a class of "social bandits"—"social" in this context means "nice"—oppressed peasants attempting a "simple redistribution of goods," "defenders and champions of the common people," and symbols "of the people's hope for the restoration of a more just order," pp. 70-71. In fact ancient bandits lived on the country they infested and for the peasants were one more set of idle mouths to feed. The peasants' unwillingness to report them indicated fear of reprisals. As for equalitarianism, the "robber king" (*arkhilestes*) had power of life and death. (Hobsbawm was anticipated by W. S. Gilbert on the Pirates of Penzance, "They are all noblemen who have gone wrong.")

¹⁵⁵ Josephus in *War* 2.118 said this Judas was a "Galilean"; in *Ant.* 18.4 he corrected himself and said he was "a Gaulanite from Gamala," but in a passing reference in *Ant.* 20.102 he again said "Galilean," perhaps by absence of mind. To suppose this man the same as the Judas who led the revolt in Galilee a decade earlier is equally undemonstrable, unlikely, and unimportant.

people, largely because the high priest opposed him (another example of the Pharisees' lack of popular following). After the census, however, the high priest was soon dismissed by the Roman governor because of popular agitation against him (*Ant.* 18.26). This suggests the fight had been too close for comfort.¹⁵⁶ To judge from Judas, Judaism had been making devoted converts among the *Ioudaioi* of Galilee. This does not look like the Aristobulan tradition, but Antigonos had earlier broken with that tradition by putting more religious symbols on his coinage. Devotion, or desperation? They had not saved him.

Another sign of increasing religious fanaticism (if truly reported) was the pollution of the temple by some Samaritans who scattered human bones in the porches and court (*Ant.* 18.29f). The story is suspect. If the culprits were caught, or even killed, we should hear more about them (number, rank, connections). If they were not caught, how was it known that they were Samaritans? Josephus' suggestion that they had to enter Jerusalem secretly is incredible. Samaritans had held important positions in Herod's court (*Ant.* 17.69) and we have been told nothing to explain an intervening change of attitude. Has something been suppressed? In any event, the story's circulation attests to the worsening of relations between Judeans and Samaritans.

In Galilee, Herod's policy was continued by Antipas' building of Tiberias (between 17 and 20 CE) but he built it on a site unclean according to (Josephus' notion of) Jewish law. Nevertheless, lots of Galileans wanted to settle there.¹⁵⁷ Presumably they were *Ioudaioi* for the most part; forty-some years later, when Josephus arrived, the city was entirely "Jewish," but with how many of what sorts is not clear. Evidently it had not long been a stronghold of legalism. Herod's palace there had been decorated with representations of animals. They seem to have caused no trouble until Josephus' arrival. When he and his Jerusalem associates came, fresh from the Judean revolt, he asked the members of the city council to have the palace demolished, because of these abominations. Several leading members opposed the request. Negotiations began. Imagine his anger when (he claims) the

¹⁵⁶ The passage on the terrible consequences of the rise of a popular sect of fanatics, which Josephus attaches to his report of Judas' preaching (*Ant.* 18.6-10), is probably best understood as an anticipation of the conditions of the sixties CE, since Josephus makes no such complaints about the intervening period. But Judas and Zadok got enough followers to start a sect which Josephus ranks with the Essenes, who had about 4,000, and the Pharisees, who had more than 6,000, *Ant.* 18.20 and 17.42.

¹⁵⁷ *Ant.* 18.36-38. Josephus' malicious gossip about the other settlers is adequately explained by the fact that Tiberias was cool to him during the war. His allegations can hardly be true: a chance to get a place as a citizen, or even a legal resident, in a new royal city, would have been coveted.

poor, the sailors and some Galileans (evidently distinct groups), not waiting for him, burnt it for loot. He rushed—to get as much loot as he could, so as “to save it for the King” (Agrippa II, his patron, *Vita* 64-8).

The Samaritans were also suffering from religious revivals. In the late twenties many were persuaded to go to Mt. Gerizim to see the sacred vessels buried there by Moses (reportedly, about to be revealed). Pontius Pilate stopped them with considerable fighting (*Ant.* 18.85-7). In Galilee Herod Antipas got rid more quietly of John “the baptizer,” a preacher of moral reformation—according to Josephus—who used immersion as a means of sanctifying the body after the soul had been cleansed by repentance. Herod feared his followers might become dangerous, and arranged a quiet execution, about 30 CE. So *Ant.* 18.116-9, saying nothing of John’s preaching about the coming judgment and the Messiah, reported in the gospels. Josephus described John’s adherents as “some of the *Ioudaioi*,” but adds that “the others”—presumably the gentiles—began also to flock around (116-8). That the first hearers were *Ioudaioi*, and not observant Jews, is indicated by the gospels’ report that the high priests, scribes, elders, Pharisees, and lawyers did not believe him, but “the people” and the publicans did.¹⁵⁸ That even the people’s acceptance was not unanimous appears from Matt 11:18 and Luke 7:33.

The same holds for Jesus, of whom Josephus’ famous *testimonium* (*Ant.* 18.63f.) is almost worthless as evidence (though in this case the fault was mainly his editors’). The gospels unanimously report that he was followed by “the crowd”/“crowds” (of whom the Pharisees are said to have said, “This crowd who are ignorant of the law are accursed,” John 7:49). According to the synoptics his words were questioned and his teaching challenged almost solely by the scribes, Pharisees, Sadducees, Herodians, lawyers, elders, and high priests. The only major exceptions are the people of his home town and the disillusioned crowds at the trial and crucifixion¹⁵⁹; other scenes of popular rejection are few. In John he is often opposed by groups of “the Jews” who commonly appear in Jerusalem and are presumably Judeans; he escapes them by going to Galilee or Transjordan.¹⁶⁰ This may be one of the reliable traits of the Johannine tradition, but such questions are too complex for investigation here.

Suffice it to say that the evidence of the gospels strongly supports the picture given unintentionally by Josephus of the different senses of *Ioudaios* (see above), but shows that a change has taken place in the

¹⁵⁸ Mark 11:31f.; Matt 21:25f.; Luke 20:5-6; also 7:29-30.

¹⁵⁹ Mark 6:1-6; Matt 13:53-58; Luke 4:16-30.

¹⁶⁰ John 5:46-6.1; 7:1; 10:39f.; 11:8, 53f.

last of them: The military-religious alliance formed by Hyrcanus and his sons is no more, but the descendants of the allies (and of those subjects/slaves whom they kept in the territories they were able to hold) are still *Ioudaioi* in common parlance, and think of themselves as such; the political-military meaning has been replaced by a social-religious one. They still practice circumcision, observe the sabbath, etc. Most now look to Jerusalem as the great center of their cult. Assimilation to Jerusalem observances is spreading, albeit irregularly.

Only with Samaria has there been a definite break. Why? What provoked the bone episode? Or was it unprovoked mischief? Or fiction? We don't know. Whatever happened, the author of John (about 100 CE) thought that by Jesus' time (about 30 CE) the Samaritans were no longer calling themselves *Ioudaioi*. "Jews don't associate with Samaritans," says the woman of Samaria to Jesus (John 4:9), the clear implication being, "Nor we with them" (cf. Luke 9:53). In the next generation it would come to open fighting (*War* 2.232-46; *Ant.* 20.118-36). But communication was not wholly broken. Antipas, the ruler of Galilee in Jesus' time, was the son of a Samaritan woman (though he is never referred to as a Samaritan—ethnicity was patrilinear). Josephus, in spite of his dislike of Samaritans, had friends among them to whom he could write for help (and get it) when he had to send messages to Jerusalem (*Vita* 269).

Outside the core country (Idumea, Judea, Samaria, Galilee), matters were different. Judeans, Jews, and *Ioudaioi* all found their ways into the coastal and decapolitan cities and there made the compromises necessary for them to unite in synagogues. But the hostility of and to the gentiles, inherited from the cities' histories, continued and was often exacerbated by the frictions of life at close quarters. When serious fighting finally broke out, Josephus says, "Every city was divided into two military camps" and the conflict was made worse by uncertainty, for, "Thinking they ought to get rid of the Jews, in each city they regarded with suspicion those practicing Jewish ways, and nobody was willing to kill out of hand those (whose attitudes were), in each city, dubious, and those of mixed (ancestry) were feared as certainly alien" (*BJ* 2.463).¹⁶¹ Evidently assimilation had been going on.

¹⁶¹ I cannot agree with S. Cohen, "Respect for Judaism by Gentiles," *HTR* 80 (1987) 409-30, p. 416, that the three terms (*hoi ioudaizantes*, *to amphibolon*, and *to memigmenon*) are used as synonyms. As to Greek meanings they plainly are not synonymous. Moreover, their different meanings correspond to three different groups that had to be dealt with: (1) the Judaizers, who had clearly adopted Jewish ways; (2) the dubious, who might or might not be Jewish sympathizers in secret; (3) those of mixed ancestry, who regardless of visible practice or possible attitude, had some Jews in their families. Such different groups must, in the nature of things, have really existed in most cities of any size. Since the words are thus readily understandable with their

Estimation of the actual situation outside Judea is made difficult by Josephus' exaggerations. "Many ten thousands," for instance, are said to have appeared in 40 CE before the governor of Syria, both at Ptolemais and at Tiberias, to protest the arrival of Caligula's statue, and to have stayed there for forty¹⁶² days (living on what? *Ant.* 18.263, 271f., 279), this in planting season, so the crops were saved only by a miraculous rainstorm that broke a desperate drought (285f.). In *War* 2.200 a crowd of unspecified size waited fifty days (and the governor waited, too!) without getting a miracle. From such folktales it seems that large crowds came to protest at Ptolemais and Tiberias, but where did they come from?

Their sensitivity to statues contrasts strikingly with the tolerance of the *Ioudaioi* of Caesarea where, in the next year or so, Agrippa I, the friend of the Pharisees (see above), set up statues of his daughters as votive offerings in the imperial temple.¹⁶³ Did he count on this remaining unknown to the Jews because no good Jew could enter the temple? Hardly. Nevertheless, the statues caused no trouble until he died, when some of the local soldiers, probably *Sebasteni* who hated him as pro-Jewish, hauled them out and stood them in brothels (about which, also, no pious protests have been recorded). Although Agrippa, not long before, had got the governor of Syria to order the removal of an imperial statue from a synagogue in Dora, where it had been placed by some trouble makers, he seems to have died of a stroke suffered in 44 CE, shortly after he himself was hailed as a god while attending at Caesarea the games for the deified Augustus (*Ant.* 19.300-311, 343-59). The most likely reconciliation of these apparent contradictions is that he was, like Herod his grandfather, a *Ioudaios*. His father, being Herod's son, had been an Idumean, and so was he.¹⁶⁴

From here to the defeat of Cestius in late 66 CE Josephus' history concentrates on Jerusalem and Judea, with one long digression on the

normal meanings, the attempt to force them into synonymity is not persuasive. Political interpretation is also unsatisfactory. If *hoi ioudaizontes* are "the supporters of the Jews," and to *amphibolon* "the neutrals," who are the *to memigmenon*?

¹⁶² Forty is a number famous in folklore: the rain for the flood, Moses' stay on the mountain, the Israelites' years in the desert, Jesus' fast in the wilderness, etc.

¹⁶³ *oikade* in *Ant.* 19.357 probably means, "to the temple," sc. of the imperial cult, the main temple of the city, where the statues of the girls would have been placed as votive offerings, in the forms of petitioners beside the statues of Augustus and Livia/Julia; cf. L. Ollendorff, "Livia (37)," *RE* 13.1 (1926) 900ff., esp. 907. *Oikos* for "temple" is not rare (LSJ sub voc.) but is less usual than *hieron* and *naos* which Josephus here avoids because they were more commonly used of the Jerusalem temple, with which he did not wish to compare this one

¹⁶⁴ See above, n. 144. Since matrilinear reckoning of ancestry was not yet common, his mother and grandmothers, whatever their ethnicity, had become on marriage, by Biblical law, members of their husbands' tribes; the children belonged to their fathers' *ethne*.

conversion of the royal family of Adiabene, and only brief reports of relevant events elsewhere, mainly the conflict between Jews and gentiles in Caesarea. The account of the Adiabeniensians is for the society page; in Josephus' opinion it influenced Judaism only through their relief of the famine in Jerusalem (*Ant.* 20.51-3). The most conspicuous example of such concentration, however, is the story of the Judeo-Samaritan fighting under Cumanus (c. 48-52 CE; *War* 2.233-46; *Ant.* 20.118-36). In *War* a single Galilean going to Jerusalem is killed in a village in Samaritan territory. The Galileans assemble to attack the Samaritans but their leaders go to complain to Cumanus. He does nothing; they and their following are forgotten; the story turns to the Judean reaction and the effort of the rulers of Jerusalem to cool it. They argued that it would be foolish to risk "their native land, temple, children, and wives ... to avenge one Galilean" (*War* 2.237). In *Ant.* 20.118 "many Galileans" were killed (better to excuse the Judeans' violence), but nothing at all was said about avenging them (20.123). This accords with Josephus' consistently condescending references to Galileans in *Vita* and *War*.¹⁶⁵ They are an *ethnos* sharply distinguished from the Judeans (*War* 2.510; 4.105), but sufficiently connected with them for the murder of one to serve the Judeans as an excuse for raiding Samaritan villages. Evidently little excuse was needed. Consequently, having recorded their accidental role as occasions of the fighting under Cumanus, Josephus goes back to what he thinks the important results: the rest of both stories deals with legal proceedings and political maneuvers of the Jerusalemites and Samaritans as separate and hostile *ethne*.

The same polarization appears in the schematic account of the conflict between "Jews" and "Syrians" for political control of Caesarea (*Ant.* 20.173ff.; *War* 2.266ff.) where the "Jews" are presented as a block. (Perhaps they were now more nearly so; group adherence is strengthened by neighborhood hostility.) The argument attributed to the "Syrians," that Herod would not have put statues and temples in the city if he had intended it for Jews (*War*, *ib.*) is oblivious to the existence and practices of the *Ioudaioi* exemplified in Caesarea by Agrippa I only fifteen years before. Perhaps a comment from Agrippa II led to its deletion from *Ant.* 20.173.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ See the examples analyzed by Cohen, *Josephus*, 206-14, and the account by S. Freyne, *Galilee from Alexander the Great to Hadrian*, Notre Dame and Wilmington, 1980 (U. of Notre Dame Center for the Study of Judaism and Christianity in Antiquity, No. 5).

¹⁶⁶ The use of "Syrians" for the native Palestinian pagans is misleading, but legally defensible. They were "Syrians" because legally Roman subjects of the province of Judea, of which the governors were, in crises, dependent on the Emperor's legate who was in charge of Syria (Schürer-Vermes 1.357-361). Since *Ioudaioi* could not be used for

This polarization will reach its illogical conclusion with the massacre of the Jews of Caesarea in 66 CE, and will be enormously extended and intensified by the coming of the war. The profound changes of the attitudes of Jews to gentiles and vice versa which resulted from the war lie outside the limits of this discussion. Even within its limits there has been room only to trace the basic religious and political history of Hyrcanus' innovation and its consequences during the almost two hundred years (c. 125 BCE to 70 CE) in which it radically altered the make up of Jewry and the meaning of the word *Ioudaios*.

both parties of the dispute, they could be referred to as subjects of the ranking commander.

CHAPTER TWENTY

WERE THE MACCABEES PRIESTS?

Priests are identified by the P material of the Pentateuch as the descendants of Aaron, and it is normally supposed that this identification was generally accepted in Judaism at the time of the Maccabees. Therefore we shall begin by considering the evidence which goes to prove that the Maccabees were of Aaronide ancestry.

This evidence is plentiful. When 1 Macc introduces Mattathias it describes him as “a priest of the sons of Ioarib” (2:1); now Yoyarib is listed as one of the priestly families in Chronicles [1 Chron 9:10; 24:7.], and Chronicles regularly describes the priests as the descendants of Aaron.¹ Nor are we dependent on such syntheses: 1 Macc [in a document concerning Simon Maccabee] lists him as a descendant of Ioarib (14:29). 1 Maccabees also stresses that Phineas who had been granted a covenant of eternal priesthood because of his zeal was called “our father” by Mattathias.² There are numerous references to Jonathan’s and Simon’s high priesthood in narrative sections as well as in documents included in 1 Maccabees.³

This material is repeated and developed by Josephus [*Ant.* 12.265 and 13.45ff.] Now Josephus certainly used 1 Macc, but it need not be supposed that, for this tradition, he was entirely dependent on it. He could well have heard independent stories concerning the ancestry of the Maccabees, and that he did is suggested by [e.g., the story of the uprising of the priest Matt(at)hias, son of Asamonaeus (*War* 1.363-367), and by the account of his own pedigree (*Vita* 14)].

Against all this evidence, there are a few scattered details which suggest that the Maccabees were not of Aaronide descent. First, there is the story found in Josephus, *Ant.* 13.288-98, and in B. Qiddushin 66a, of Hyrcanus’ quarrel with the Pharisees. The two versions differ

This contribution has been edited by Joseph Sievers from an undated typescript found among the literary estate of professor Morton Smith. Additions by the editor, mostly references to sources only vaguely identified in the original, are placed in square brackets. Beyond that, a few mostly typographical errors have been corrected and in some cases bibliographic information has been standardized. With these exceptions, text and notes are presented as they were left by Professor Smith. [For Smith’s “Aaronic,” I have substituted “Aaronide.”—SJDC].

¹ [2 Chron 13:9-10; 26:18; 29:21; 31:19; 35:14; cf. Tob 1:7.]

² [1 Macc 2:54; cf. 2:26; Num 25:13. Cf. below.]

³ [1 Macc 10:20, 69; 11:27, 57; 12:3, 6; 13:36, 42; 14:17-41; 15:1, 17, 21, 24; 16:24. Smith adds “Similarly, 2 Macc” Apparently, however, in 2 Maccabees there is no reference to priestly descent or priestly office of Judas Maccabee or any of his relatives. Regarding Judas’ concern for the temple, which is evident in 1 as well as in 2 Maccabees, see below.]

in names and other details, but they agree in making the cause of the quarrel a demand by one of the leading Pharisees, that Hyrcanus give up the priesthood and content himself with the kingship. They agree also that the reason alleged for this demand was a report that his mother had, at one time, been taken prisoner, and could not, therefore, be legally wed to a priest. This would not seem to impugn Hyrcanus' Aaronide ancestry; therefore it is surprising to find in the Talmudic version the demand, "Leave the crown of the priesthood to the seed of Aaron." Now there are several traits peculiar to Josephus' version which look like results of an effort to exculpate the Pharisees: He blames the speaker, and makes the Pharisees agree in blaming him and offend the King only by their objection to the death penalty for the offense. Further, it has been shown elsewhere that Josephus, in the *Antiquities*, is concerned to defend the Pharisees.⁴ On the contrary, the Talmudic account, which has no such reason to defend the Pharisees against outside opinion, does not blame the speaker nor indicate that his opinion was rejected by the other Pharisees. It inserts only parenthetically the explanatory report of Hyrcanus' mother's captivity, and a statement that evidence to substantiate the report had not been found, whereas Josephus makes the report an essential part of the speech. A not improbable explanation of these differences would be, that the Talmudic account without the inserted explanation was the original form, and that the explanation, like the Josephan changes, represented modification made out of deference to the popular regard for the Maccabees. If so, the original demand was, "Leave the priesthood to the sons of Aaron," and the implications were clear. In this connection it may be worthwhile to note that an ancient rabbinic tradition, referred to as familiar in the Mishnah⁵ and in many other places, distinguishes sharply between an anointed High Priest and a High Priest who is so merely by virtue of wearing the additional garments which go with the office. Needless to say, the former takes precedence over the latter;⁶ it is only the former who may offer the special sacrifice prescribed by Lev 4:3 for a High Priest who sins inadvertently, the latter can offer in this instance only the sacrifice prescribed for ordinary individuals (M. Megillah 1.9).⁷ This distinction, which may well date from the Maccabean period, includes all High Priests of the second temple in the latter, inferior, class. The hostility

⁴ M. Smith, "Palestinian Judaism in the First Century," chapter nine above.

⁵ Horayot 3.4; Megillah 1.9; Makkot 2.6; etc. [Smith's original reads, "In this connection it may be worth while to note that an ancient rabbinic distinction, referred to as familiar in one of the oldest tractates of the Mishnah and in many other places"; I have edited the text—SJDC.]

⁶ T. Horayot 2.10.

⁷ Cf. Albeck's commentary ad loc.

of the pseudepigraphic literature, and that of the Qumran sect, to the priesthood of the second temple is well known; much of it dates from the Maccabean period and it may also reflect the belief that the Maccabees were not of Aaronide ancestry.⁸

Other indications to the same effect may be found in the history of the times. Especial notice is deserved by the fact that, when Demetrius Soter sent up to Jerusalem the High Priest Alcimus, the Hasidim, who had previously been followers of Judas (1 Macc 14:6), proceeded to make peace with him, “for they said, ‘A man who is a priest of the seed of Aaron has come’” (1 Macc 7:14). Presumably they were concerned to have an Aaronide priest because of their devotion to the Law (1 Macc 2:42), and the verse reads as if this led them to prefer Alcimus to somebody else. But the preference cannot have been to Menelaus, who was already dead and who, anyhow, had himself been of the seed of Aaron (2 Macc 4:23).⁹ Is it possible, then, that the other candidate for the priesthood—the one who was not of the seed of Aaron—was Judas? The books of the Maccabees say nothing of Judas’ becoming High Priest, but they say nothing, either, of who served as High Priest at the rededication of the Temple, when the services of a High Priest would probably have been needed. It may be that they were concerned to legitimate the Maccabean claim to the office and therefore preferred to postdate the tenure until it could be justified by appointment by the recognized authority, the King. Josephus, by contrast, makes Judas a High Priest ([*Ant.* 12.414, 419, 434]). Whether or not he ever did assume the office, the Hasidim may have feared that he would, and therefore, if Judas was not of Aaronide ancestry, would have welcomed the advent of a legitimate candidate. But their trust in Aaronide ancestry was sadly mistaken: Alcimus allegedly broke his oath with them and had some sixty executed (1 Macc 7:15ff.). 1 Maccabees’ telling of this story would have obvious polemic point if there were some, in the days of the writer, who were anxious to displace the Maccabees and entrust the priesthood to a descendant of Aaron. Look at what the last descendant of Aaron did! But 1 Maccabees was the work of a court historian of John Hyrcanus, and we saw above that the break between Hyrcanus and the Pharisees was precipitated by their demand that he leave the priesthood to the sons of Aaron. Given such a concatenation of evidence, it can scarcely be an accident that one of the most probably Maccabean Psalms (110) contains the verse, “The Lord hath sworn and will not repent, ‘Thou

⁸ In particular [1 Enoch 89:73; 1QpHab 8.8-13; 9.4-12; 11.4-15 and passim.]

⁹ Cf. F.-M. Abel’s note in his commentary ad loc. (*Les Livres des Maccabées*, Paris, 1949).

art a priest forever after the fashion of Melchizedek',” i.e., not after the fashion of the sons of Aaron.

This evidence explains the fact, noted by Hölscher,¹⁰ that Yoyarib, the priestly family to which the Maccabees allegedly belonged, was lacking in the oldest lists of the priestly families, and has been interpolated into them. The interpolation is betrayed by the prefixed *and* in [Neh 12:6, 19]. A similar interpolation was made in 1 Chron 9:10f. = Neh 11:10f., where the text originally had Yedayah ben Serayah. Finally, a Hasmonean list in 1 Chron 24 gives Yoyarib first place and degrades Yedayah, the former high priestly house, to second.

Thus we have on the one hand a well represented, definite tradition, based on documents produced in the Maccabean period or interpolated then, declaring with some emphasis that the Maccabees were of Aaronide ancestry. On the other hand we have a considerable number of suspicious details, none of them clear cut and decisive in itself, but all of them fitting together and mutually explicatory if we suppose that the Maccabees were not, originally, of Aaronide ancestry, but laid claim to it when they were about to acquire, or had acquired, the High Priesthood. It is worth noting that these details are in widely scattered and independent sources, whereas the prevalence and uniformity of the official theory can be explained as the result of the court's propaganda and its control of the official text of the sacred books.¹¹ In sum, it seems likely that the Maccabees were not an Aaronide family.

On the other hand, it seems likely that they were priests. After all, though first appointed by the Seleucids, they afterwards won acceptance of their high priesthood from a great many Jews; this would scarcely have happened had they not had some sort of claim to the office. Further, a number of statements declare that their ancestors were priests, but do not specify that they were Aaronide.

Some confirmation of these statements may be found in Judas' evident concern for the temple. Its restoration and rededication under the walls of the *akra* must have been a difficult military problem and a considerable drain on his forces. Similarly, he attempted to hold it against Antiochus Eupator and Lysias, in spite of the fact that he had little chance of success, whereas his chances would have been very good had he taken to the hills and to guerrilla warfare. Of course, this concern may have been due to lay piety, but it would have been more likely in a family with priestly traditions. Perhaps it was because of

¹⁰ G. Hölscher, “Levi,” PW 12.2.2155ff., esp. 2190ff.

¹¹ The authoritative text was deposited in the archives of the temple. See S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*, New York, 1950, p. 22.

such traditions that Mattathias was the man asked to perform the sacrifice, when the assimilationists prepared to offer sacrifices at Modein ([1 Macc 2:15-18]).

These faint indications would count for nothing if it were a well established fact that, in the Maccabean period, all Jewish priests were Aaronide. But the fact is by no means well established. The Aaronide theory of the priesthood seems to have been the product of a postexilic compromise. Before the exile, all Levites had been priests: Deuteronomy regularly equates the two terms. In Ezekiel 44, on the other hand, an attempt had been made to limit the priesthood to the sons of Zadok, evidently the family which had formerly been in control of the Jerusalem temple. This failed, and in the P material and Chronicles we see the priesthood extended to all the sons of Aaron (a group including, but far more extensive than, the sons of Zadok), but denied to Levites of non-Aaronide families. This denial was evidently an occasion of considerable conflict (Num 16). When the conflict took place, and how long it went on, is completely obscure now, but it may well have been a matter of living tradition in many families of Hasmonean times. Such traditions would account for the fact that new families appear in the priestly lists of the Hasmonean period, which have been inserted into Chronicles.¹² One of these families, Hakkos, appears earlier, in Ezra 2:60, as a family which tried to prove its priestly ancestry and failed. Evidently the standards had changed. And it is not a matter of only one family. Hölscher's comparisons of the priestly lists show Maccabean alterations of more than 50%. It is not unlikely that many of these new admissions were justified by the recognition of family traditions of the sort which may have been current in the family of the Maccabees themselves. They appealed, that is, to a definition of the priesthood different from that represented in Chronicles and P. We have another case of such appeal to a special definition of the priesthood, in the claims of the Zadokite group, which hark back, not to P, but to Ezekiel. This would seem an appeal to a more narrow definition, a deliberate limiting of the priesthood to a single, legitimate family. But it is possible that the "priests" of this society were priests not by inheritance, but by performance. The Damascus Document (4.2ff.), apropos of the passage of Ezekiel cited above, says, "The priests are those of Israel who turned (from sin), those who went out from the land of Judah; and those who joined with them (are the Levites);¹³ and the Sons of Zadok are the elect of Israel." It is uncertain whether this is a mere moment of allegorization, or a fully serious explanation of the special

¹² Hölscher, "Levi."

¹³ The word [Levites] can be made to mean "joiners."

meanings that these terms had in the regular usage of the sect. It is equally uncertain whether the Maccabees first claimed to be sons of Phineas in the sense of followers, or in the sense of physical descendants. In either sense, they might have claimed the "eternal priesthood" promised him (Num 25:13), just as they claimed the eternal priesthood exercised by Melchizedek, where they saw yet another opportunity to appeal to a standard of priesthood other than that by which they were excluded.

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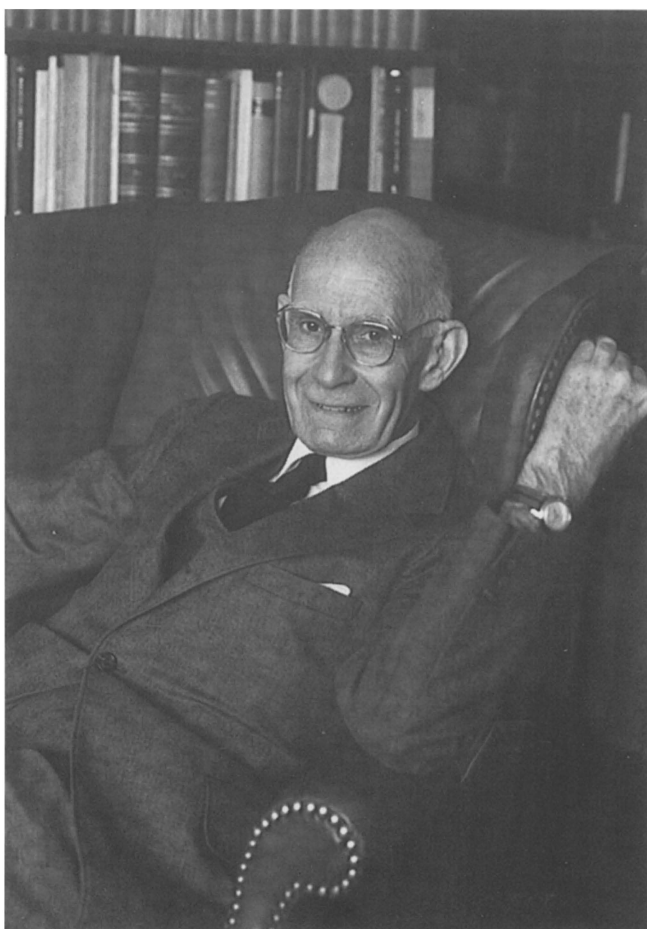
RELIGIONS IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD

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VOLUME 130/2





Professor Morton Smith

STUDIES IN THE CULT OF YAHWEH

VOLUME TWO

*New Testament, Early Christianity,
and Magic*

BY

MORTON SMITH

EDITED BY

SHAYE J.D. COHEN



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PREFACE

Papers on the Cult of Yahweh was the title chosen by Morton Smith for the collection of his scholarly articles that he first planned in 1972. Unfortunately, the pressure of other commitments – a glance at the list of his publications will reveal how much he accomplished after 1972! – and then, towards the end of his life, ill-health combined to prevent him from realizing this project. A year or two before his death he asked me to serve as his literary executor and empowered me to republish whichever of his articles I thought worthy. I set before me his 1972 outline, retained about half of it, and filled out the collection with work from his later period. I also changed the title slightly. No doubt Smith himself would have found much to correct and much to supplement in these essays – all of them need bibliographical updating, and not a few need some polishing – but I have left the essays in their original form with only minor changes. I have introduced a measure of consistency in the transliteration of Hebrew, in the citation of biblical, classical, and rabbinic texts, and in the footnote style, but I did not allow myself to become obsessed with absolute consistency, and I know that inconsistencies remain. In the course of re-typing and re-setting the essays, I have tacitly corrected numerous mistakes (incorrect references, typographical errors, etc.) but whatever joy I experienced by the removal of errors from my teacher's work is offset by the certain knowledge that, in spite of all my exertions, I have introduced new errors into the text. For all the errors and inconsistencies for which I am responsible, I beg the reader's indulgence and Smith's forgiveness.

These corrections aside, any intentional deviation from the original text of these essays has been indicated by **brackets**. In chapters 21, 26, 33, and 34 Smith himself is responsible for the text in brackets: these are corrections that Smith entered on the margins of his offprints of the original publications. In chapter 40 I (with my student William Gilders) am responsible for the text in brackets, as the opening note to the chapter explains. (Throughout the essays, Smith occasionally uses brackets to fill out self-understood but unexpressed words in quotations; this is a common usage which is easily recognizable and should not be confused with the additions and corrections that I am now describing.) To facilitate reference, the original pagination is indicated in each article, this too in brackets; all cross references within the volume are to the original pagination.

I would like to thank the following people:

the holders of the copyright of the original publications, for permission to reprint;

my student William K. Gilders for assistance in checking the proofs;

my students William K. Gilders, Andrew Jacobs, and Mitchell Verter for their assistance in compiling and checking the list of Smith's publications.

Shaye J. D. Cohen
Providence, R.I., USA
30 November 95

PART IV

**NEW TESTAMENT AND
EARLY CHRISTIANITY**

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

PROLEGOMENA TO A DISCUSSION OF ARETALOGIES, DIVINE MEN, THE GOSPELS AND JESUS

I. The Problems

[174] So far as I know, the first man to complain about the practice of reconstructing a lion from a single claw was the poet Alcaeus about 600 B.C.¹ The complaint had obvious justification and became a proverb,² but it is equally obvious that one can, from a claw, make some reasonable guesses about the size, shape, habits, and habitat of the animal that produced it.

Our knowledge of aretalogies is mostly made up of such guesses. They seem to have begun in the sixteenth century with attempts to explain the word *aretalogus* in Suetonius' *Life of Augustus*, 74. Augustus' dinner parties were modest but pleasant; he kept the conversation going and brought in musicians or actors or even low-brow jugglers from the circus, and quite often *aretalogi*. The word had not been explained by the lexicographers.³ Turnebus, in ch. XII of his *Adversaria*, supposed that it came from ἀρεστιά. He was followed by Torrentius, citing Juvenal 15.16, where Ulysses, telling his adventures to Alcinoüs, is compared to a "lying *aretalogus*." Casaubon, however, in his commentary, preferred "mendicant philosopher,"⁴ and his interpretation generally prevailed [175] until 1885, when Reinach argued strongly that the first half of the word comes from ἀρεταί, meaning "miracles," and the ἀρεταλόγος was therefore an interpreter of miraculous events (*prodigia*) and thence, by extension, a teller of

¹ In Plutarch, *De defectu oraculorum*, 3 (410C).

² Diogenianus, *Paroimiai*, V.15; in Leutsch-Schneidewin, *Corpus paroemiographorum graecorum*, I.252 (with many examples).

³ It is not in Pollux, Suidas, Hesychius, the Lexicon gudianum, the Etymologicon magnum, or the Lexica segueriana, to say nothing of Photius and the Atticists. In Latin it is not in Sextus Pompeius Festus or in the Glossaria indexed by Goetz; but the Bobbio scholiast on Juvenal 15.16 wrote: "aretalogoi sunt, ut quidam volunt, qui miras res, id est deorum virtutes, loquuntur. mihi autem videtur aretalogos illos dici, qui ea quae dicta non sunt in vulgus proferunt" (P. Weissner, *Scholia in Iuvenalem vetustiora* [Stuttgart, 1967], *ad loc.* "Ea quae dicta non sunt" translates ἀρρητα λόγια, an explanation of ἀρεταλογίαι also found in some MSS of Ben Sira 36:13 (19) and followed by the Vulgate (36:16), "inenarrabilibus verbis." R. Reitzenstein's emendation to *ficta* (*Hellenistische Wundererzählungen* [Leipzig, 1906], p. 8) is unjustified.

⁴ All this from P. Burmann, *C. Suetonius Tranquillus, cum notis integris*, etc. (Amsterdam, 1736), *ad loc.*

miracle stories.⁵ This explanation was accepted with some modification by Crusius in the *RE* article of 1895;⁶ it has since been confirmed by further evidence and is now generally accepted.⁷ Crusius quietly dropped the interpretation of prodigies and emphasized the second part of Reinach's definition—teller of miracle stories—which he specified more closely as the myths and miracles of a deity, so that the *aretalogus* came close to the *hymnologus*.⁸ Some *aretalogi*, in fact, are plausibly supposed to have been temple functionaries,⁹ and the Graeco-Roman hymns to Isis and her associates are commonly—and probably correctly—described as aretalogies.¹⁰ But Juvenal's usage suggests strongly that the word's reference had been extended also to profane storytellers, and it is hard to believe that Augustus entertained his dinner guests with hymn singing.¹¹ Since the word came from popular usage (not from the technical terminology of classical literary criticism) its usage in antiquity was probably somewhat inconsistent; if so, a precise modern definition would be inaccurate.

Consequently ἀρεταλογία—what the *aretalogus* did—is also somewhat vague. It means both telling tall stories¹² and the praises of [176] a god.¹³ No text identified in the manuscript as an ἀρεταλογία has

⁵ S. Reinach, "Les aréalogues dans l'antiquité," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 9 (1885), pp. 257ff. [Reprinted with minor additions in his *Cultes, mythes, et religions*, vol. 3 (1913), pp. 293ff.]

⁶ F. Crusius, "Aretalogoi," *RE*, 2/1 (1895), cols. 670-72.

⁷ W. Aly, "Zum Art. Aretalogoi," *RE* Supplementband 6 (1935), cols. 13-15; references to divergent opinions are given by both Crusius and Aly.

⁸ Crusius was followed in this by E. Norden, *Agnostos theos* (Berlin, 1923), pp. 149f., 154, 164f., who wholly neglects the profane side.

⁹ W. Otto, *Priester u. Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten* (Leipzig, 1908), 2.226, n. 3; cf. R. Herzog, *Die Wunderheilungen von Epidauros* (Philologus Suppl. 22/3; Leipzig 1931), p. 50.

¹⁰ So by A. Festugière, "A propos des aréalogies d'Isis," *HTR*, 42 (1949), pp. 209ff.; D. Müller, *Ägypten und die griechischen Isis Aretalogien* (Abhandlungen, Leipzig, 53; Berlin, 1961); J. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis, Studien zum memphitischen Hintergrund der gr. Isisaretalogien* (Uppsala, 1968); etc. Bibliography to 1961 in Nilsson, *GGR*² 2, p. 626, n. 5.

¹¹ Cf. L. Friedlaender, *D. Junii Juvenalis satyrarum libri V* (Leipzig, 1895), on XV.16, though his etymology seems unlikely. The supposition of A. Kieffer, *Aretalogische Studien* (Leipzig, 1929), p. 23, that the profane aretalogy was primary is not adequately supported by the evidence he adduces (Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 177 and its scholion, the use of *prosimetrum* in many aretalogies) and also involves unlikely etymology. On the *prosimetrum*, see Christ-Schmid, *GGL*, 1, p. 89, n. 6; on Kieffer in general, see W. Aly, *op. cit.* Reitzenstein, *Wundererzählungen*, pp. 9-13, made a good case for the primacy of the religious meaning and secondary development of the profane. H. Werner, "Zum ΛΟΥΚΙΟΣ Η ΟΝΟΣ," *Hermes*, 53 (1918), pp. 225ff., failed to demonstrate the original independence of a profane type. That there were profane stories of marvels and wonders is altogether probable; but these would not be called *aretai* unless they were thought of as the works of some person, presumably of supernatural powers.

¹² Manetho, *Apotelesmaticorum* (ed. Koechly), 4, p. 447.

¹³ Ben Sira 36:13 (Rahlfs) or 19 (Tischendorf), codex B only; the Hebrew reads אֱלֹהֵי הַיָּדָד "God" is here used loosely to include heroes, *daimones*, etc.

come down to us, but a miracle story was entitled Διὸς Ἥλιου μεγάλου Σαράπιδος ἀρετή, i.e., “A miracle of Zeus Helios, great Sarapis.”¹⁴ And an inscription of thanksgiving is headed ἀρετὴν Ἀμενώτου, i.e., of the god Amenothis.¹⁵ The use of ἀρετή in the sense of “a demonstration of divine power, a miracle,” is also common.¹⁶ Accordingly, there is general agreement that an “aretalogy” was a miracle story or a collection of miracle stories and that the primary use of such collections was praise of and propaganda for the deity supposed to have done the deeds.¹⁷ Such were surely the aretalogies produced by aretalogoi attached to the temples, and probably by pious private practitioners. But what of the after-dinner entertainers who could be hired in the circus, the liars to whom Juvenal compared Homer, and the characters Manetho said were born under the adverse influence of the planet Hermes, “tellers of myths and shameful and nonsensical stories, leaders in mockery, and scornful laughter, who have in their aretalogies all sorts of <deceitful> yarns, experts in shell games, who live noisily on their takings from the crowd and wander the earth forever?”¹⁸ The *Satyricon* of Petronius is a parody of the Odyssey in which the hero is driven from one wild adventure to another by the wrath, not of Neptune, but of Priapus.¹⁹ Was it this which Juvenal had in mind, and do the marvelous achievements and miraculous escapes of Encolpius constitute a burlesque aretalogy?²⁰

Whatever the extension of the term in antiquity, the effect on NT criticism of its modern rise to prominence was to call attention to the similarities between the Gospels and Acts on the one hand and ancient collections of miracle stories and lives of wandering holy men on the other.²¹ These similarities were already mentioned by Reitzenstein in

¹⁴ P. Oxy. 11, 1382, lines 22ff. (2nd cent. A.D.).

¹⁵ Egyptian Museum, Cairo, No. 67300 (261/60 B.C.); in *Sammelbuch*, 5, 8266, line 5 (see bibliography there).

¹⁶ LSJ *sub voce*, section b. The statement of H. van der Loos, *The Miracles of Jesus (Supplements to Novum Testamentum*, 8; Leiden, 1965) p. 118, n. 1, that “Aretē is not identical with miracle,” can be defended only by taking “identical” in the strictest sense. A “miracle” (θαῦμα, I suppose he means) would then be any marvelous occurrence; an ἀρετή would be a θαῦμα considered as a demonstration by some deity of his or her power. O. Bauernfeind (“ἀρετή,” *TWNT*, 1 [1933], p. 459), whom van der Loos cites as evidence of the difference, actually says “ἀρετή steht—als meist umfassenderes Synonymon—neben der δύναμις der wunderbaren göttlichen Machtwirkung.”

¹⁷ As usual, the common opinion is well stated by Nilsson, *GGR*² 2, pp. 228f.

¹⁸ *Apotelesmaticorum*, 4, 445-449. ποικίλα in this context is certainly abusive, cf. W. Bauer, *Wörterbuch zum NT* (5th ed.; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1958) *sub voce*, no. 3.

¹⁹ 139.2.

²⁰ So Reitzenstein, *Wundererzählungen*, pp. 30f.; Kiefer, *Studien*, pp. 41ff.

²¹ For Acts, which we shall not discuss, see R. Söder, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten u. die romanhafte Literatur der Antike* (Würzburger Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft, 3; Stuttgart, 1932), followed by K. Schäferdiek and W. Schneemelcher in the latter's *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* (3rd ed.; Tübingen, 1964), 2, pp. 115f. (with bibliography on p. 110).

[177] 1906;²² and by 1908 so distinguished a critic as Eduard Schwartz²³ wrote of the Gospel stories of Jesus' miracles as ἀρεταὶ τοῦ θεοῦ and of John as "ein ἀρεταλόγος allerbesten Art."²⁴ In 1909 came Weinreich's careful study of pagan miracles of healing,²⁵ which excluded the NT material but made the similarities amply apparent. Accordingly when, after World War I, K. Schmidt raised the question of the literary form of the Gospels,²⁶ it was understandable that he insisted on the centrality of the miracle stories (p. 131) and found the closest ancient analogue in a popular collection of the miracles of a holy man—Damis' stories of Apollonius of Tyana (p. 83).

Damis' work is known solely by inference from the *Life of Apollonius* by Philostratus. Schmidt's choice of it was significant of the fact that, although there were many collections of miracle stories in the ancient world, few have come down to us.²⁷ Not only those few,

²² *Wundererzählungen*, pp. 36, 82f.

²³ Whom A. D. Nock once spoke of as the greatest scholar he had known.

²⁴ *Aporien im vierten Evangelium: II. Nachrichten* (Göttingen, 1908), p. 121; and *Aporien ... IV*, p. 516.

²⁵ O. Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswunder* (RGVV, 8/1; Giessen, 1909). This was reprinted in Berlin, 1969; the reprint should have included as a supplement the material made available since 1909, mainly from inscriptions and papyri. The collection and edition of this material would make a useful (as opposed to an ordinary) Ph.D. thesis.

²⁶ "Die Stellung der Evangelien in der allgemeinen Literaturgeschichte," *Εὐχαριστήριον* (Gunkel Festschrift; Göttingen, 1923), 2, pp. 51ff.

²⁷ Artemidorus, *Onirocritica*, 2.44, end: dreams sent by Sarapis and his prescriptions and cures were collected in three books by Geminus of Tyre, in five by Demetrius of Phalerum, in twenty-two by Artemon of Miletus—on the dubious attributions made here, see O. Weinreich, *Heilungswunder*, p. 119, n. 4; 4.22: many write false stories of divine prescriptions—and, presumably, of cures; Strabo, *Geography*, 17.1.17, p. 801: at the temple of Canopus some of the local litterati wrote up the cures done by Sarapis, others the aretai—?, the text is perhaps corrupt; 8.6.15, p. 374: the cures of Asclepius were recorded in his temples at Epidaurus, Cos, and Trikkia, but this probably refers only to stelae with single cures of private individuals; so Dittenberger, *SIG*⁴ 1168, n. 2; Pausanias, 2.27.3 and 2.36.1: there was an ancient collection at Epidaurus of accounts of Asclepius' cures; this was in a series of inscriptions; Aristides, 45 (On Sarapis), 29: temple libraries—λεπὰ θεῖα?—have countless holy books of Sarapis' miracles; *Inscriptiones creticae* (ed. M. Guarducci; Rome, 1935), 1, p. 169 (Lebena 19, 2-1 cent. B.C. [=SIG⁴ 1172]: a patient who had seen many of Asclepius' ἀρετὰς was commanded by the god to write an account of them; *P. Oxy.*, 11.1381: the author was commanded by Imouthes-Asclepius to translate from Egyptian into Greek a book giving an account of the god's τερατώδεις ἐπιφανεῖας; B. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini* (2nd ed.; St. Petersburg, 1916), 1, no. 344 (Chersonesos, 3 cent. B.C.): one Syriskos was honored by the city because he had written and read publicly an account of epiphanies of the Virgin—Athena, of course. That her epiphanies were miracles for present salvation is shown by the account of one [no. 352]; Lindos, *Fouilles de l'Acropole 1902-1914: II. Inscriptiones* (ed. C. Blinkenberg; Berlin, 1941), vol. 1, no. 2 [=KT 131 (1915); *FGrHist* 532]: the "Lindean Chronicle:" by vote of the authorities the important items from the archives of the temple of Athena, and among them the records of the epiphanies of the goddess, were recorded in an inscription; here again the epiphanies—section D in this edition—were saving miracles.

Besides these references to collections of miracle stories, there are fragments of collections preserved in *IG* IV².i.121-124; (cf. *SIG*⁴ 1168-69: cures by Asclepius at

however, but [178] most of which we have reports, seem to have been rather bare strings of stories with, at most, some narrative introduction, telling how the document came to be composed, but with almost no connective material.²⁸ There is nothing like a “life and adventures” of the deity celebrated; they begin at no beginning and lead to no conclusion. The contrast with the *canonical* Gospels is obvious, the more so because Asclepius, for instance, did have a “life and adventures” reported in mythology. But, to judge from the preserved material, the myth and the “historical” miracle stories—those of recent times—were never combined in a single account.²⁹ The miracle stories contain many close parallels to those in the Gospels; the resemblance was noticed already in antiquity³⁰ and is important for the criticism of the Gospels, since it indicates that the two groups grew up in similar cultural environments with similar concern for veracity.³¹ But the collections of miracle stories which circulated in the Graeco-Roman world do not seem, *as collections*, to have been similar in literary form to the canonical Gospels. This was why Schmidt had to turn for a closer parallel to Damis’ reported ὑπομνήματα of

Epidaurus, ca. 320 B.C.); *IG* 3.966 (cf. *SIG*⁴ 1173: cures by Asclepius in the Insula Tibertina at Rome, after A.D. 138); *Inscriptiones creticae*, 1, p. 159, inscriptions 8-12 (cures by Asclepius at Lebena, 2 cent. B.C.); and *P. Oxy.*, 11.1382 (a fragment of what seems to have been a collection of ἀρεταί of Zeus Sarapis, 2 cent. A.D.).

This list does not include collections of miracles from mythology (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, etc.), nor from legendary antiquity (Istros’ Epiphanies of Apollo, Epiphanies of Heracles, etc. [*FGRHist*, 334, nos. 50-53]), nor from the late collections of *apotelesmata* of Apollonius of Tyana; nor does it include collections of miracles performed by diverse divinities (e.g., Valerius Maximus 1.8). It excludes also merely conjectured collections for which there is no clear evidence (e.g., M. Rostowzew, “Epiphaneiai,” *Klio*, 16 [1920], pp. 203ff.; F. Pfister, “Epiphanie,” *RE* Suppl. 4 [1924], cols. 277-323). Of all the material thus attested, nothing has come down to us but the fragments of inscriptions and papyri, the surviving evidence of what the literary tradition and the Christian Middle Ages did not choose to preserve.

²⁸ The most likely exception would be *P. Oxy.* 11.1381.

²⁹ On Asclepius and Jesus, see F. Dölger, “Der Heiland,” *Antike und Christentum* 6/4 (1950) pp. 241ff. An outline of the myth of Asclepius with reference to the “historical” miracles was given by Julian, *Against the Galilaeans*, 200A.; but as Dölger (253) remarks, this is by imitation of Christ.

³⁰ Justin, *I Apology*, 22.6; 54.10; Arnobius, *Adversus nationes*, 1.49.

³¹ The denial of this importance by H. van der Loos, *The Miracles of Jesus*, pp. 136f., is apologetic. A similar case in antiquity was that of Eusebius, whose *Against Hierocles* pretended to discuss the comparison of Jesus with Apollonius of Tyana, but never noticed that any of Apollonius’ miracles in any way resembled any of Jesus’. For another case, see L. McGinley, *Form Criticism of the Synoptic Healing Narratives* (Woodstock, Md., 1944). It may be worth noting that the three distinctions made by W. Grundmann, *Der Begriff der Kraft in der neutestamentlichen Gedankenwelt*, (BWANT 4F8; Stuttgart, 1932), pp. 65ff. are all false: NT miracles show many traits of magic (see S. Eitrem, *Some Notes on the Demonology in the NT* [Symbolae Osloenses, Suppl. XX; 2nd ed.; Oslo, 1966]); they are not always performed by the word of Jesus or an apostle (Mark 5:29; 6:56; Acts 5:14; 19:12); and they do not always require faith (Mark 5:39ff.; 6:5f.; John 20:26f.).

Apollonius³² which, like Justin's ἀπομνημονεύματα of the Apostles (ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια),³³ contained not only the stories of the hero's miracles,³⁴ but also an account of his travels, sayings, prophecies,³⁵ martyrdom, escape from death, and appearances thereafter.³⁶

Here is a pattern quite different from the bare list of miracles. This is the life of the hero as a holy man. Its ramifications in folklore and mythology run through all ages and continents, appear in widely different forms, and are therefore extraordinarily difficult to study. Books which attempt to survey all the material, or even one of the major branches of it, are almost necessarily pretentious, superficial, and of little scholarly value.³⁷ This should not be made an excuse for denying the existence of the pattern, but it will excuse the limiting of our consideration here to one class of examples—the holy men of the Graeco-Roman world.

Of these our knowledge is limited by the snobbishness of the literary tradition of antiquity. Ancient literature is almost entirely upper-class³⁸ and rationalistic. Middle and lower class characters appear mainly as figures in comedies, historical events, or the lives of upper-class individuals. Thus we have a life of the millionaire politician and admiral, Nicias, but almost nothing about the prophets whose counsels finally in 413 B.C. brought both him and Athens to disaster.³⁹ The suppression of the Bacchanalia by the Roman Senate in 186 B.C. was triggered by a plot against a young Roman of wealth and good family⁴⁰ and was excused [180] as the suppression of a conspiracy against the state.⁴¹ Livy tells us all about the proposed victim, but describes the founder of the cult merely as "graecus ignobilis ... sacrificulus et vates ... occultorum et nocturnorum antistes sacrorum." One sentence suffices.⁴² The Arcadian prophet Kleandros is remembered only because he persuaded the slaves of Argos to attack

³² Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, 1.3.

³³ *I Apology*, 66.3: cf. 67.3; *Dialogue* 100-107 passim; Papias 2.15.

³⁴ 4.15f., 25 end; 7.38 end, etc.

³⁵ 1.3.

³⁶ 7.10 end, 15, 28, 35, 38 end, 41, 42; 8.11ff., 29.

³⁷ So E. Butler, *The Myth of the Magus* (Cambridge, 1948); J. Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (New York, 1949). A better approach is that of Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism* (Bollingen Series, 76; New York, 1964); on which, however, see my remarks in "Historical Method in the Study of Religion," esp. 14-16, (volume one of this collection, chapter one).

³⁸ This is one of the main reasons why the New Testament, a lower-middle-class product, seems so different from Greek and Roman literary works.

³⁹ Thucydides 7.50.4; contrast Plutarch, *Nicias*, 23.5: 4.1; 5.3.

⁴⁰ His aunt was an acquaintance of the consul's mother-in-law (Livy 39.11, 4ff).

⁴¹ 39.15-16.

⁴² 39.8, 3f. On the whole affair, see H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos* (Paris, 1951), pp. 454ff., 502; K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich, 1960), pp. 270ff.

their former masters.⁴³ The slave Eunus was a prophet of the Syrian goddess; his master made him prophesy for the entertainment of dinner guests (who used to give him food and ask him to remember them when he came into his kingdom). He was a miracle worker and actually breathed fire, like Yahweh or one of Yahweh's prophets,⁴⁴ but we hear of him only because he became the leader of a huge slave revolt in Sicily about 135 B.C. From the first century, for similar reasons, we hear of many messianic prophets in Palestine.⁴⁵ In the late second century Celsus could claim that in Palestine and Syria there were many "who wander about begging both in and outside temples and frequent both cities and camps on the pretense of prophesying. And any one of them is ready and accustomed to say, 'I am the god,' or 'a son of god,' or 'a divine spirit,' and, 'I have come, for the world is already on the point of destruction, and you, O men, will perish because of your injustice. But I wish to save (you) and you shall see me again returning with heavenly power. Blessed is he who has worshipped me now. On all others, both in cities and in the countryside, I shall cast eternal fire. And men who do not know the penalties awaiting them will repent in vain and mourn, but those whom I have persuaded I shall save forever.'"⁴⁶ Origen, replying to Celsus, does not say there are no such people; he merely says they have done nothing like the OT prophets.⁴⁷ But this he could well say, for the message of Celsus' prophet is not that of an OT prophet, but of a supernatural savior, one of the many (of whom Jesus reportedly prophesied) that would come, saying, "I am," and "the time is at hand."⁴⁸ Origen himself, when arguing on a different point, knows of many sons of gods like Apollo and Asclepius, and also of wise men who have, by their ἀρετή, ascended to heaven.⁴⁹ How much truth [181] then was there in Celsus' statement? We can never be sure because the spiritual underworld of antiquity—the world of wandering prophets and magicians and miracle workers—is known to us only by occasional glimpses. Not until the Antonine age, when rationalism was losing its grip, do full-length "lives" of such holy men, by pagan authors of repute, become so popular that copies of them have come down to us.

⁴³ Ca. 485 B.C.; see Herodotus 6.83,2.

⁴⁴ Diodorus 34.2,5-8; Photius, *Bibliotheca*, pp. 384ff. Cf. Luke 23:42; Ps 18:9; Apoc 11:5; PGM 5.154.

⁴⁵ Acts 5:35ff.; Josephus, *Jewish War*, 2.258-64; E. Meyer, *Ursprung u. Anfänge des Christentums* (Berlin, 1921), 2, pp. 404ff.

⁴⁶ Origen, *Against Celsus*, 7.9; cf. E. Fascher, ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ (Giessen, 1927), pp. 206f.; G. Wetter, *Der Sohn Gottes* (Göttingen, 1916), pp. 4ff.; R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* (Leipzig, 1904), pp. 222ff.

⁴⁷ 7.8.

⁴⁸ Luke 21:8 and parallels.

⁴⁹ *Against Celsus*, 5.2, end.

Even these are at first satirical—e.g., Lucian's portraits of Alexander and Peregrinus.

To make matters worse, though one can discern (with the eye of historical faith) a common social pattern behind a number of the figures mentioned above, Graeco-Roman antiquity knew many holy men of many different patterns. There were the heroes in the strict sense of the word—local tutelary powers among the dead—whose company had been enlarged by the addition of some minor deities, mostly demigods, and the heroes of the Homeric poems, and also by the heroization of deceased public benefactors.⁵⁰ There were gods who had been born and had various adventures—including servitude, suffering, and death—like those of men.⁵¹ Almost any god was likely to appear in human form, and consequently a number of historical persons had been supposed to have been deities or *daimones* in disguise.⁵² There were mythical demigods (men born of a union between mortals and gods), who had achieved full godhood,⁵³ and there were historical men who thought—or pre[182]tended—that they were gods or similar supernatural beings.⁵⁴ This complexity was further

⁵⁰ S. Eitrem, "Heroes," *RE* 8/1 (1912) 1111-45; A. D. Nock, "The Cult of Heroes," *HTR*, 37 (1944), pp. 141ff., shows the complexity of the concept.

⁵¹ So Zeus himself, whose grave in Crete was notorious; cf. Fehrle in Roscher, 6 (1924-37), pp. 578ff.; see further in Roscher, on Apollo, Ares, and Hermes.

⁵² For divine appearances see Pfister, "Epiphanie," *RE* Suppl. 4 (1924), pp. 277ff.; E. Pax, *ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΙΑ* (MTS 1.10; Munich, 1955); J. Jeremias, *Theophanie* (WMANT 10; Neukirchen-Vhlyn, 1965) [OT only]. On entertaining deities unawares (see Heb 13:2), cf. Gen 18:1-15 with the myth of Philemon and Baucis (e.g., Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 8.620ff.); and see my article, "On the Wine God in Palestine." Examples of men supposed to be gods, *daimones* or demigods, are not only such legendary figures as Orpheus, Lycurgus, and Abaris, but Pythagoras (Aristotle, *Frgs.* 191 and 192, Rose [=Aelian, *Varia Historia*, 4.17]); Diogenes Laertius 8.11; Iamblichus, *Vita Pythagorica*, 31; Theagenes of Thasos (Pausanias, 6.11), Xerxes (Herodotus, 7.56.2), Alexander (Curtius Rufus, 4.7.25ff.; Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 13), Ptolemy I and Berenice (Nock, "Deification and Julian," *JRS*, 47 [1957], pp. 115-23), Cleomenes III (Plutarch, *Agis and Cl.*, 39.2: θεῶν παῖδα), Pompey (Cicero, *De imperio Cn. Pompei*, 41; cf. Acts 14:11), Caesar (Suetonius, *Vita Caes.*, 88), Augustus (Nock, *JRS*, 47 [1957], pp. 115-20), Jesus (Mark 3:11; 5:7; 15:39; etc.), Peter (Acts 10:26f.); Barnabas and Paul (Acts 14:11; 28:6), Apollonius of Tyana (V.A. 7.28; 8.7.7). "They will think you a god," was a literary commonplace (Marcus Aurelius 4.16). See further, below, those who claimed to be gods.

⁵³ Notably Dionysus, Asclepius, (see below), and Hercules (on whom see M. Simon, *Hercule et le Christianisme* [Paris, 1955], where the earlier literature is discussed). A number of cities had two cults of Hercules, one as hero and one as god; see Herodotus, 2.44, end.

⁵⁴ So Empedocles (Diels *FV*⁷ Frag. 112 [=Diogenes Laertius, 8.62]), Menecrates, Alexarchus, the founder of Uranopolis, Nicostratus of Argos, and Nicagoras of Zeleia (Clement, 4.54; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, 3.98d-e; 7.289-90), Clearchus of Heracleon (Justinus, 16.5.7; Memnon in *FGrHist* 434 F1; Aelian, fr. 86 [Hercher]), Scipio Africanus (Livy 19.26, 3ff.; Gellius VI.1.6), Hannibal (Appian, *Hannibalic War*, 2.6; cf. *Acts of John*, 88ff.; Origen, *Against Celsus*, 2.63ff.), Jesus (Mark 14:61f. Matt 21:43; John 10:36), Paul (Gal 2:20), Dositheus, Simon Magus, Menander, Theudas, and Judas of Galilee (Origen, *Against Celsus* 1.57; 6.11; Acts 8:10; Justin, *I Apology*, 26—of Menander, Theudas, and Judas the reports are dubious), Apsethus or Psaphon or Hanno

complicated by the Greek habit, beginning in 404 B.C., of honoring great public benefactors, especially rulers, by giving them the same sort of cults which were given to gods. "To honor a man *as* a god" (σέβειν ὡς θεόν) is ambiguous—since "as" may mean "as being," or "as if." In Greece, it usually meant "as if," but the other possibility was constantly suggested to the mind.⁵⁵

Philosophy and religion, as usual, contributed to the intellectual confusion. Philosophy—and especially Plato whose influence was all-pervasive—popularized the notion that man is composed of a divine soul imprisoned in a material body; thus every man is essentially divine, and those whose souls are most powerful or who subjugate their bodies completely are almost present deities.⁵⁶ In this belief, despite various metaphysical modifications, the Stoics and the Cynics followed Plato as, in the *Phaedrus*, the sweating, struggling procession of human chariots follows the winged car of Zeus.⁵⁷ Even the Epicureans believed [183] themselves to be of the same substance as

(Hippolytus, *Philosophumena*, 6.8; Aelian, *Varia historia* 14.30; Maximus of Tyre, 35.4; Apostolius, *Synagogue Paroimion*, 18.48), Caligula (Suetonius 22); Sostratus (Lucian, *Demonax*, 1), Agathio (Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists*, 2.1.553), Palestinian prophets (Origen, *Against Celsus*, 8.9); magicians commonly identified themselves at least temporarily with deities (*PGM* 4.2999; 5.145; 12.232ff.; 13.254). Alexander, Caesar, and some other rulers are dubious cases.

⁵⁵ "Basic" to this discussion is C. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte* (Zetemata 14; Munich, 1956), which surveys all the city cults of historical individuals. It excludes—as different, though related, problems—the royal cults set up by Alexander and his successors and the cult of the Roman emperors (on which see L. Cerfaux and J. Tondriau, *Un concurrent du christianisme: Le culte des souverains dans la civilisation gréco-romaine* [Bibliothèque de théologie, 3/5; Tournai, 1957]; also the outstanding article by E. Bickerman, "Die römische Kaiserapotheose," *ARW*, 27 (1929), pp. 1ff. Habicht recognizes the close relation of the cults of living men as gods to the (much older) cults of dead men as heroes, and the lack of certain boundaries between them (pp. 204f.). But he does not recognize that some of the awe felt for heroes might thus be carried over into the cults of the living. Despite his arguments (pp. 213ff.), it remains clear that the ruler cults were attacked *in part* because the rulers were not divine (Philippides in Plutarch, *Vita Demetrii*, 12.3-8). This attack would be inexplicable had not the cults suggested the contrary.

⁵⁶ *Timaeus*, 41A-D (cf. A. E. Taylor's commentary [Oxford, 1928]); *Phaedrus*, 245C-249C; *Phaedo*, 80D-84B.

⁵⁷ Zeno, *Diogenes Laertius*, 7.119; Cicero, *De divinatione*, 2.129, end. The good life for the Stoics is τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ζῆν (Stobaeus, *Anthol.*, 2.7, ed. Wachsmuth II.78); and φύσις is θεός and Zeus (*SVF* 4.159). Therefore the σοφός has all the divine virtues (*SVF* 4.128-133) and is himself divine at least as to the ψυχή (=πνεῦμα, =θεός, *SVF* 4.166, 116). But he is not commonly called θεός; the two cases cited probably reflect the school's willingness to claim for him any quality commonly admired; if so they testify to a common usage and a common ideal figure. In Cynicism the common usage was (as one would expect) more important. Diogenes said, "The gods need nothing; the godlike, little" (Diogenes Laertius 6.104). Crates was remembered as a *lar familiaris* and the true Hercules (Apuleius, *Florida*, 22). The imitation of Hercules was to be an important theme in the sect's tradition (see Lucian, *Peregrinus*, 4.24f.). Menedemus pretended to be a Fury (Diogenes Laertius 6.9; if true, it was probably a mere publicity stunt).

the gods, defined the good life as imitation of the gods, declared Epicurus a god, and worshipped him.⁵⁸ On the other hand, Euhemerus maintained that all the gods had originally been great men who had been deified by their fellows or successors.⁵⁹ While philosophy was thus preaching deification by achievement, whether objective or subjective,⁶⁰ religion and magic were offering easier ways to the same goal. The Orphic tradition is commonly supposed to have taught that men were by nature divine and that those who were aware of this and properly prepared to plead their own cause could at least after death regain admission to the company of the gods. Whether Orphic or not, the teaching was widely disseminated and acted on.⁶¹ From remote antiquity the Eleusinian mysteries had promised men after death the most important attributes of divinity—a blessed and eternal life.⁶² By the second century A.D. there were mysteries and magical rites which promised immediate—or, at least, immediately [184] anticipated—deification.⁶³ To these the development of Platonism by the Hermetica, with their insistence on the divinity of the sage, had doubtless contributed.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ H. Usener, *Epicurea* (Leipzig, 1887), pp. 237f., 405; A. Festugière, *Epicure et ses dieux*, pp. 94f.; Lucretius 3.18-30; 5.1-54; 6.58-79.

⁵⁹ Cicero, *De natura deorum*, 1.119 (see the commentary of A. Pease [Harvard, 1955], vol. 1, pp. 517f. (bibliography)).

⁶⁰ I.e., self-conquest, learning, etc. (The approach to truth=the ascent to a deity [*Parmenides*, Fr. 1; see the review of the interpretations in L. Tarán, *Parmenides* (Princeton, 1965), pp. 17-31]). I cannot understand the verses as shaped by a literary convention of which there are no prior examples, nor as a mere introduction to the following revelation; for that ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν ὁ θεός would have sufficed. Why did Parmenides, in order to receive this revelation, have to go to the place from which Night and Day begin their courses and pass through the gates of which Justice holds the keys?

⁶¹ A. Olivieri, *Lamellae aureae orphicae* (KT 133; Bonn, 1915), A3, 10; a 6, 11; b 3; C 5. These beliefs were still current in the time of Arnobius, *Adversus nationes*, 2.62.

⁶² Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 316-53. Connections with the preceding inscriptions are noted by L. Radermacher in his commentary (Sitzungsberichte 198/4; 2nd ed.; Vienna, 1954), p. 186. Initiation at Eleusis may have been thought to have made Asclepius a god, whereas before he had only been a hero. Pausanias (2.26,8) may have this meaning, or may mean merely that from this date on the cult of the god became legal in Attica. Support for the first interpretation can be found in the possibility that the god's cult was established in the Piraeus before it was brought to Eleusis (see F. Robert, "Le Plutus d'Aristophane et l'Asclépiéion du Pirée," *RP*, 57 [1931], pp. 132ff.).

⁶³ Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, 11.24; H. Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy* (Cairo 1956), ch. 3; Iamblichus, *De mysteriis*, 10.4-6; *PGM* 1.96-196; 4.154-221, 475-750. The deified initiate of course remained in this world as did the Colossians who had died and whose lives had been hid in God (3:3); cf. the Chaldean rite and *PGM* 4.154ff. (for the ritual death).

⁶⁴ *CH* 4.7; 12.1; 13.3-13 may reflect some rite which produced the hallucination of ἔκστασις; cf. *PGM* IV. 475-750 and P. Mima in Festugière's notes to Asclepius 41: χαίρομεν ὅτι ἐν πλάσμασιν ἡμᾶς ὄντας ἀπεθέω[σ]ας τῇ σεαυτοῦ γνώσει. The possibility of deification while in the body was denied by *CH* 10.6 and *CH* excerpt 6 (from Stobaeus, sec. 18). If there is a difference of opinion here, the dispute on the subject in theosophical circles may have already begun in Paul's time and may account for the odd parenthesis which interrupts 2 Cor 12:2 (as much as to say, "Don't bother

Behind this mob of divine or deified men and their many varieties lay the Greek notion of the gods as beings like men, possessing the human virtues to a higher degree, and possessing also gifts that men wanted, above all immortality and eternal youth.⁶⁵ Hence it was natural and common to describe as “divine” any man who excelled in any desirable capacity—beauty, strength, wisdom, prestige, song, fame, skill in speaking, or success in love. The patterns of speech thus established persisted to NT times as conventional exaggerations and served further to complicate the census of “divine men.”⁶⁶

Worst of all, nothing in this complex was stable. As men’s notions changed, so did their gods, and as the gods changed, so did the ways in which men might be thought to be like them or related to them. Simon has shown well how the figure of Hercules developed, with changes of fashion, in the same ways and at the same times as the figure of Christ.⁶⁷ The history of the Asclepius figure is also worth looking at. Asclepius inherited from folklore a prodigious death;⁶⁸ Epidauros provided him, also from folklore, with a typical birth story.⁶⁹ When Epidauros came [185] under the protection of Delphi he taught Delphic morality;⁷⁰ when admitted to Athens he was associated with the Eleusinian mysteries and became an initiate.⁷¹ When the Stoic equation of the gods with the elements became fashionable he was equated with the air.⁷² When neo-Platonism prevailed, he became the soul of the universe, that which maintains the natural order, the equivalent, in this respect, of the *logos*.⁷³ And when solar theology was in style, he was identified with the sun or with its outflowing power.⁷⁴

me with that question now!”). But there may be no difference of opinion in *CH*; the passages which deny the possibility of deification while in the body may presuppose some technique for getting out of it (and back in).

⁶⁵ See D. Roloff, *Gottähnlichkeit, Vergöttlichung, und Erhöhung zu seligem Leben* (Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte, 4; Berlin, 1970), where most of the occasions of “deification” listed in the following sentence are fully illustrated.

⁶⁶ Thus Sappho’s φαίνεται μοι κῆνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν is translated by Catullus (52) and quoted in *περὶ ὕψους* (10). It was also developed; Propertius 2.15.40: *nocte una quivis vel deum esse potest*. Quintillian can speak of the ideal scholar as “consummatus undique et, ut dicant, mortalis quidam deus” (1.10.5).

⁶⁷ M. Simon, *Hercule et le christianisme*, (Paris, 1955), ch. III.

⁶⁸ Edelstein, T 105, 107-109. On sanctification by lightning, see E. Rohde, *Psyche* (tr. W. Hillis; London, 1950), pp. 581ff.

⁶⁹ Pausanias 2.26.4 (the abandoned baby; cf. L. Bieler, *θεῖος ἀνὴρ* [2 vols., Vienna, 1935-36], 2.106).

⁷⁰ Edelstein, 2.70, 127f.; T 318, 319.

⁷¹ Edelstein, 2.127; T 720, 564.

⁷² Edelstein, 2.105f.; T 291 (=Pausanias 7.23,7f.).

⁷³ Edelstein, 2.107f.; T 302-309.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

He was the light of men,⁷⁵ the savior.⁷⁶ When mysteries were in demand, mysteries of Asclepius were developed.⁷⁷ When “new gods” came in, there were “new” Asclepii, one a θεός ἐπιφανής.⁷⁸ In Syria and Palestine, where dying and reviving gods were popular, he was identified with Eshmun, a figure of the Tammuz-Adonis type.⁷⁹ When oracles had a revival, in the second century A.D., he gave oracles;⁸⁰ for men who wanted longer revelations, he mediated those of Hermes Trismegistos;⁸¹ but his power could be compressed in an amulet,⁸² and he was great in magic (where he appears as “the true [186] prophet”—cf. *Clementine Homilies*, 1.19; 2.5ff.—sent forth by him “who sitteth upon the cherubim”).⁸³ He had been, of course, katasterized,⁸⁴ and became for astrologers the ruler of one area of the zodiac.⁸⁵ In sum, he became all things to all men. And he was not unique; a similar, though less extensive, list of adaptations can be made for Sarapis,⁸⁶ and

⁷⁵ Lucian, *Alexander*, 18. The parallels to John 8:12 and *CH* 1.6 were noticed by M. Caster, *Études sur Alexandre* (Paris, 1938) pp. 35f., who also discusses other attributes of Asclepius: βασιλεύς, δεσπότης, κύριος, φιλάνθρωπος.

⁷⁶ P. Wendland, “Soter,” *ZNW*, 5 (1904), p. 336; M. Fränkel, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* (2 vols.; *Altertümer von Pergamon* 8.1,2; Berlin, 1890-95), nos. 246, 267, 290, 296.

⁷⁷ Edelstein, 2.213, esp. no. 21; T 498b; Lucian, *Alexander*, 38f.

⁷⁸ Caster, *Études*, pp. 35f.; cf. 2 Tim 1:10; *Inschriften von Pergamon*, no. 365 (of Hadrian); Lucian, *Alexander*, 43 (of Glycon).

⁷⁹ F. Cumont, “Eshmun,” *RE* 6/1 (1907) col. 678; W. Baudissin, *Adonis* (Leipzig, 1911), pp. 219ff. R. de Vaux (“Sur quelques rapports entre Adonis et Osiris,” *RB*, 42 [1933], pp. 31ff.) tried to show that the revival of these gods was a late Egyptian addition to their rites; but this seems unlikely because (1) Lucian’s evidence for the revival (*De syria dea* 6) cannot be discredited by the obscure phrase καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀέρα πέμπουσι, since the obscurity does not affect the point in question; (2) the silence of the poems about the mourning is inconclusive, since reference to the expected revival would spoil the effect (cp. *tenebrae*); (3) Damascius, *Vita Isidori*, 302, would ordinarily be taken to refer to death and resurrection; (4) resurrections are attested for neighboring and probably related deities: Baal (*ANET*² 139f.); Melkart-Hercules (Josephus, *Ant.* 8.146 [with Marcus’ note]; *Apion* 1.119); and Jesus.

⁸⁰ Edelstein, T 427-42; Lucian, *Alexander*, *passim*; Origen, *Against Celsus*, 3.24; H. von Giertringen, “Ein Asklepiosorakel aus Athen,” *ARW* 32 (1935) pp. 367ff.; against Rohde, *Psyche*, p. 100, n. 52 (based on Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.20.4), see Lucian, *Deorum concilia* 16.

⁸¹ *CH* 2, 9, 10, 14, 16, the Asclepius, etc.

⁸² Bonner, *Studies*, 42 and pl. III, no. 58 (note the identification, Iao=Yahweh); Delatte-Derchain, nos. 234, 235.

⁸³ PGM 7.634; cf. 8.81 and Hippolytus, *Philosophumena* 4.32f.

⁸⁴ Rohde, *Psyche*, p. 582, citing Eratosthenes, *Catasterismoi* VI (Ὀφιοῦχος, note the epiphany); Hyginus, *Astronomicon* 2.14.

⁸⁵ “Persian” tradition in Cosmas of Jerusalem (Migne, *PG* 38.461), cited by Bidez-Cumont, *Mages* 2.271ff.

⁸⁶ Mysteries (Artemidorus, *Onirocritica*, 2.39; Paulinus Nolanus, *Carmina* 32.123ff.; H. Gressmann, *Die orientalischen Religionen* [Berlin, 1930], pp. 44ff.; H. Youtie, “The Kline of Sarapis,” *HTR*, 41 [1948] 9ff.); oracles (Dio Chrysostom 32.12f.); sun god (*P. Oxy.* 11.1382; *OGIS* 678; Julian, *Oratio*, 4.136; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.20.17); order of the universe (*PGM* 13.620, 640; Aristides, *Oratio* 45.23ff.); light of men (Macrobius, *loc. cit.*; Aristides, *Oratio* 45.33); lord and savior (Aristides, *Oratio* 45.20; Artemidorus,

probably could be for other deities (Isis, Apollo, Helios, Eros). But it will have been obvious that these characteristics acquired by the gods in hellenistic and imperial times are also those which appear at the same time in the legends of "divine men." Both Jesus and Apollonius, to mention only two, were like Asclepius, primarily famous as miracle workers, especially healers, but like him acquired divine fathers and birth stories elaborated with motifs from folklore. Both were represented as teachers of morality who reformed established temple procedures and participated in or themselves instituted mysteries. Jesus rivaled Asclepius in becoming a principle of cosmic order and a solar deity;⁸⁷ we do not have the theological epistles of Apollonius' believers, which no doubt speculated about the god that was in him.⁸⁸ Both were conceived as saviors and as epiphanies of divine beings, and their prophetic oracles were preserved by their followers. Their opponents accused both of magical powers, and magicians tried to make use of these.⁸⁹ Jesus and Asclepius survived death, while Apollonius escaped it by a miracle, and all three were finally taken up to heaven.

This extensive equation of the characteristics of Graeco-Roman gods with those of "divine men," shows that the development of the "divine man" figure in the Graeco-Roman world was part and parcel of the general development of that world's imaginations and desires. Consequently, it is very hard to establish specific influences and relationships between stories of different holy men, since similar elements may always have [187] come, not from another example of the pattern, but from the general religious and intellectual milieu. One can distinguish roughly the different social types of those who claimed or were credited with divinity—prophets, poets, philosophers, rulers, athletes, physicians, magicians—and one might attempt a history of each type. But there are too many border-line cases and too many ties-in from one type to another. For example, it would seem at first glance that the prophets were clearly distinct from the rulers. But members of both groups frequently appear as leaders—or would-be leaders—of risings of the lower classes. What seems to be a clear difference of basic type might sometimes dissolve, on closer inspection, into differences of success or failure, sophistication, and type of

Onirocritica, 2.39; *OGIS* 87, 699); god of wisdom (Aristides, *Oratio* 45.17) and of magic (Bonner, *Studies*, pp. 46, 162, 235 and pl. XIX, no. 354; Delatte-Derchain, nos. 100, 101; *PGM* 4.227, 1715; 5.1-53, 447, 13.620, 640; 19a.6).

⁸⁷ F. Dölger, *Sol salutis* (Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen 4/5; 2nd ed., Münster in W., 1925).

⁸⁸ 2 Cor 5:18; *Vita Apollonii*, 1.4; 8.7.7.

⁸⁹ Mark 9:38; Acts 19:13; *PGM* 11a.1.

tradition. The genuine letter of Pilate no doubt represented Jesus as a would-be ruler, and the Gospel of Hannibal, as preached in 216 by a Gaul who believed in his leader's divinity, would be a valuable corrective to Livy. Again Menecrates,⁹⁰ a doctor who claimed to be a god because he could save men's lives, seems utterly alien to Jesus and Apollonius—until one learns that what he cured was “the holy disease”⁹¹ (the Greek equivalent of “demonic possession”) and that he attached those he cured to himself as disciples, referred to them as οἱ ἄν ἐμοὶ πείθονται, and claimed to make them gods (in Gospel terms, to give them the Kingdom). And Apollonius is brought into the picture by the report that his reputation for divinity rested largely on the outcries of the insane who hailed him and prayed to him as a god.⁹² Yet again, one might be tempted to say that gods, like Asclepius and Sarapis, were utterly different figures from men like Apollonius and Alexander. But apart from the common elements in their stories, there is also the fact that Apollonius began his career by going to live in a temple of Asclepius. One of Apollonius' followers was the teacher of Alexander, and Alexander himself was the prophet of the “new Asclepius.”⁹³ Add to this the evident fraudulence of many of the Asclepius miracle-inscriptions (which must have been put up by the clergy of his temples) and the conjecture that a list of miracle-stories, like the Asclepius collections, may have been the basic element in the tradition about Apollonius, and once again a pattern begins to appear.

These patterns suggest the complex interrelationships of the different elements in this material, and this complexity, together with that of the [188] material itself, will explain why the studies of the problem have been either partial or not wholly satisfactory.⁹⁴

II. The Studies

The studies of these topics began with apologetics. The similarities between the legendary career (divine paternity, etc.) of Jesus and those of other demigods and pretenders to divinity were noticed by

⁹⁰ Besides the sources cited above, see O. Weinreich, *Menecrates Zeus und Salmoneus* (Tübinger Beitr. z. Altertumswissenschaft; Tübingen, 1933).

⁹¹ See H. Grensemann, *Die hippokratische Schrift “Über die heilige Krankheit”* (Ars medica, II. Abteilung, 1; Berlin, 1968).

⁹² *Vita Apollonii*, 8.7,1. This Philostratus certainly did not invent; he tries to explain it away.

⁹³ *Vita Apollonii*, 1.9ff.; Lucian, *Alexander*, 5, 10ff.

⁹⁴ The following bibliography is limited to works relevant to the “divine man” as a free-lance prophet, philosopher, or the like, and, within this group, to works important for the understanding of the Gospels. Omitted are most of the works discussed above on the aretology as a literary form, all works on the ruler cult after Lohmeyer, works on early Pythagoreanism after Rohde (except those dealing directly with the Gospels) and miscellaneous minor groups. Even with these limitations the list is far from complete.

Justin who explained it as a demonic imitation of Christianity.⁹⁵ Pagans noticed them too and consequently denied the peculiarity of Jesus, comparing him unfavorably with the demigods and philosophers, or equating him with the magicians and wandering prophets.⁹⁶ Apollonius of Tyana was brought into the discussion,⁹⁷ and about A.D. 307 an imperial administrator named Hierocles wrote a book against the Christians, containing a long, unfavorable comparison of Jesus to Apollonius.⁹⁸ This was answered by Eusebius. "Passing over" the greater success of Jesus' cult, he argues that human achievements are limited by the laws of nature;⁹⁹ therefore, if the miracle stories told about Apollonius are true he was a magician; if false, he may have been a mere philosopher.

With the success of Christianity the apologetic question lost importance, and, apart from passing references,¹⁰⁰ the discussion slumbered. [189] It was awakened by the rationalistic and antiquarian interests of the eighteenth century which engendered a series of works culminating in F. Baur's *Apollonius von Tyana und Christus*.¹⁰¹ Baur was interested in the *Life of Apollonius* as a document of later paganism; he thought the real Apollonius had been a magician whom Philostratus had written up, using the Gospels as models, to set forth the syncretistic religion of the Severan court. That syncretism made much of divine men, among whom Jesus was included.¹⁰² Baur pointed

⁹⁵ Justin, I *Apology*, 21-27.

⁹⁶ Origen, *Against Celsus*, 2.49ff.; 3.3, 42f.; 6.8-11; 7.9, 53; etc.

⁹⁷ A. von Harnack, *Porphyrus "Gegen die Christen"* (Abhandlungen 1916, 1; Berlin, 1916), no. 63.

⁹⁸ O. Seeck, "Hierokles 13," *RE*, 8/2 (1913) col. 1477; cf. *RE*, 6/1 (1907) cols. 1394-95; Eusebius, *Against Hierocles* (=Against Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius*), 1.

⁹⁹ In sec. 6 he admits that a man favored and illuminated by God may truly, because of the ray of divine light within him, be called θεός, "since he carries in his soul the image of some great god." But such a man would illuminate the whole world and leave a record "of the—or his—eternal divinity" to succeeding time. And even such a man could not do miracles. (And, it is implied, Apollonius' obscurity proves that he was no such man.) This is an example of the (not to be forgotten) rationalistic strain in Christianity, here contradicting the common notion of "the divine man," according to which the internal divinity would express itself in miraculous powers (e.g., *Vita Apollonii*, 3.18; 6.10f.). How his arguments would have applied to the Gospels, Eusebius did not consider; and he avoided references to the similarities between the legends of Apollonius and of Jesus.

¹⁰⁰ E.g., Jerome, *Tractatus in librum psalmorum*, Ps 81, end (Anecdota Maredsolana 3/2; ed. G. Morin; Oxford, 1897), p. 80.

¹⁰¹ Tübingen, 1832; earlier works are reviewed on pp. 1-18, 104ff.

¹⁰² *Historia Augusta*, Severus Alexander, 29.2: Alexander had a private chapel in which there were statues of the deified rulers (optimos electos et animas sanctiores, in quis Apollonium et ... Christum, Abraham et Orpheum et huiuscemodi ceteros habebat), and images of his parents. This is suspiciously like Ammianus Marcellinus, 21.14: Men who excelled by the aid of guardian spirits: Pythagoras, Socrates, Numa, Scipio, Marius, Augustus, Hermes Trismegistus, Apollonius, and Plotinus. Recent scholarship tends to date the *Historia Augusta* near or after Ammianus (see R. Syme, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta* [Oxford, 1968], pp. 214-19; Syme opts for a date after 390). But the

out the importance of the Pythagoras legend for this sort of figure (pp. 175ff.), referred also to Abaris and Aristeas (*ibid.*), and recognized the parodies of it in Lucian's *Alexander* and *Peregrinus* (pp. 121ff., 134ff.). His clear presentation remained, until the work of Reitzenstein, the most important study of the subject. Its influence removed Apollonius from NT criticism to the history of paganism in the post-Antonine age.

Things began to change with the work of Rohde, who in 1871 analyzed the Pythagorean tradition, making a strong case for his theory that the supernatural side of it went back to the origin and was early embodied in a collection of miracle stories current before Aristotle's time.¹⁰³ Then in 1904 came Wendland's ΣΩΤΗΡ,¹⁰⁴ demonstrating this hellenistic element in NT usage,¹⁰⁵ and Reitzenstein's *Poimandres*, investigating the revelator of the Hermetica, whose affiliates spread like crab-grass through Christianity, Egyptian religion, Judaism, gnosticism, and magic. Next year (1905) Cumont gave his lectures at the Collège de France on oriental religions in Roman paganism, revealing the wide importance of the eastern mysteries and their savior deities;¹⁰⁶ and in 1906 Reitzenstein's *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen* went beyond the literary form of the miracle story to study, as "aretalogies," the "lives" into which [190] collections of miracle stories had been inserted. En passant, his source analysis of the life of Apollonius (pp. 39-54) superseded Baur's notion of its composition and put the study of it on a new footing. Weinreich's *Antike Heilungswunder*, in 1909, demonstrated the interchangeability of stories of human and divine healers; and when Fiebig, *Jüdische Wundergeschichten* (1911), tried to show that similar stories were common in the earliest rabbinic literature, Schlatter, *Das Wunder in der Synagoge* (1912), refuted him.¹⁰⁷ That same year Holl showed the theological and structural relationship of the miracle stories to the lives¹⁰⁸—they are the demonstration of the divinity—and Eitrem's article "Heros" traced the history of the concept.¹⁰⁹

report in *Historia Augusta* is not unlikely, and Baur could refer to Alexander's mother's conversations with Origen (Eusebius, *HE*, 6.21,3) and Caracalla's heroön to Apollonius (Dio Cassius, 77.18, end).

¹⁰³ E. Rohde, "Die Quellen des Jamblichus in seiner Biographie des Pythagoras," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, NS 26 (1871), pp. 554ff.; = *Kleine Schriften* [2 vols.; Tübingen, 1901], 2, p. 105.

¹⁰⁴ *ZNW*, 5 (1904), pp. 335ff.

¹⁰⁵ This is not to say that he denied the Jewish element, see p. 349. Foerster and Fohrer (σωτήρ, *TWNT*, 7 (1964), pp. 1013ff.) go farther.

¹⁰⁶ F. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain* (4th ed.; Paris, 1929).

¹⁰⁷ Ignorant of this, I also refuted him, in *Tannaitic Parallels to the Gospels* (Philadelphia, 1951), pp. 81ff.

¹⁰⁸ K. Holl, "Die schriftstellerische Form des gr. Heiligenlebens," *Neue Jahrbücher*, 29 (1912), pp. 406f. Holl's distinction between lives of divine men (with attached collections

Thus far, this learning had little influence on NT criticism.¹¹⁰ In 1913, however, Norden's *Agnostos Theos* revealed in Acts 17 the preaching of the revelator of Reitzenstein's *Poimandres*,¹¹¹ and Bousset's *Kyrios Christos* traced the growth of the cult of Jesus as Lord in the hellenistic world, exploring the divine implications of that title. Then in 1916 Wetter's *Der Sohn Gottes* set out to show that a "son of god" was a person of a known sociological type; the title might vary (god, son of god, angel, prophet, or apostle of the god) but the practice (wandering miracle worker, called by his enemies a magician) and the claims (to be sent of god, to have come down from heaven, to judge the world, to save those who believe in him, and to return to heaven) were uniform. Wetter found the figure most clearly presented in John, so he collected from John the proof passages for each point and adduced for each the parallels from Graeco-Roman usage. But, as we saw, that usage applied the same terms to a wide range of figures. Wetter discredited his argument by drawing parallels from all of these; many seemed to be only verbal similarities, and this weakened the effect of the rest. Moreover, having found his pure type in John, he concluded that the use of the term "son of god" in the other Gospels was dependent, not indeed on John, but on [191] the developed hellenistic Christianity that John represented (pp. 137-44). Finally, the book's impact was weakened by its publication in 1916—the war obliterated it. After the war W. Bauer spoke of it favorably,¹¹² but it never got the attention it deserved.

With its appearance the scattered material had been brought together, the similarities recognized, the problem stated. What had to follow was analysis, definition, completion. Thanks to the war, they followed slowly. Meyer's careful study of Apollonius and Reitzenstein's *Die Göttin Psyche*, both in 1917,¹¹³ were the aftermath of the earlier age. Lohmeyer's *Christuskult und Kaiserkult* (1919) marked the beginning of many detailed studies of the ruler cults; these we pass over. A decade of minor studies on other subjects may be

of miracle stories) and "aretalogies," has not survived in usage and was dubious in fact; worse than dubious was his derivation of the notion of the "divine man" from Posidonius. The Pythagoras legend is earlier.

¹⁰⁹ *RE*, 8/1, cols. 1111ff.

¹¹⁰ For instance, B. Bacon, "Jesus the Son of God," *HTR*, 2 (1909), pp. 277ff., is written as if Jesus and his followers knew nothing but the OT, Apocrypha, and Pseudepigrapha. It is unlikely that the authors of the NT should have been as ignorant as the critics of it.

¹¹¹ The notion that Paul's speech comes from a sermon by Apollonius has been justly rejected; but the fact that such a notion could be advanced by a scholar of Norden's stature shows the similarity of the figures.

¹¹² In *TLZ* 43 (1918), p. 29 and *ThRu*, NF 1 (1929), pp. 135ff.

¹¹³ E. Meyer, "Apollonius von Tyana," *Hermes*, 52 (1917), pp. 371ff.; R. Reitzenstein, *Die Göttin Psyche* (Sitzungsberichte 10; Heidelberg, 1917).

relegated to the notes.¹¹⁴ Reitzenstein got lost in the Iranian desert.¹¹⁵ Eventually Weinreich's *Menekrates Zeus und Salomoneus* (1933) marked the beginning of better things. The brilliant but controversial¹¹⁶ *Paulus und Christus* of Windisch (1934) was followed in 1935-36 by the two volumes of L. Bieler's *θεῖος ἀνὴρ*, the fullest analysis of a large selection of material: Lucian's *Peregrinus*, *Alexander*, and *Demonax*, selected lives of philosophers, sophists, legendary poets and monks, the Gospels and Acts, Pseudo-Callisthenes' *Alexander*, Suetonius and Nicholas of Damascus on Augustus, and Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*. From these Bieler collected the evidence about [192] the divine man's life-history, appearance, character, supernatural knowledge, powers, mission, teaching, followers, relation to the surrounding world, and relation to the gods. He showed that on each of these points the bulk of the material fell into a pattern. But (as in Wetter's work) secondary factors diminished the impact of the book: it was somewhat careless; the references were sometimes false and the texts sometimes misinterpreted; the choice of sources was questionable. Publication in 1937 of Pfister's absurd *Herakles und Christus*¹¹⁷ (demolished in 1938 by Rose, *Herakles and the Gospels*)¹¹⁸ did something to discredit the method. And the Second World War was imminent. The last year of nominal peace saw the publication of H. Lewy's *Aristotle and the Jewish Sage*,¹¹⁹ which not

¹¹⁴ O. Weinreich, *Antikes Gottmenschtum* (Neue Jahrbücher 2 [1926], pp. 633ff.) is a good popular exposition. I. Lévy, *La légende de Pythagore* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, 250; Paris, 1927) is important for its source-analysis of the lives of Pythagoras, and for its observation of the Greek—especially Pythagorean—parallels to Palestinian material of the first centuries B.C. and A.D.; but the statements of "fact" are often unreliable, the judgments usually so. Nevertheless M.-J. Lagrange, "Les légendes pythagoriques et l'évangile," *RB*, 45 (1936), pp. 481ff.; 46 (1937), pp. 5ff., in trying to minimize the supernatural side of the pre-Christian Pythagoreanism and explain as imitations of the Gospels most of the parallels between them, Iamblichus' Life of Pythagoras, and Philostratus' Life of Apollonius, is probably no less mistaken. One of the cases that looks most like imitation is the raising of the dead girl in Rome (*Vita Apollonii*, 4.6), as of the young man of Nain (Luke 7:11ff.). But this story of a healer stopping a bier on its way to the tomb was an aretalogical motif to be found also in the stories about Asclepiades, a doctor of the first century B.C. (see *RE*, 2/2 (1896), cols. 1632f., citing Pliny, *Natural History*, 7.124; 26.15; Celsus, *De medicina*, 2.6; and Apuleius, *Florida*, 19). R. Hanslik, *Christus und die hellenistischen Göttesmänner* (Theol. d. Zeit, 1 [1936], pp. 203ff.); and S. Loesch, *Deitas Iesu und antike Apotheose* (Rottenburg, 1933) non vidi.

¹¹⁵ *Das mandäische Buch des Herrn der Grösse und die Evangelienüberlieferung* (Sitzungsberichte, 12; Heidelberg, 1919); *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium* (with H. Schaeder; Bonn, 1921); *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* (3rd ed., 1927).

¹¹⁶ Cf. the reply by M.-J. Lagrange, "Socrate et N.-S. Jésus-Christ," *RB*, 44 (1935), pp. 5f.

¹¹⁷ *ARW*, 35 (1937), pp. 42ff.

¹¹⁸ *HTR*, 31 (1938), pp. 113ff.; see also Simon, *Hercule*, pp. 51ff., who refers to Toynbee's work on the same subject, *A Study of History* (Oxford, 1939), 6.465-76.

¹¹⁹ *HTR*, 31 (1938), pp. 205ff.; see further A. Festugière, "Grecs et sages orientaux," *RHR*, 130 (1945), pp. 29ff.

only collected data on Jews cast in the role of divine men, but also threw light on the circles of Plato's disciples and disciples' disciples—Heraclides Ponticus, Philip of Opus, Xenocrates, Clearchus of Soli—who seem to have transmuted Platonic philosophy into popular flimflam.¹²⁰ In the same year, finally, appeared the great work of Bidez and Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés*,¹²¹ which dragged out into the light these shady divine men.

After the war came the reaction, the flight to pseudorthodoxy. Consequently from 1946 to 1960 I know of no important comparative work on this subject save the studies, already cited, on Hercules by Simon and on Apuleius by Dolger, McCasland's *By the Finger of God* (1951) (an admirable study of the exorcisms, with valuable material on religious healing in Palestine), the Nock-Festugière edition of *CH*, and the magisterial *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste* of Festugière (4 vols., 1950-54). The decade '50-'60 is filled with a series of works intended to prove Jesus fundamentally different from similar pagan figures. In 1951, Bieneck, *Sohn Gottes als Christusbezeichnung der Synoptiker*, 70ff.: $\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ in the Gospels cannot have its Greek meaning because it occurs in a Jewish milieu; therefore the god is the solitary Jewish god, not a Greek one, the son is obedient to him, the reference is to the historical Jesus, and the term has OT overtones. These arguments are obviously trivial. Of course, Jewish Christians identified the divine man as Jesus, put him in a Jewish world, and used him for Jewish purposes, but this does not tell us where they got the divine man.¹²² In 1952/53, Preisker, [193] *Wundermächte und Wundermänner*:¹²³ the raising of Lazarus is not like a divine man's miracle because (1) it represents a breakthrough of the kingdom,¹²⁴ (2) Jesus demands and produces faith,¹²⁵ and (3) "Jesus bleibt bei seinem Helfen das Numinosum erhalten." Of this I cannot make sense. In

¹²⁰ See J. Philip, *Pythagoras and Early Pythagoreanism* (Phoenix Supplementary Vols., VII; Toronto, 1966), pp. 10-15, also 209ff. (bibliography).

¹²¹ See the review by Nock, *JRS*, 30 (1940), pp. 191-98.

¹²² An additional argument, that the title is not confirmed by the miracles, is false. The exorcisms are performed by the power of the deity whom the demons recognize. O. Bauernfeind, *Die Worte der Dämonen* (BWANT, 3F/8; Stuttgart, 1927), pp. 16, n. 5; 25.

¹²³ *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Univ., Halle-Wittenberg*, 2 (1952/3), pp. 519ff.

¹²⁴ This is a common assertion and is justified by the framework, but the kingdom seems to be absent from the primitive elements of the miracle stories. Even if it were present, it would not be a fundamental difference, but another example of the adaptation of the stories to Jewish purposes.

¹²⁵ But sometimes he does not: Mark 5:39ff.; 6:5f., 51f.; 8:17-21. These may be part of Mark's mystery-framework, but they indicate that faith was not a primitive element of the stories. Also "faith," as theologians use it, means faith in the post-resurrection Gospel, a different thing from trust in the healing power of a divine man. If the story in Mark 5 can be trusted, it was trust, not faith, that cured, not saved, the woman with an issue (Mark 5:34). But both the RSV and the NEB here mistranslate $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$.

1953, Maurer, *Knecht Gottes und Sohn Gottes im Passionsbericht des Markusevangeliums*:¹²⁶ a careful study, stemming from Jeremias-Zimmerli, *παῖς θεοῦ*,¹²⁷ and showing that υἱὸς θεοῦ in Mark 13:1ff. is equivalent to *παῖς θεοῦ*, as in Wis 2:13, 18, and therefore to the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 42, 50, 52, 53, of which reminiscences are discernible (more or less) throughout the passion story. Hence the same meaning is found in or read into the other Marcan uses of the term, and Mark becomes consistent evidence for the “primitive Palestinian” interpretation of Jesus as the Suffering Servant. But since the trial scene was shaped by Wisdom 2 (p. 28), it came from a Greek-speaking church. The last page (38), facing, at last, the question why υἱός, throughout Mark, was substituted for *παῖς*, explains the substitution by (1) the influence of Wisdom 2 (but Wisdom uses both titles), (2) the resistance of the hellenistic world to the notion of servitude to a god, (3) most important, the fact that υἱός was more suitable than *παῖς* for the risen Christ. So υἱός was substituted for *παῖς* because it had other connotations! What other connotations? The question is not asked. Maurer seems to suppose that if one connotation can be demonstrated, it must have been the total meaning of the term. In 1954, Jeremias, *Abba*,¹²⁸ found in the peculiarity of Jesus’ (reported) use of this term evidence that his conception of himself as son of God was rooted in his peculiar psychological experience; this explanation of this “sonship” was essentially that of Grundmann, *Die Gotteskindschaft in der Geschichte Jesu* (1938) who had [194] found theological differences distinguishing both Greek and Hebrew usage from that of Jesus, and therefore derived the latter from Jesus’ personality (pp. 52f.). In 1956 Grundmann, in *Sohn Gottes*,¹²⁹ restated this position. It is not unlikely, but it does little to tell us what sense Jesus attached to the term. Again, in 1962, de Kruijf, *Der Sohn des lebendigen Gottes* merely collected examples of usage from the two Testaments, the Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, and Qumran documents. This method might be justified if the NT were a homogeneous outgrowth of the Old, but it is not. The closest students and most devoted adherents of the books of the OT were among Jesus’ most determined opponents. The official representatives of OT religion handed him over to the Romans for execution. His followers were thrown out of synagogues and eventually excommunicated. Their claim that he and they were the fulfillment of the prophecies was one which the Fathers were forced to defend by allegorization and

¹²⁶ ZTK, 50 (1953), pp. 1ff.

¹²⁷ TWNT, 5 (1954), pp. 653ff. (1954 is the year of the volume’s completion, the fascicles had appeared earlier).

¹²⁸ TLZ, 79 (1954), cols. 213f.

¹²⁹ ZNW, 47 (1956), pp. 113ff.

dismemberment of the OT texts; both the defenses and the claim are worthless as accounts of the original meanings of those texts. All this being so, it is plausible both to suppose that there was some radical difference between Christianity and the other forms of first-century Judaism, and to look for the source of this difference in the Graeco-Roman culture *and* the continuing Semitic paganism of first-century Palestine.

With the sixties¹³⁰ this investigation was resumed.¹³¹ Betz in *Lukian von Samosata und das NT* (1961) devoted half of his book to a detailed but clear presentation of the divine man material in Lucian, and of the miracle stories often associated with it. In 1963 Schulz, *Die Bedeutung des Markus für die Theologiegeschichte des Urchristentums*,¹³² argued that neither the son of man nor the messiah had a personal history, neither Pharisaism nor Qumran produced historical works; Paul, Q, and the Gospel according to Thomas show Jesus' sayings without a historical frame; so Mark introduced the historical frame, taking the idea from hellenistic lives of divine men. Perhaps so, but there is much pseudo-historical writing in apocalyptic literature. Georgi, *Die Gegner des Paulus im 2. Korintherbrief* (1964), made a good case for supposing that Paul's opponents conceived both themselves and Jesus as divine men. In the following year Moses Hadas and I published *Heroes and Gods*. Hadas wanted to trace the development of the hero, especially the transition [195] from physical and military to moral and spiritual heroism; I wanted to make available brief outlines of four major works influenced by the divine-man type of aretalogy, with just enough introduction to indicate their historical contexts and common pattern. In 1967 Schille, *Die urchristliche Wundertradition*,¹³³ argued that the Gospels' miracle stories, with few exceptions, have not been influenced by the "divine man" motif, but come from a Galilean missionary movement which began already in Jesus' lifetime. On the contrary Betz, *Jesus as Divine Man*,¹³⁴ placed the "divine man" Christology in relation to the other Christologies of the NT, described it, indicated the passages in which it is to be found, and showed how the Evangelists had, in different ways, adapted these passages to their

¹³⁰ G. Eder, *Der göttliche Wundertäter* (Girsching, 1957), non vidi.

¹³¹ Not, however, so conspicuously as to leave any considerable trace in the current reviews of the literature, e.g.: J. Bedenbaugh, "The First Decade of the New Quest for the Historical Jesus," *Lutheran Quarterly*, 16 (1964), pp. 239ff.; W. Kummel, "Jesuforschung seit 1950," *ThRu*, 31 (1966), pp. 15ff., 289ff.; R. Songer, "The Gospel of John in Recent Research," *Review and Expositor*, 62 (1965), pp. 417ff.

¹³² *Studia Evangelica*, 2 (1963), pp. 135 ff.

¹³³ *Aufsätze und Vorträge zur Theologie u. Religionswis.*, 35 (1966), pp. 11ff. (=Arbeiten Zur Theologie, 1 (1967), pp. 7ff.).

¹³⁴ In *Jesus and the Historian* (Colwell Festschrift; ed. F. Trotter; Philadelphia, 1968), pp. 114ff.

own views—whether of Jewish apocalyptic, of logos Christology, or whatever. Hence, if Betz is right, it follows that the “divine man” Christology was prior to, and widespread before, the composition of any of the existing Gospels. Finally, the past three years have seen the publication of vols. III to V of Neusner’s *History of the Jews in Babylonia*¹³⁵ in which for the first time we have an extensive study of “The Rabbi as a Holy Man” and of rabbinic thaumaturgy.¹³⁶

III. Postscript

The preceding pages were written for discussion in the Gospels Seminar at the 1970 meeting of SBL. From that discussion it seems that the following observations should be added.

The term “literary form” is ambiguous. Of some literary forms the definition is precise and completely formal: the limerick, the double ballade, and so on. Such forms may be used for any content—one could write a double ballade on the synoptic problem. But other literary forms have no precise formal definitions and are therefore determined largely by content; so, for example, the novel—a novel is a composition normally in prose and rather long (whatever that means) which must tell a story about people; no extended prose treatment of the synoptic [196] problem would be a novel. The aretalogy belongs to this latter type of literary form. It has no precise formal definition but is determined by its content; it must have a hero whom it celebrates, by reporting one or more of his marvelous deeds. Ἀρεταλογία was used in antiquity both for the act of reporting and for the resultant reports (Manetho 4.445ff.; Ben Sira 36:13/19).

Whether the ancients would have recognized some of these reports as examples of a distinct literary form or forms is a question unanswerable for lack of evidence and not of much importance for NT criticism, since nobody thinks of any Evangelist as a literary man sitting down to produce a composition of a recognized form, in the way one might sit down to write a double ballade. The important question is whether or not those literary forms which, because of their distinctive content, modern critics have agreed to call aretalogies, so influenced either Jesus or his followers that many traditions about him

¹³⁵ Leiden, 1968-70.

¹³⁶ Vol. 3, pp. 95ff., esp. 102ff.; Vol. 4, pp. 279ff., 309-63; Vol. 5, pp. 174-93. Talmudic passages on magic had been collected by L. Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen* (Jahresbericht der Landes-Rabbinerschule in Budapest 1897-98; Budapest, 1898), and noticed by many authors; but Neusner is the first to study the Babylonian rabbi’s role as a social figure who was, in his society, an active center of supernatural power. For something similar on the Palestinian rabbis, one must go back to M. Friedländer, *Ben Dosa und seine Zeit* (Prag, 1872); but this was deformed by Friedländer’s determination to make Ben Dosa a nineteenth century liberal and misunderstood mystic, like Jesus.

and, eventually, the Gospels themselves were automatically cast in similar forms.

Here "form" is evidently being used in the Platonic sense of "essential structure," the sense in which a typist's chair and an overstuffed armchair have the same "form," *qua* chair. It is, consequently, irrelevant to object that the life of Apollonius of Tyana is overstuffed, or that different specimens have different upholstery (local color), or that one example has some peculiar elements, another lacks some common ones. Admittedly, too, there will be some dubious cases: Was a curule chair a chair or a stool? Was the passion story, if it existed by itself, an aretalogy? But such questions are comparatively unimportant if two facts are admitted: (1) *many accounts of ancient "divine men" are variants of a recognizable aretalogical form*; (2) *the Gospels are more similar to these accounts than to any other ancient non-Christian works that we know of*. I think that these facts are demonstrated by the material reviewed above in section II. It may be added that there is no Jewish account prior to the time of Jesus of any messianic figure which at all closely resembles him. Elijah and Elisha did miracles, but were not messianic;¹³⁷ the Servant suffered, but was not a miracle worker and had no extended personal history. (Also, there is little evidence and less likelihood that Jesus suffered much prior to his arrest and execution. But his identification with the Suffering Servant was probably a consequence of his suffering, therefore posterior to his execution. What, then, did he do *before* his execution that led his followers *afterwards* to make this identification? Miracles. Because of his miracles he was thought to be the Messiah [Mark 6:14-16+8:27-30; Matt 11:2ff.; 12:22f.; John 1:49; 3:2; 6:14f.; etc.]. Because he was the Messiah, he must have been prophesied. What suffering savior could be found in the prophecies? The Servant. Thus the miracles were historically prior to his identification as Suffering Servant.)

Beyond these obvious matters one comes to the thornier question: [197] From which strata of the traditional material did the aretalogical elements of the Gospels come? Here the discussion focused on Mark. It was demonstrated:

¹³⁷ [However, Stanley Isser points out Ben Sira 48:1-11 on Elijah, who there is messianic. This is really a little aretalogy and an example of how close the Hebrew and the Greek traditions were. Furthermore, as Isser notes in his *The Dositheans* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), p. 129, following Kippenberg, the messianic prophets reported by Josephus fit the "prophet like Moses" pattern. If so, there must have been a pattern to fit, that is, a Moses aretalogy must have been in circulation prior to the appearance of these pretenders. This is why, in the transfiguration, Jesus is seen with Moses and Elijah, his predecessors and prototypes.]

(1) That the miracle stories in Mark 1-10 were not originally signs of the coming of the kingdom. This sense has been imposed on them, sometimes by the Marcan framework, and is attributed to them in the Beelzebub dispute (Mark 3:26), but it is indicated by *nothing* in the stories themselves save the title “Son of David” in 10:48 and the clause ἦλθες ἀπολέσαι ἡμᾶς in 1:24. But this clause is suspect, because it is not paralleled in other exorcisms where the demons implore mercy or declare their opponents’ name but say nothing of his mission. Accordingly, standing as it does *unparalleled* at the head of the *first* Marcan miracle story, the clause would seem to be an interpretive, editorial addition.¹³⁸ (Nothing in the stilling of the storm indicates that it was a conquest of the whole demonic world or that it produced any substantial change in the cosmic order; magicians were expected to command demons and still storms [*PGM* 1.120; 5.137; 7.321, 395ff., 417ff.; 19; 36]. There is no indication in the text of the transfiguration story that the glory there beheld was future; rather the disciples saw him as he really was.)

(2) If the first half of Mark was produced by the expansion of a single document, by insertion into it of disparate shorter pericopes, that document must have been either a very brief outline of Jesus’ career, as supposed by Dodd,¹³⁹ or a collection of miracle stories; nothing else—neither parables, nor dispute stories, nor sayings—could have served as the general basis. A collection of miracle stories which began with Jesus’ becoming the Son of God at his baptism and ended with the revelation of his true title and nature at his transfiguration would make a comprehensible unit; and the transfiguration story looks like a conclusion. Such an aretalogy of the divine man might have been composed even during Jesus’ lifetime—which would explain its ignorance of the crucifixion. And the present first half of Mark would be understandable as an expansion and judaizing reinterpretation of this primitive aretalogy. (Matthew would then be a later and more extreme example of such secondary judaization.)

(3) It is not necessary to suppose that all the miracle stories now in Mark 1:9-10:52 were part of this hypothecated original aretalogy. The story of Bartimaeus (10:46-52), with its υἱὲ Δαυίδ, may come from [198] another source (the other miracle stories never mention either David or the kingdom). The demoniac boy (9:14-29) may have been added by the editor, or transposed by him; the miracles in the dispute

¹³⁸ “Son of Man” in 2:10 is clearly part of the addition in 2:5b-10, which has turned the primitive miracle story into a dispute story (whence the repetition of λέγει τῷ παραλυτικῷ 2:5aβ, 10b).

¹³⁹ “The Framework of the Gospel Narrative,” in *New Testament Studies* (Manchester, 1933), pp. 1ff.

stories (2:1-12 and 3:1-5) probably came to the Gospel in that collection, not in the aretalogy. The question as to the composition of the aretalogy—whether it was made up of single stories, or yet earlier collections¹⁴⁰—would require further consideration. In that consideration it might be useful to follow Kee¹⁴¹ in distinguishing different types of miracle stories—those with more and those with less narrative detail, those which conclude with memorable sayings and those which do not—but it is unlikely that these distinctions can be used to distinguish “hellenistic” from “Palestinian” material. We have so little Palestinian material of this time and sort that we can prove nothing of its possible range. But the country was so widely hellenized that the impossible burden of proof lies on anyone who would deny that a given Marcan story could have been written there. Since Philip and Andrew appear among the disciples, there is nothing unlikely in supposing that material about Jesus began to circulate in Greek as early as in Aramaic. That some stories use hellenistic terminology, others Semitic, may indicate that they came from different circles; but it tells us nothing of their place of origin or their age.

¹⁴⁰ See P. Achtemeier, “Toward the Isolation of Pre-Markan Miracle Catenae,” *JBL*, 89 (1970), pp. 265-91, and the literature there cited.

¹⁴¹ H. Kee, *Jesus in History* (New York, 1970), pp. 271ff.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

ON THE HISTORY OF THE 'DIVINE MAN'

[335] Since Professor Simon has done so much to locate Christianity precisely in the intellectual geography of the Greco-Roman world, it seems appropriate to offer in recognition of his achievements a further contribution to the same task, in this instance an attempt to clarify and make more precise the discussion of the *theios aner*. A notable advance in this discussion has recently been made by the thesis of Dr. D. L. Tiede, *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker*.¹ Many scholars had noticed the diversity of the figures from which our notion of the *theios aner* was drawn,² but none had clearly distinguished, among these figures, the principal types. Now Dr. Tiede has tried to show that there are two major types—one the wise man, the other the miracle worker. These two types are contrasted, he says, in Plutarch's *De genio Socratis*, where Theocritus, a prophet, maintains that Socrates was divine by virtue of his indwelling daemon which guided him always and enabled him to prophesy the future (580 C-F), whereas Polymnis maintains that he was not guided by any external voices or omens, but by "correct and mighty judgment and principle" and "unshaken reason."³

Here, Tiede declares, "Although abbreviated in this case, the form of the first account is a recitation of miraculous acts with the function of evoking religious awe, based on a conception of divine presence as revealed in powerful acts. The form of the second is a recitation of the trials and moral courage of the philosopher, particularly as he faces death, with the function of inculcating the life of moral reason, based on a conception of divine presence as revealed in superior intellectual resolve. This discrimination between differing notions of divine presence and their corresponding [336] semi-literary forms is basic to this study. In order to create the complete aggregate portrait of the 'divine man,' it was necessary for Hellenistic (*sic*) authors like Philostratus and Porphyry to superimpose these contrasting images and to mix the forms in a way similar to the editorial work of the authors of ... Mark and John. Largely because of the continuing vitality

¹ Missoula, Montana, 1972 (*Society of Biblical Literature, Dissertation Series* 1).

² E.g. M. Smith, "Prolegomena to a Discussion of Aretologies, Divine Men, the Gospels and Jesus," chapter twenty-one in this volume.

³ 581 C-D; Tiede, p. 40.

of the Platonic image of Socrates, authors like Plutarch, Lucian, and Celsus are able to resist such syncretism."⁴

This thesis Tiede tries to demonstrate by a study of ancient accounts of 'divine' philosophers and of Hercules. He then goes on (pp. 101-240) to examine the accounts of Moses in Greco-Roman Judaism (Philo and Josephus present the philosopher, Artapanus has a hero of national romance, like Sesostris, neither philosopher nor thaumaturge) and then the Gospels (241ff.): at least some of the miracle stories used by Mark came from a tradition that pictured Jesus as a divine thaumaturge (266ff.), John and Luke show different revisions of similar material in the direction of the philosophic ideal. Since it thus appears that the term *theios aner* was in antiquity used of two fundamentally different figures, represented by two different literary forms and traditions, its modern use is dangerously ambiguous and always requires further definition. It does not refer to any single, basic concept (289ff., cf. 240).

This thesis is admirably clear, one can only regret that it does not fit the facts. Tiede recognizes, at the beginning of his work, that "it is vital to ... this essay to demonstrate that the origins of the following two traditions are discrete" (p. 5). But when he looks for the first "divine" philosophers he finds Pythagoras and Empedocles staring him in the face. For Pythagoras, admittedly a dubious figure, he argues that, "Even if Pythagoras was able to unite the roles of shaman and scientist in his person, *his followers* apparently viewed him as functioning either in one of these capacities or in the other" (p. 16, my italics). What, then, becomes of the *original* differentiation of the traditions? As a matter of fact, even the later traditions are not so sharply differentiated as this suggests; already in Empedocles—almost our earliest evidence—we find a Pythagoras who is both a wise man and a supernatural being,⁵ and the combination persists from then on. [337] Moreover, Empedocles himself was unquestionably a philosopher and also claimed to be a miracle worker and a god among men. He makes the claim unequivocally in his preserved verses.⁶ So in his case, too, the *original* distinction of the figures is indefensible.

⁴ Pp. 41f. Plutarch would not have liked this company, and it is inappropriate in this connection, since *De genio Socratis* goes on to defend the theory that good men are guided by supernatural beings. See the discussion by A. Corlu, *Plutarque, Le Démon de Socrate*, Paris, 1970 (*Études et Commentaires* 73), pp. 47-81.

⁵ Empedocles, fragment 129, in H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 7 ed., ed. W. Kranz, Berlin, 1954; = Porphyry, *Vita Pythagorae*, 30. W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*, tr. E. Minar, Jr., Cambridge, Mass., 1972, brilliantly demonstrates the shamanistic side of Pythagoras but, I think, goes too far in *denying* the philosophic, see my review in the *Anglican Theological Review* 56 (1974) 493 ff.

⁶ Fragment 112 in Diels, *Fragmente*¹; = Diogenes Laertius VIII. 62.

Moreover, Pythagoras and Empedocles seem to be only the best known of a considerable number of supernatural sages credited with miracles as well as wisdom. Dodds classes with them Epimenides, Abaris, Aristeades, and Hermotimus;⁷ Burkert adds yet others;⁸ and Tiede himself quotes with approval Dodds' statement that "Empedocles represents not a new, but a very old type of personality, the shaman who combines the still undifferentiated functions of magician and naturalist, poet and philosopher, preacher, healer, and public counselor."⁹ And sometimes—he might have added—priest and king.

Thus we find at the beginning of Greek tradition the single figure of the omniscient divine man (omniscient because divine). From this figure the divine men who are exclusively miracle workers or philosophers or rulers are derived by later specialization. But how far did the specialization go? Was the primitive figure of the omniscient divine man completely eliminated, so that its reappearance in the second century A.D. and later is to be seen as a consequence of the fusion of two quite separate traditions? This course of events would save at least the most important point of Tiede's argument.¹⁰ Or did the primitive figure live on in popular thought, and are the specialized figures to be seen as modifications of it produced by special groups, either trying to appeal to the popular belief, or deliberately contradicting it? The alternative is of considerable importance in attempts to reconstruct historical men for whom most of our evidence is late—as it is for many. If the old figure of the divine man survived in popular thought around the Mediterranean, then individuals like Hannibal and Jesus may be supposed to have used it to understand themselves, or imitated it to attract a following. If, on the other hand, no such figure was known to popular thought from the death of Empedocles (after 440 B.C.) to the appearance of [338] Apollonius of Tyana (before A.D. 60), then later reports of such figures in the intervening 500 years are to be suspected as contaminations of traditions which originally represented "pure" statesmen *or* philosophers *or* wonderworkers.

What is the evidence? The most conspicuous divine philosopher of early antiquity is Socrates. Plato has a purely philosophic theory to account for Socrates' divinity and for that of every good philosopher—the sage contemplates the idea of the Good and so is formed by it and participates in its divinity *qua* form; he is good, but is not the Good.¹¹

⁷ E. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Berkeley, 1951, 141ff.

⁸ *Lore and Science*, 147ff.

⁹ Tiede, p. 20; Dodds, *Greeks*, p. 146.

¹⁰ Pp. 59ff., 88ff., etc.

¹¹ *Republic* 508 C-509 C; cf. *Theaetetus* 176 A-C.

But Plato has other theories, too, which are less philosophic than demonological. The rational soul of every man is a divine being which resides in him; poets and prophets, however, can do nothing by their own reason; only when they are possessed by the gods who speak through them, are their words worthy of attention.¹² Socrates himself had a divine voice, though it only warned him away from what was evil; but he was also commanded by "the god" to pursue his philosophic discussions, the commands being given "by prophecies and by dreams" and in other ways.¹³ And these are defensive admissions. Socrates' claim to have his own inspiring deity was one of the points in the charges against him. "He recognizes," the accusers said, "not the gods recognized by the city, but other new deities."¹⁴ Hence we may suppose that Plato minimized as far as possible this side of Socrates' character. Our supposition is confirmed by the fact that Xenophon makes more of this. He says Socrates' actions were in accord with those of all men who believe in prophecies, omens, and the like. In the same way, "on the basis of his experience Socrates ... declared that his daemon gave him advance information, and he told many of his associates to do certain things and not to do others, (saying) that the daemon had told him beforehand. Those who followed his advice prospered, those who did not, repented."¹⁵

Thus the original Socrates was somewhat nearer to the primitive *theios aner* than was the Socrates of Plato's *Apology*, and even the Socrates of the *Apology* (from which came the demonological data cited above) was nearer the primitive *theios aner* than was the pure philosopher of Plato's later works. [339]

Plato's treatment of Socrates thus both shows and explains a bifurcation of the *theios aner* tradition into philosophic and thaumaturgic types. But even in Plato's work the transition is not complete. To the end there is tension between myth and dialectic, between the gods and the ideas, between men who are deities dwelling in bodies, and men who are at best able to perceive, imitate, and thus, to some extent, share the form of the divine. This tension results from the fact that Plato's philosophy is not a pure intellectual structure, but has been shaped by the influence of old religious patterns Plato knew from contemporary society. Among these was that of the *theios aner* in terms of which, we may suppose, Socrates had partially understood his irrational imperatives and also his rational genius and his uncanny power over other men.

¹² *Timaeus* 41f., 90; *Io* 534 B-E.

¹³ *Apology* 31 C-D; 33 C.

¹⁴ *Apology* 24 B; cf. 31 C-D; it was his daemon that was the basis of this point in Meletus' charge. This is confirmed by Xenophon, *Memorabilia* I.1.2.

¹⁵ *Memorabilia* I.1.3-4.

Plato's reinterpretation of this figure did not put an end to the occurrence of specimens in the surrounding world. But it set an example for the philosophic tradition or, at least, that part of it which has come down to us. Hence the philosophic systems of the fourth and third centuries show similar reinterpretations of the *theios aner* to fit their several systematic requirements. As philosophy became a highly technical discipline, "divine men" of the old sort were no longer classed as philosophers, but were called prophets, healers, and politicians. Examples are Menecrates, Alexarchus of Ouranopolis, Nicagoras of Zeleia, and Clearchus of Herakleia,¹⁶ not to mention Alexander the Great. These examples are admittedly atypical figures, several of whom were thought to be mad and probably were so. But "divine men" were always, by definition, extraordinary, and even in primitive societies shamans are often thought to be possessed by demons—as was Jesus (John 10:20; Mark 3:21f.; etc.).

Such occasional examples are evidence that the pattern or ideal was not wholly forgotten, but there is more significant evidence that it lived on as an important element in popular thought. This evidence is admittedly indirect. Our literary information about the Greco-Roman world comes mainly from the rationalistic upper class. We have very little direct evidence of popular thought on [340] speculative matters, and even less on superstitions likely to produce charismatic leaders dangerous to the rulers—men like the literally fire-breathing prophet Eunus, who led a Sicilian slave revolt, or the similar figures who led similar risings in Palestine.¹⁷ But the indirect evidence is substantial, widespread, clear in its implications when seen as a whole (which it has not been), and important for our understanding of Greco-Roman culture. It comes from the fields of philosophy, politics, and religion, and consists of the ways in which the philosophic schools, the hellenistic kingdoms, and the devotees of popular deities, all try to make their heroes fit the *theios aner* type, in spite of the fact that this type does not accord with the philosophic tenets of the schools, the historical facts of the monarchies, the traditional myths of the heroes, or the rationalistic temper of the upper class culture. Why after all, should monarchs and philosophers have been called divine and

¹⁶ Menecrates, IV c. B.C., Athenaeus VII.289f.; Aelian, *Varia* XII.51; Plutarch, *Apophthegmata regum* 191 A = *Apophthegmata Laconica* 213 A = *Vita Agesilai* XXI end; Clement of Alex., *Protrepticus* IV.54. Alexarchus of Ouranopolis, early III c. B.C., Athenaeus III.98 D-F; Strabo VII, frag. 35; Clement, *loc. cit.* Nicagoras of Zeleia, IV-III B.C., Athenaeus VII. 289 C; Clement, *loc. cit.*; cf. F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin and Leiden, 1923ff., IIIa, commentary on no. 268, F. 2. Clearchus of Heraclea, IV c. B.C., Justinus XVI.5.7-11; Photius cod. 224; Suidas, s.v. *Klearchos*. See further "Prolegomena," 182, n. 54.

¹⁷ Eunus, Diodorus 34.2.5-8 = Photius, cod. 244, fol. 384 b ff. Palestinian prophets, Acts 5:35ff.; Josephus, *War* II.258-264; *Antiquities* XX.97, 160, 188, etc.

credited with supernatural attainments and even worshiped, of all times, in the hellenistic world, the apogee of ancient rationalism? None of this reshaping is explicable from the systems or beliefs of the men who managed it. It can be understood only as propaganda, that is, as an attempt to win over the people by satisfying a popular ideal. Its extent and roughly approximate uniformity (*mutatis mutandis*) are indications of what the people were thought to believe and to hope for in a leader.

Perhaps the clearest part of the evidence is the consistency with which the various philosophic schools claim for their ideal men the attributes of the *theios aner*, in spite of the fact that these do not follow from their philosophic positions—indeed, they often contradict the positions.

The worship of Epicurus by his followers may have been reconciled with this philosophy, but cannot have arisen from its principles. Epicurus in his will provided for a party on the twentieth of each month in his memory, and an annual one on his birthday. Cicero protested rightly that even these provisions seemed inconsistent with his teachings, and as for the cult of him established by his followers, he said, "I often marvel at the insolence of certain philosophers who admire the scientific understanding of the physical world and give unrestrained thanks to its first founder and discoverer and venerate him as a god."¹⁸ But even without [341] Cicero's protest, the arguments with which Lucretius (V.1-54) felt it necessary to justify this practice might have led us to infer philosophic opposition. A practice which thus laid the school open to attack and which did not follow from its own teachings is most plausibly explained from the environment, and the environment is one in which we find not only a number of the figures mentioned above, but also the beginnings of the hellenistic ruler cults.

Plato's philosophy does not suffice to explain the fact that he was said to be the son of Apollo, and this by his nephew Speusippus who succeeded him as head of the Academy. Later historians of philosophy repeated the claim as "a story commonly told in Athens,"¹⁹ which probably indicates that it was made up for popular appeal and did appeal successfully to popular beliefs. That Speusippus himself believed it seems unlikely; it carries veneration of a rich uncle a little too far.

¹⁸ *De finibus* II.31.101f. The quotation comes from *Tusculanarum* I.48 understood by H. Munro, *T. Lucreti Cari ... libri sex*, 4 ed., Cambridge, 1893, as a comment on Lucretius II.1092 and V.8 (see *ad locc.*); for a similar protest see Plutarch, *Adv. Coloten* 17 (*Mor.* 1117 B).

¹⁹ Diogenes Laertius III.2, cp. Matt 1:18-20, 24f.

From the same root, presumably, grew the figure of “the Stoic sage.” Most of its traits can, with some violence, be reconciled with the principles of Stoic philosophy. But would rational philosophic investigation—or even a fondness for paradox, a passion for publicity, and a mania for shocking the bourgeoisie—have persuaded a whole school of intelligent thinkers to concoct and perpetuate such a philosophic liability? That the wise man will be always guided by the Logos as an indwelling god,²⁰ will therefore always act rightly,²¹ will be the only good orator, doctor, general, prophet, priest, lawgiver, king, etc., the only “truly” free, rich, sane, happy, and even beautiful man²²—all this was no doubt to be expected. Plato had played with these paradoxes, and so, probably, had Socrates; they sound like Socrates at play. Similarly, it is not surprising that the wise man should be indifferent to all physical misfortunes—after all, as Paul said, nothing can separate him from the Logos.²³ But when the wise man is further declared impassable, inerrant, and omniscient,²⁴ one whose soul will survive as a hero after his death,²⁵ we are beyond the limits of rational deduction and need to look for some other explanation of the structure. [342]

The need is made acute by the conclusion of Chrysippus, that there have been at most one or two true sages, but perhaps none at all.²⁶ Pohlenz was therefore able to excuse the whole picture as a “fantasy ... the myth of the wise man ... the ideal ... an unattainable eminence.”²⁷ But what were the source and reason for such a myth? Is it mere coincidence that the figure they produced was that of the divine wise man, at once prophet, priest, and king, essentially primitive as Pythagoras? In fact, Stoics were influenced by Cynics, and Cynics by Pythagoreans.²⁸ When we hear that the Cynic Menippus of Gadara, a Jordanian by origin or adoption, and a contemporary of the early Stoics, claimed to be a supernatural being who by magical arts had gone down into the underworld and ascended into heaven, and that he dressed for the part in tragic buskins, long grey robe, and a huge hat with the signs of the zodiac woven into it,²⁹ we can be sure that the

²⁰ Diogenes Laertius VII.119; Cicero, *De divinatione* II.129 ff.

²¹ J. von Arnim, *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta* (hence forth *SVF*), Leipzig, 1903-1924, 4 vols. II.42; III.80, 151, 164.

²² *SVF* IV.131-133.

²³ *SVF* III.150ff; cf. Romans 8:39.

²⁴ *SVF* I.99; III.109; I.16f.; III.147, 150.

²⁵ Diogenes Laertius VII.151; cf. *SVF* II.223f.

²⁶ *SVF* III.166f.; 216f.

²⁷ M. Pohlenz, *Die Stoa*, 2 ed., Göttingen, 1959, p. 158.

²⁸ Burkert, *Lore and Science*, pp. 202ff.

²⁹ W. Crönert, *Kolotes und Menedemos*, Vienna, 1906 (*Studien zur Paleographie und Papyruskunde* VI), pp. 1-4, on Diogenes Laertius VI.102; R. Helm, “Menippos 10”, *RE* XV.1 (1931) 888-893.

primitive figure lived on, at least as a subject of parody. How far Menippus hoped to impose on his audience, there is no telling. But the notion of the supernatural, miracle-working philosopher was still influential in the second century B.C. when the author of the pseudo-Platonic *Theages* followed Xenophon rather than Plato and went beyond him in representing Socrates, in Tiede's words, as possessed of "a miraculous, even magical" demonic power that controlled his companions.³⁰

The same conclusion is suggested by the practice of the politicians and the development of the cults of the newly popular gods. The old notion of the divine king was still alive in the fourth century. Xenophon, for instance, declared that kingliness, by which he meant leadership, was not something that could be learned by observation or from lectures; the leader must be of divine nature, as is leadership itself (*Æconomicus* XXI.10ff.). And Demonsthenes had to persuade the Athenians that they should not consider Philip a god and his conquests unchangeable, but should think him subject to the same infirmities as ordinary man (*Philip* I.8). Philip was, in fact, already being worshiped and parading his own statue with those of the Olympian gods.³¹ As [343] everybody knows, Philip's son, Alexander, demanded that the Greek cities recognize him as a god, and the cities complied. Of Alexander's successors, Ptolemy I while still alive was worshiped as a god by the Rhodians, on their own initiative; Lysimachus, by Priene, Samothrace, and Cassandreia; Seleucus I, by half a dozen cities; Antigonos I and Demetrius, by Skepsis, Athens, Sicyon, and other towns. State cults of the living monarchs began in Egypt under Ptolemy II, in the Seleucid empire under Antiochus III.³² These cults were in Greek style, initiated by Greeks (including Macedonians), conducted in Greek, and intended to attract Greek worshipers. Either their founders actually believed the rulers divine, or the foundations are to be seen as political maneuvers intended to secure the loyalty of the Greeks in the area concerned. The later seems more likely in most instances. If so, the great sums and efforts expended for these cults are evidence that the politicians who promoted them thought the people would believe and worship. They counted on a widespread and important belief in the possibility that some men might be divine, and that the worship of such divinities would be worth while.³³ The worship is particularly important for our

³⁰ *Theages*, esp. 128 B-130 E. Cp. Tiede, p. 35.

³¹ Diodorus XVI.92.5; 95.1. L. Cerfaux and J. Tondriaux, *Le Culte des souverains*, Tournai, 1957 (*Bibliothèque de Théologie*, série III.5), pp. 124ff.

³² Cerfaux-Tondriaux, pp. 172ff.; 194ff.; 201, 233-239.

³³ Cerfaux-Tondriaux, pp. 262-267, cf. p. 207.

purpose—there is no point in worshipping a man made divine by reason.

Closely allied with the ruler cults as well as with Cynicism and Stoicism is the reinterpretation of the old deities and heroes who now become objects of popular devotion. A conspicuous example is Herakles, whose cult and influence have been so well studied by Professor Simon in his *Hercule et le Christianisme* (Strasbourg, 1955). Tiede takes the Cynic and Stoic treatment of Herakles as evidence of “the idealization of the wise man” and “the ideal of political kingship,” (p. 71). But why was Herakles chosen for this role? Obviously, because of his prior legend. In that legend Herakles was a doer of superhuman deeds—*thaumata*, miracles. Though he did them by his physical strength, they were none the less miracles, for a miracle is that which makes one marvel, a *thauma*; thus Herakles’ strength was miraculous. Even Theagenes of Thasos, a historical superathlete, would be worshiped as a god because of his victories, and credited with healings as well as his recorded miracles of athletic prowess (Pausanias VI. 11.2-9). In Herakles, the Cynics and Stoics found a hero, a son of the highest god, unjustly subjected by an unworthy ruler to a series of terrible trials from which, thanks to his miraculous power, he emerged victorious. He overcame and destroyed the evil things [344] that afflicted his fellow men; he descended into Hades and returned; he crowned his life with voluntary and expiatory death, and so became a god. The popularity of this myth (need I mention its familiar type?) was what made the Stoics choose Herakles. He had absolutely no reputation for intelligence—quite the opposite! It is impossible to see the figure of pre-Cynic legend as a man deified by wisdom, to whom miracles were subsequently attributed. He was unquestionably a primitive wonder worker reinterpreted as philosopher. But why should the Cynics and Stoics have chosen to allegorize such a figure if there had not been a popular belief—which they wanted to match—that the truly wise man was a divine man whose wisdom was proved by his miraculous powers? It is too easy to dismiss the question with the proverb that philosophers are normally irrational. When the ideal man of most ancient schools of philosophy turns out to be a figure whose attributes cannot be rationally justified, one has to look for some further cause, and it seems most likely that the cause was the common belief of the people to whom the philosophers wanted to appeal.

When it further turns out that would-be practical politicians followed the same course, and that the popular cults of other heroes and gods—Asclepius, for instance³⁴—show the same tendencies, the case seems strong for supposing that there was some common body of

³⁴ On Asclepius see Smith, “Prolegomena,” 184ff.

popular superstition to which they all wanted to appeal. And this by no means exhausts the evidence. For instance, other devices of popular leaders, besides the rule cults, point to the same superstition. I have mentioned Hannibal, Eunus, and the Palestinian prophets. I might just as well have mentioned Hannibal's great opponent, Scipio Africanus.³⁵ And there would be many more. But these are all that space permits and more than enough to prove the point. We have now come down to the third century B.C. and, as Tiede admits, "From the second century B.C. onward it is easy to document the growing interest in paradoxography ... A growing number of marvelous tales about Pythagoras and his disciples figured prominently in this literature ... Further study is needed to clarify the precise intent of making such collections" (p. 23). On the basis of the evidence reviewed, it seems most likely to suppose that the intent behind such "marvelous tales" of politicians and philosophers was to present them to the public as "divine men" who would satisfy the public's demand for leaders it could worship. Again we come back to the wisdom [345] of Voltaire, "If God did not exist He would have to be invented."³⁶ So He was.

TERMINAL NOTES

Apropos of this discussion of the *theios aner*, let me take the opportunity to warn the reader against an article by H. Kee, "Aretalogy and Gospel," *JBL* 92 (1973) 402-422 which attributes to me three assumptions I have never made: "that in hellenistic-Roman times there was a fixed literary form called *aretalogy*; ... that since miracle stories are an essential ingredient in aretalogies, the presence of a miracle story is a sign that we are in the presence of an aretalogy; ... (that) the intention of the gospel's (sic) miracle tradition is to represent Jesus as a *theios aner*." (p. 402).

In the first of these propositions "fixed" is false; the second is wholly absurd; the third is false if read as meaning that the miracles *as now told* in the gospels have the purpose here attributed to them. (That *some* of the gospel miracle stories came from aretalogies with the alleged purpose seems to me probable.)

Having made up these false assumptions for the purpose of refuting them, Kee might have been expected to do so without difficulty. However, his article swarms with so many non-facts and non-sequiturs that it neither accomplishes its objective nor deserves refutation.

* * *

Mr. Tiede, with whom I have discussed this paper, has written me (24/XI/76), saying he did not intend to maintain that there never were

³⁵ Scipio: Livy XXVI.19.3ff.; Gellius VI.1.6; Hannibal: Appian, *Hannibalic War* 6(22).

³⁶ *Épître à l'auteur du livre "Des trois imposteurs"* (Nov. 10, 1770).

persons renowned both as miracle workers and as sages. “On the contrary, it is essential to the entire dissertation to demonstrate that Hercules (etc.) ... were touted as miracle workers in certain settings, and as divine philosophers in others, but that the forms that the propaganda took were discrete, corresponding to ‘originally discrete aretalogies’.” For my part I see no adequate evidence for *originally* discrete aretalogies, and I think the evidence here presented for survival in popular thought of the omniscient figure justifies the suppositions in *Heroes and Gods* which Tiede’s work called into question.

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

MESSIAHS: ROBBERS, JURISTS, PROPHETS

[185] Some years ago I discussed the various uses of the term *mashiah* and its equivalents in the Greco-Roman period¹ and tried to show that it did not invariably have eschatological connotations, that there were both messiahs without ends of the world and ends of the world without messiahs, that even those messiahs who were connected with some end had different roles in the different programs for the end which were being circulated, and that these different programs, while evidently of considerable importance in the thought of the time (to judge from the number of works about them and the stories of messianic disturbances) were not matters of credal authority, but rather of free speculation: many mutually contradictory programs might be collected in the literature of a single group, or even in a single document like the Book of Enoch. Hence it seemed unlikely that adherence to any program, or even to any particular messianic figure, was the cause for the separation and distinction of any sect of the time, nor should the rituals of any sect be seen as the acting out of a particular eschatological myth. The causes of sectarian splits seemed rather such differences about questions of halakah as might lead to irreconcilable differences of practice. Questions of theory, especially those belonging to the realm of haggadah, are not known to have led to the formation of separate sects.

This position I supported in a number of other papers, examining the alleged reasons for the formation of several sects,² and particularly for the separation and persecution of Christianity. These latter seem to have resulted, in the main, not from the preaching that Jesus was "*the* Messiah," still less from any theory of messianism, but rather from Jesus' claim to set some of his followers free from the Law, from the consequent (though often sub rosa) neglect of the Law by many of his followers, and from their claim to offer the same freedom to their converts.³

So far, so good. The theory was coherent, supported by many passages in the primary sources, and consistent with the general characteristics of Greco-Roman Judaism. But how could one explain

¹ "What is Implied by the Variety of Messianic Figures?" *JBL* 78 (1959), 66-72.

² "The Dead Sea Sect in Relation to Ancient Judaism," *NTS* 7 (1960-61), 347-360; "Zealots and Sicarii, Their Origins and Relation," *HTR* 64 (1971), 1-19.

³ "The Reason for the Persecution of Paul and the Obscurity of Acts," chapter twenty-seven below; "Jesus' Attitude Towards the Law," in *Papers of the Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Jerusalem, 1967, vol. I, pp. 241-244.

the libertine element in Jesus' teaching? Whence and how did his notion of freedom from the Law arise? For this question the evidence led to types of thought quite different from halakah and also from messianic and eschatological speculations. Miracles and their magical parallels, the miraculous and magical contexts in which the term "Son of God" is commonly used in the Synoptics,⁴ the magical parallels to the union with Jesus promised in [187] baptism and the eucharist, and the salvation and release from the Law effected by that union (this theme is the heart of Paul's preaching)—all these now came to the fore as essential elements of the picture and were so presented in my books on the secret gospel of Mark.⁵

This was a somewhat disconcerting result. The argument had set out from the evidence that messianic beliefs were not uniform even within sects that held them; it had therefore sought in halakic differences the universal basis for sectarian differentiation. But now the halakic—or, anti-halakic—peculiarity of Christianity led back to peculiar beliefs about the role of a figure believed to be a messiah. But there was a complication. While the figure was identified as "the Messiah," those elements of the role that were essential to freedom from the law were

⁴ Mark 3:11, exorcism; 5:7 and parallels, exorcism; 15:39, after *the prodigia* accompanying his death; Matt 4:3, 6 and parallels, the devil demands miracles; 14:33, the disciples' inference from the stilling of the storm; 16:16, the revelation given through Peter (cf. 17); 27:40, 43, the mocking of his inability to perform a miracle; Luke 1:35, the angel's prediction of his birth; 4:41, exorcism; Mark 1:11 and parallels, the voice from heaven after the baptism (*ho huios mou*); 9:7 and parallels, the voice at the transfiguration (*ho huios mou*); Matt 11:27 and parallel, none knows the Son save the Father, nor the Father save the Son. Against all these in clearly magical or esoteric contexts can be set only Mark 14:61 and parallels, the use as the critical question in the trial before the Sanhedrin (but this is a demand for esoteric information! Mark makes the High Priest say *ho huios tou eulogetou*, but Matt and Luke have *tou theou*); and Mark 1:1, the book's title. In three passages persons other than Jesus are promised that they will eventually be called sons of God: peacemakers in Matt 5:9; those who love their enemies, do good, and lend without hope of repayment in Luke 6:35 ("sons of the Highest"); and those thought worthy of the other aeon and the resurrection from the dead, in Luke 20:36. These evidently belong to a wholly different tradition than the sayings about Jesus. So does the parable of the wicked tenants in Mark 12:1-12 and parallels, where the owner of the vineyard, i.e. God, decides to send his "beloved son" (Mark and Luke, Matt only "son") to collect the rent. This is the only instance in the Synoptics in which anything like "Son of God" is used in an eschatological prophecy; all other such passages use "Son of Man" or "Son of David." The difference is hardly accidental. "Son of God" is connected with "Christ" or "Messiah" only in the title of Mark, the trial before the Sanhedrin, and by Matthew's addition of it to the confession of Peter and the mocking on the cross. Elsewhere "Messiah"/"Christ," like eschatology, always goes with "Son of Man" or "Son of David." This distribution of the material strongly suggests that "Son of God" in the Synoptics was not primarily an eschatological or messianic title.

⁵ *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark*, Cambridge, Mass., 1973; *The Secret Gospel*, N.Y., 1973. For the magical parallels to baptism and eucharist, see *Clement*, pp. 217ff., 221, 232. For release from the law by union with Jesus, and the role of this concept in Paul's thought, see *ibid.*, pp. 213-217; 231f.; 248-265.

not typically messianic. Nobody before had ever been baptized into a messiah,⁶ let alone eaten one. (I know that Rabbi Hillel said “There is no Messiah [188] for Israel because they ate him up in the days of Hezekiah,”⁷ but R. Hillel probably spoke in the fourth century,⁸ and his metaphor is so strange that I think it may involve a mocking reference to the eucharist: If Jesus had given his flesh and blood to his disciples, he, too, would by that time have been wholly consumed.)

So in Jesus’ case the messianic image contains elements hitherto unparalleled. I do not want, here, to review the evidence that may serve to identify those elements—that is cited in my books and anyone interested can find it there.⁹ Instead I want to approach the general problem of first-century messianic and related figures from the other side—that of the practically possible types of figures, and the steps by which different men might come to be thought messianic.

We have here a problem arising from the continuous interplay between behaviour and vocabulary. Society presents the vocabulary, the types which a child is encouraged to imitate or avoid (“What do you want to be when you grow up?” or “You don’t want to be like that when you grow up.”). Individuals produce a constant supply of new behaviour which both constitutes the social types and, so far as it differs from the previous norms, changes the types. The society constantly struggles to describe and categorize these changes, using old words in new senses, making up new terms to fit new behaviour, and so producing a new vocabulary, a new set of types which a new generation will, in its turn, begin to imitate, reject, and alter.

In terms of the problem before us, these generalizations mean that the Jews of first-century Palestine had inherited many fantastic accounts of the world, both present and future. In these accounts there were many different figures called messiahs, and these figures could serve both as models to men who wanted to be thought messiahs, and as categories used by other men who were trying to [189] identify the various and surprising figures that the world presented. Both processes, imitation and identification, were necessarily somewhat slipshod. A man who wanted to be thought a messiah usually could not do everything with which his model was credited, he would imitate only such traits as he could. Similarly, when trying to decide whether or not a man was a messiah, his contemporaries would find that he

⁶ *Pace* St. Paul, 1 Cor 10:2, on which see my *Clement*, p. 215, n. 6. Paul’s argument indicates the existence of a belief that people could be baptized into the Messiah, but is not good evidence for any actual baptisms; cf. J. Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief*, 9 ed., Göttingen, 1910, repr. 1970, *ad loc.* (p. 250).

⁷ Sanhedrin 98b, 99a.

⁸ W. Bacher, *Die Agada der palästinensischen Amoräer*, Strassburg, 1892-99, vol. III, p. 703.

⁹ *Clement*, ch. IV, pp. 195-266.

matched their favorite picture in some points, but not in others. Insofar as the messianic pretender won followers, or those determined to be followers found a figure they could identify as a messiah, the meaning of the term "messiah" was changed to accommodate these new phenomena. While every instance of such identification was, of course, peculiar, yet it seems possible to pick out, mainly from the material in Josephus and the New Testament, a number of typical careers that might lead to messiafication. Let me sketch four of these as examples.

The most likely way to become a messiah was to begin as a robber. If an industrious and affluent robber decides to move his business out of the city, finds himself a stronghold in the countryside, attracts a gang of followers and preys on wealthy travelers and the country estates of the rich, he becomes a bandit. It's a recognized social position and normally terminal; he may remain a bandit for years without any higher pretensions. But if his band is drawn largely from the surrounding villages and consequently has many friends and supporters there, if he builds up a following among the poor, if the country is governed by an alien power to which, and to its agents, the people are generally hostile, and if this power is losing its grip, so that bandits are not put down promptly, our man can develop into a local political leader. He will then gather more forces: if the situation deteriorates further he may venture to attack government garrisons, or even defeat a force sent to capture him. He thus becomes a revolutionary; his band will grow yet larger; he may win the allegiance of some other bandit chiefs, dream of making himself king, and claim in advance to be the destined king, the Lord's Messiah. After all, David had made it.

Another such pattern is that leading from teacher of the Law to [190] messiah. If a persuasive teacher, helped by the prestige of his position, extends his teaching from his classes to sermons in the synagogue and public lectures, if he forms around himself a study group of devoted disciples, and advances an interpretation of the kingship of God so extreme as to prohibit ordinary acts of obedience to civil authorities, he will soon find himself the leader of a potentially revolutionary circle. If he then incites his followers to open defiance of the authorities and organizes a campaign of civil disobedience, if he develops a casuistic justification of violence for the sake of "the cause," and first excuses, and then encourages his followers' acts of violence, he will head a criminal revolutionary secret society. The members of this society will need encouragement and will probably derive it from the pervasive eschatological thought of the time: God will surely intervene to destroy the wicked (i.e. their enemies), reward the righteous (i.e. themselves), and establish a new kingdom of which

the destined king, the Lord's Messiah, will surely be their revered teacher (or his legitimate successor—in such a closed group the messiahship can become hereditary).

Another possible pattern began with mental derangement. Of course, the village halfwit was a familiar figure for whom nobody felt any reverence. If he had violent fits and was dangerous he might be thought possessed by some demon, and his words and actions might then have ominous importance as demonic utterances. But if he was harmless while possessed and merely "spoke with tongues" (i.e. poured forth inarticulate sounds), or uttered more or less comprehensible tirades like the obscure passages of the Biblical prophets, and if he had the extraordinary drive and intuition that sometimes characterizes such persons in their lucid intervals,¹⁰ then he might be thought a prophet. The expectation of prophets was alive in the land. He might encourage this interpretation by acting the part, dressing himself like Elijah in a camel's hair cloak and a leather girdle, and affecting [191] extraordinary ascetic practices.¹¹ Even with such added attractions he would be lucky if he got much following;¹² but if he did, mobs would follow him into the desert, or march on Jerusalem, or climb the holy mount of Gerizim and expect him to produce the hidden vessels of the tabernacle.¹³ His followers would surely identify him as the prophet like Moses, promised in Dt 18:18;¹⁴ but they might also believe that he had been anointed by God as Elisha should have been by Elijah,¹⁵ and they could, therefore, even after his death, revere him as the Lord's anointed, the Messiah.¹⁶

¹⁰ Notably Paul, who boasted that he more often "spoke with tongues" than did any of his Corinthian converts, 1 Cor 14:18.

¹¹ The asceticism (Mark 1:6 and parallels; Matt 11:18; Luke 7:33) is an interesting trait. It is not clearly characteristic of Biblical prophets and probably comes from Cynicism. The Baptist evidently took it for granted that a prophet of Yahweh must be a "holy man" by current Greco-Roman standards and set out to satisfy the demands of both traditions. Jesus refused to go to the trouble, and his reputation suffered in consequence, Matt 11:19; Luke 7:34. The hellenized Palestinian Jewish population expected asceticism of holy men. Luke 1:15 biblicalized the tradition by making the Baptist a Nazirite.

¹² Prophets seem to have been in oversupply, Mark 13:5f., 22 and parallels, and many similar passages. Consequently the tacit competition for followers was probably pretty sharp and we may suppose that only the exceptional figure achieved enough significance to secure notice in our sources. The same situation prevails at present.

¹³ Desert and Jerusalem, Josephus, *War* 2.258-263; *Ant.* 20.167-112; Gerizim and tabernacle, *Ant.* 18.85.

¹⁴ John 1:21 and the studies by H. Teeple, *The Mosaic Eschatological Prophet*, Philadelphia, 1957 (*JBL. Monograph Series*, X), and W. Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, Leiden, 1967 (*Supplements to Novum Testamentum*, XIV). The study of Dositheus by S. Isser, published in *Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity*, presents evidence indicating that the messiahship of Dositheus was also of this type.

¹⁵ 1 Kings 19:16.

¹⁶ As John's disciples reportedly did, *Clementine Recognitions* I. 54.8; Ephraem Syrus, *Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant*, tr. L. Leloir, Louvain, 1954 (*CSCO* 145, *Armeniaci* 2), Appendix de sectatoribus, 1, p. 249.

Yet another pattern began not with insanity but with its cure. As the connection between mental derangement and psychiatric ability is proverbially close in our own time, so it was in antiquity. The Greek expression, "He has a demon," is ambiguous—it leaves uncertain which of the two is in command. No doubt the [192] uncertainty was often justified. But if the man emerged triumphant from the struggle with what we should call his subconscious (what the gospels called Satan), then he might well believe himself and be believed by others to be able to command not only his own demon, but the rest of the demonic powers. Such belief, with his own experience, might enable him to quiet lunatics (in ancient terms, to cast out demons) and to produce apparently miraculous cures of blindness, deafness, aphasia, paralysis, and the like, cures which are now explained as the sudden cessation of hysterical symptoms.

Such cures and exorcisms, in ancient Palestine, were often thought to be effected by magic. Josephus boasts that the Jews were famous for their skill in this branch of the magic arts, and tells of a demonstration given by an exorcist in the presence of Vespasian.¹⁷ This exorcist was a professional who worked with an inscribed ring, the root of some plant prescribed by Solomon, and spells from a Solomonic manual. But magical manuals preserved on papyri teach that magical operations can be effected without any such paraphernalia by one who has command of a powerful spirit.¹⁸ Again, Josephus' man, though an exorcist of repute, was apparently not involved in politics. But we can easily imagine that a man with remarkable gifts of this sort, if he made his powers available freely, would soon be the center of crowds of persons come in search of cures and anxious to believe. In such crowds, some cures and exorcisms would certainly occur, and each would intensify the expectations and exaggerate the rumors and elicit new speculations: Who do you think he is? What is the source of his power? Is he a prophet? Is he the Messiah? Is he the son of a god?

We should ask rather, What would he think of himself? That would doubtless depend on the history of his case. If he had had experiences of the sort commonly described as "illuminations" he might easily conclude that he had become some supernatural [193] being, above the laws of ordinary life. It would be understandable that he should try to communicate his powers and privileges to his closest disciples, and should use both religious and magical ceremonies, like baptism and a communion meal, for this purpose. It would be expectable that he should interpret his experiences in terms of the mythology current in

¹⁷ *Antiquities* 8.46.

¹⁸ *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, ed. K. Preisendanz, 2 ed., ed. A. Henrichs, Stuttgart, 1973, Papyrus I, lines 181ff.; etc.

Jewish Palestine—stories of ascents into the heavens, speculations about the coming of a messiah, and so on. Of the possible identifications this mythology offered him, he might easily opt for a messiahship, and if he did, it might easily cost him his life. Roman provincial governors were not *au courant* in questions of messianic typology; anybody who got to be known as a messiah was likely to end on a cross.

I submit that these four ultimately messianic careers—the robber's, the teacher's, the prophet's, the magician's—are all of them credible within the society of first-century Palestine. If so, this fact would resolve the apparent contradiction set forth at the beginning of this paper: The variety of the meanings of the term "messiah" remains clear, and the basis for the distinction of Christianity as a peculiar sect remains, not messianic belief as such, but the libertine consequences drawn by many members of the sect from the teachings and practices of its particular messiah. These teachings and practices, and the consequences drawn from them, were not, as such, messianic. Jesus might have decided to reject the title "messiah" and to claim some other—"the prophet"¹⁹ or "Elijah,"²⁰ or "Jeremiah,"²¹ or "John the Baptist,"²² or "the Son of Man,"²³ or "the Son of God,"²⁴ or, as his competitor in Samaria was called, "the Great Power of God."²⁵ The first half dozen of these titles are said to have been attributed to him, and several were not wholly rejected. His choice of "messiah" [194] turned out to be a fatal mistake, but would the choice of any other have saved him? An idle question, but it serves to emphasize the extent to which the "messianism" of early Christianity is secondary and superficial.

So, too, would be the "messianism" of the other careers and the movements that might arise from them. For the robber the essential facts would be the gradual growth of his military and hence his political power, and his decision to take advantage of the weakness of Rome with the hope, no doubt, of winning some favorable settlement. His messianic claims would be a political device adopted late in his career with the hope of winning additional support. For the teacher of the law, or his descendants, the messianic claim was surely not their original point of departure; it must have emerged as a late corollary of the working out of a line of legal interpretation that led to the creation

¹⁹ John 1:21.

²⁰ John 1:21; Mark 8:28 and parallels.

²¹ Matt 16:14.

²² Mark 8:28 and parallels.

²³ Matt 16:13; etc.

²⁴ Matt 16:16; etc.

²⁵ Acts 8:10.

of a terrorist revolutionary party whose members ultimately saw that they had to dominate the revolution or be destroyed by it. For the prophet the basic things were his prophetic experiences. For those prophets who gained any considerable following, these experiences must have issued in some sort of message or messages. While it is not impossible that some of these immediately identified the speaker as a messiah,²⁶ it is likely that the main concern was usually something more tangible, “Put off your sins by baptism,” “Follow me into the wilderness to be purged of your sins,” “Follow me to Jerusalem” (or “to Gerizim”) “to see the Lord’s salvation,” or something of the sort. What would happen when the Lord’s salvation arrived, and just what role the prophet would have in the new order, were questions that doubtless received answers at least as various as those preserved in apocalyptic literature. Accordingly, while some prophets may have emerged as messiahs, it is likely that more had messianic dignity thrust upon them. As we know even from Tacitus²⁷ and Suetonius,²⁸ messianic speculation was wide-spread, and the identification of one or [195] another individual as the messiah could have important consequences. Even Vespasian was not above taking advantage of such claims.²⁹ But for most of the claimants, as for Vespasian, the claim was probably an afterthought. The atmosphere of speculation was not produced by the would-be beneficiaries, nor did it, usually, produce them. They rose to prominence for more practical reasons—power politics, or legal teaching and sectarian leadership, or personal psychology—and then took advantage of existent messianic expectations, some of them, no doubt, with complete cynicism, others, probably, with complete sincerity, finding in these fantastic prophecies and symbolic figures the terms they needed to explain themselves to themselves.

²⁶ Cf. the use of Isa 61:1f. for Jesus in Luke 4:18.

²⁷ *Histories* 5.13.

²⁸ *Life of Vespasian* 4.5.

²⁹ Josephus, *War* 3.399-407; 6.313. This propaganda was paid for by the emperors, *Vita* 361ff., 423; *Apion* 1.50ff.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

ASCENT TO THE HEAVENS
AND THE BEGINNING OF CHRISTIANITY

1. Problem and Method

[403] History is a work of the imagination within limits set by the imagination. We must try to imagine what actually happened, that is, what accords both with our image of the preserved evidence and with our image of the real world. Let me try to illustrate this principle by examining two historical problems: Did Jesus think he had ascended into the heavens? Did he tell his most intimate disciples that he had done so?

By “the heavens” I mean a series of regions, one above the other, beginning with the sky, going on up away from the earth, and inhabited by supernatural beings. I don’t think there are any such regions or beings, consequently I don’t think anybody could have ascended to them, but I do think people could make others and even themselves believe that they had ascended or were actually ascending, and believe so strongly that they experienced by hallucination whatever they expected to experience during an ascent. So much for problem and presuppositions. Now for method.

To ask any historical question about Jesus is to beg a question about the evidence on which our knowledge of him is based. This commonly leads to a discussion of the sources of the gospels, the tacit assumptions being that the gospels contain the earliest reports about him, and that the earliest reports about a man are necessarily the most reliable. Both assumptions are false. Paul’s letters, written in the forties and fifties, are a whole generation earlier than the gospels, and a man’s contemporaries can tell stories about him no [404] less fantastic than those invented by later ages. It was Onesicritos, a companion of Alexander, who started the story of Alexander’s meeting with the queen of the Amazons.¹ Of course in evaluating historical reports the question of priority is important and must always be considered, but it is not decisive. One must begin by establishing, from all reports, the main facts about a man’s career, the when, where, and what. Only after this can particular stories be evaluated by their agreement with the main facts. I have tried to give an example of this

¹ Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, 46.

method in *Jesus the Magician*,² and I must refer you to that for evidence of the main facts which are, briefly, that he was a Jewish miracle man active in Palestine during the late twenties and/or the early thirties, who attracted so great a following that the authorities feared he might become the center of a revolutionary movement. They therefore had him crucified and his followers began to see him risen from the dead.

In the case of Jesus a clear grasp of these main facts is particularly important because we have to do with material from an oral tradition that was both highly imaginative from the beginning and extraordinarily retentive for at least a century after his death. Of different aspects of this tradition our earliest preserved documents are the letters of Paul from the forties and fifties, next come the canonical gospels, from Mark, the earliest, about 75, to John, the latest, about 100, and from this same quarter century come most of the other works later included in the New Testament, as well as the beginnings of other bodies of evidence—Christian works that were not canonized, references in Josephus, sayings later reported in rabbinic traditions. [405]

2. Varieties and frequency of beliefs in ascents to heaven: pagan and Old Testament evidence

To evaluate the evidence about Jesus we must begin by asking what role the notion of ascent to the heavens played in the world of Jesus' time, and first of all, what were the varieties of the notion itself. Some stories tell of ascents in dreams, others, in waking visions, others, of ascents by the soul leaving the body either before or after death, and yet others of bodily ascents either in this life or after resurrection.³

Those who ascend in the body may go by a variety of means. The simplest was climbing a mountain, since the gods used to live on mountains. The ancient near eastern "mountain of the gods" was a sort of family tenement. In the Old Testament it has become a bachelor's private dwelling, "the mountain of Yahweh,"⁴ and although Yahweh's principle residence is in the sky, he still comes down on Mt. Sinai, as a half-way house, to meet with Moses (Exod 19:18ff.). Consequently in hellenistic times Sinai had to be heightened. When Moses was enthroned on it as cosmocrator by Ezekiel, the tragic poet,

² San Francisco 1978; German, *Jesus der Magier*, Munich 1981; English corrected reprint, San Francisco 1981.

³ A good survey of the relevant material is given by A. Segal, "Heavenly Ascent in Hellenistic Judaism, Early Christianity, and their Environment," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, II, Principat*, vol. 23.2, Berlin 1980, pp. 1333-1394.

⁴ Gen 22:14; Isaiah 2:3; 30:29; Micah 4:2; Zech 8:3; Ps 24:3.

he could see the stars revolving below him.⁵ By contrast, in pre-biblical times men's images of the cosmos were so limited that they even believed artificial mountains could be built to reach the gods. The ziggurats of Babylonia were so explained as early as the time of the Biblical story of the tower of Babel, which knows them as unfinished and abandoned, probably as ruins, and explains their ruin by their impious purpose—"Let us build a tower (so high that) its top will be in the heavens" (Gen 11:4). The Titans, who were less advanced in technology, tried to [406] get to the top of Mt. Olympus simply by piling Mt. Pelion on Mt. Ossa,⁶ as little children pile one chair on top of another to reach the cookie jar on the top shelf. Even earlier, at least psychologically, is the story of Jack, who got to the world of the giants by climbing a beanstalk. The giants, of course, are the gods as seen by their little opponents. Both giants and gods are huge and very powerful, i.e., they are grown-ups. The gods are grown-ups as seen by obedient children: they are not only big and strong, but good, wise, and immortal. The giants are grown-ups seen by refractory children—big and strong, but bad, stupid, and, their one redeeming feature, mortal. Jack, therefore, was able to kill the giant and so realize the ultimate goal of the Little People's Revolutionary Party.⁷ The cosmic equivalent of Jack's achievement occasionally appears in what is called "gnostic" mythology,⁸ but we shall be concerned today with more amicable adjustments.

In any event, beanstalks as means of access to the gods went out early, and other gods as well as Yahweh soon moved to less dangerous quarters in the sky. Consequently their visitors had to go by air. Already in ancient Mesopotamia they were taken up by birds, most famous was the eagle of Etana.⁹ Later on, for Ganymede, Zeus himself served as eagle,¹⁰ whence the eagle psychopomp became standard in classical imagery—a famous example is the Apotheosis of Germanicus.¹¹ That such stories were not told merely for amusement, but were understood as symbols [407] of religious experiences, is shown not only by the use of the eagle as psychopomp on tombs, and the like, but also by more explicit references, for instance the

⁵ Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* IX. 29.4f.

⁶ Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* I. 7.4.

⁷ For a more detailed analysis of the story see B. Bettelheim, *The Uses of Enchantment*, New York 1976, pp. 183-93.

⁸ E.g. Hippolytus' account of the teachings of Saturnilus and Carpocrates, *Refutatio* VII.28 and 32.

⁹ J. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 2 ed., Princeton 1955, pp. 114ff., esp. 118.

¹⁰ The sources are collected by P. Friedländer in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie* VII.I (1910) 737-49.

¹¹ On a cameo in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Chabouillet, *Catalogue*, no. 209; G. Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Romans*, London 1971, no. 498, text and plate).

representation of the apotheosis of Ganymede on a vault of the subterranean basilica by the Porta Maggiore.¹²

The same is true of stories about flying chariots, in which the gods themselves, according to the *Iliad* (*passim*), travelled from heaven to earth and back again. Elijah was carried off in such a chariot, “a chariot of fire and horses of fire,” as 2 Kings (2.11) specifies. By Parmenides’ time, the end of the sixth century B.C., stories of such ascent could be used as symbols of the mind’s progress, by philosophical abstraction, from the lower world of appearances to the realm of truth,¹³ an image that Plato, over a century later, developed with great power in the *Phaedrus*. Plato’s influence will often have affected the choice of chariot journeys as motifs for tombstones,¹⁴ motifs later taken over by Christians who identified the chariot as that of Elijah.¹⁵

However, such physical devices were not necessary. The gods when they wished could simply pick up mortals and carry them [408] anywhere, as they did the heroes of the *Iliad* (3.380; 5.344; etc.), and Enoch who “walked with God and was not (to be seen), because God took him” (Gen 5:24). Again, like other sacrifices, men could be sent or send themselves up to the gods by burning. The classic example was the myth of Heracles’ self-immolation on Mt. Oeta,¹⁶ but in spite of this precedent, when the Greeks encountered the real thing as practiced by the Brahmins of Alexander’s time, it made a profound impression and elicited a series of imitators of whom the most famous was the infamous Peregrinus.¹⁷

¹² Picture, description, and bibliography in E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, New York 1961 vol. I, pp. 169-73. Whether or not “neo-Pythagorean,” the structure was certainly made for some religious group which presumably attributed allegorical significance to the figures it chose for the walls and ceiling.

¹³ L. Tarán, *Parmenides*, Princeton 1965. Tarán denies that there “is ... symbolism in the poem,” and argues that “it was customary to talk of the way of song and of the chariot in a metaphorical sense,” pp. 30f. He does not make clear his distinction between the symbolic and the metaphorical. What is clear is that the poem represents the mind’s progress towards truth as an ascent by chariot to the gates of the heavens.

¹⁴ Found in Attica from at least the sixth century B.C. (G. Richter, *The Archaic Gravestones of Attica*, London 1961, no. 45, pp. 32f. and figs. 126 and 128). Originally perhaps merely a reminder of the wealth and status of the deceased. So Richter, who emphasizes status, but refers to other suggestions. Later common and clearly symbolic of ascent to the heavens (F. Cumont, *Lux Perpetua*, Paris 1949, pp. 291ff.).

¹⁵ A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, Princeton 1969 (Bollingen Series 35.10) pp. 35 and 117 and illus. 281f.

¹⁶ W. Roscher, *Aüsführliches Lexikon der gr. und röm. Mythologie*, 1.2 repr. Hildesheim 1965, pp. 2240f.; C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage II. Die Nationalhelden*, repr. Dublin 1967, pp. 597ff.

¹⁷ J. Schwartz, ed., *Lucien de Samosate ... De morte Peregrini*, 2 ed., Paris 1963, pp. 65f. and 109ff., especially the latter, on secs. 36-40; K. von Fritz, “Peregrinus 16,” in Pauly-Wissowa (above, note 10) 19.1 (1937) 656-63. Column 661 deals with the precedents.

Of all these methods I have chosen mainly pre-Christian examples because I wanted to show the variety and extent of this belief in the Greco-Roman world before Jesus' time. By his time it had been further popularized and is found everywhere in the literature of the late republic and early empire. Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* is the most famous of many examples, but the most important was the official deification of Augustus, which was justified by the legal testimony of a Roman senator, that he had seen the late emperor ascending into heaven.¹⁸ A hundred and fifty years thereafter the simple ceremony of false witness was replaced by an elaborate ritual for deification by fire: a wax image of the dead emperor was identified with him by being clothed in his garments, the true body was cremated promptly with comparatively little ceremony, but the wax image was given an elaborate state funeral and burned on a magnificent pyre from which the burning released an eagle—supposed to be the emperor's soul whose flight into heaven could be seen by all. Then the senate officially recognized the emperor's ascent to the heavens by voting [409] appropriate honors to the new divinity.¹⁹ I remark in passing that the identification of an image with a man by use of the man's garments is a familiar magical technique,²⁰ but I want to emphasize that the introduction of this official use of the notion of ascent to the heavens, for imperial propaganda, is the strongest evidence that the Roman ruling class thought the notion universally familiar and widely credited.

This official evidence is confirmed by the wide range of first and second century A.D. material testifying to private belief—not only the literary uses and funerary imagery already referred to, but also the appearance and popular success of magicians who claimed to be able to ascend and to enable others to do so. Apollonius of Tyana claimed to have learned the art from the Brahmins and declared it the true goal of philosophy (*Vita*, 6.11 end, 8.30). The famous "Chaldeans," a pair of fakirs who practiced at the courts of Antonius Pius and Marcus Aurelius, had an elaborate ritual to give their patients the experience.²¹ Just what they did, we do not know, but we do have, in the Paris Magical Papyrus, an actual rite of the same period for the same purpose, the so-called "Mithras Liturgy."²²

¹⁸ Suetonius, *Augustus* 100.4; Dio Cassius 56.46.2.

¹⁹ The evidence was collected and the rite described by E. Bickermann, "Die römische Kaiserapotheose," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 27 (1929) pp. 1-31.

²⁰ This Bickermann pointed out, *op. cit.* p. 6.

²¹ See the attempted reconstruction by H. Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy*, Cairo 1956 (Inst. fr. d'archéol. orientale, *Recherches d'archéologie*, etc., 13) ch. 3, pp. 177-226.

²² *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (henceforth *PGM*) 2 ed., edd. K. Preisendanz and A. Henrichs, Stuttgart 1973-74, vol. I, pp. 88-101 (papyrus IV, lines 475-829).

I hope these examples suffice to prove that by the time of Jesus it was commonly believed in the Greco-Roman world that men could ascend into the heavens, not only after death, but before it, not only in dreams and visions, but even bodily. The uniformity with which the essential fact of ascent is reported contrasts with the variety of the reported conditions and means. The contrast suggests that we have here many reflections of some sort of [410] abnormal experience in which the subject's attention is so concentrated on his hallucinations that he is indifferent to and unaware of his physical circumstances. This suggestion is confirmed by St. Paul, who wrote, "I knew, in Christ, fourteen years ago, a man whether in the body or out of the body, I don't know—caught up to the third heaven" (2 Cor 12:2f.). Such uncertainty, by a man claiming direct acquaintance with someone who had made the ascent, accounts for the variety of the stories surveyed. Against that variety let me point out a further element all these stories have in common: they tell not merely of ascent—of mountain climbing, flying, or the like—but of ascent *to another world or realm*, the realm of the gods. I suppose this is their *raison d'être*. They express, as Shelley said,

The desire of the moth for the star,
Of the night for the morrow,
The devotion to something afar,
From the sphere of our sorrow.²³

3. Importance and extent of the belief in Jesus' time: Palestine

By Jesus' time Palestine was, and for centuries had been, part and parcel of the Greco-Roman world. Consequently we should expect to find such stories also there. In fact we find lots of them. Some were told for their own sake, more were adapted to the purposes popular at the time: to teach morality, to guarantee the authority of the Jewish priesthood, to explain cosmology, the arrangement and content of the various heavens, to console the Jews for the pollution or destruction of the Temple, to promise the coming end of the world, punishment of the wicked and reward of the righteous, but also to teach the possibility of salvation here and now, of a man's being transformed during ascension to a supernatural being, then sent back to earth, disguised by his old [411] appearance, but armed with supernatural powers. We have examples of such stories told about Adam (in two versions), Enoch (in three versions), Abraham (in two versions), Levi,

²³ Percy Bysshe Shelley, ed. H. Newbolt, London N.D., p. 409, "To —".

Moses, Isaiah, and Baruch.²⁴ Daniel promises that the righteous, in the end, will shine as the stars (12:3). Josephus tells us that the Essenes attracted their followers by their teaching that the soul would ascend to heaven after death (*Bellum* 2.154f.; 7.344).

The unusual frequency and importance in Palestinian literature of these stories of ascent led several scholars to conjecture that there must have been some sort of pious practice—meditation, or prayer, or whatever—that centered on the theme and perhaps led the imaginative to believe that they, too, experienced the sort of heavenly ascents they read and wrote of.²⁵ These conjectures have now been confirmed by discoveries in the documents of the Dead Sea sect. The *Hymns*, in particular, often insist that the members of the sect are “together with the angels of the presence and there is no need of an interpreter between them.”²⁶ The same claim is made by the *Manual of Discipline* (11.5-10). Sometimes these texts suppose that the angels come down to participate in the sectarians’ worship, but in other passages (those already cited) the supposition seems to be that the sectarians go up to heaven and worship with the angels. Presumably some sort of rite was required for the ascent. A reference to it may be found in Josephus’ statement that the Essenes “immortalize” (*athanatizousin*) “the souls, thinking [412] the approach of the righteous to be much fought over” (*Antiquities* 18.18). Bousset conjectured that the “much fought over approach” was that of the righteous to the heavens—they are often attacked *en route* by demons or by the angels guarding the gates.²⁷ This interpretation is now confirmed by the “Mithras Liturgy,” which describes its rite for ascent to the heavens with a cognate word (“immortalization,” *apathanatismos*).²⁸ In that rite, as in what are called the *Hekalot* hymns—later Jewish hymns for access to the throne of Yahweh²⁹—a

²⁴ Adam: *Apocalypse of Moses* 37-39, and *Adam and Eve* 25-28; 1, 2, and 3 *Enoch*; the *Testament* and the *Apocalypse* of Abraham; *The Testament of Levi* (in *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*) 2.6-5.3; *The Assumption of Moses*; *The Ascension of Isaiah*; the Greek *Apocalypse of Baruch*. All these are extensive texts; many other works of the same sort are known, from references and/or brief fragments, to have existed.

²⁵ So P. Eppel, *Le piétisme juif dans les Testaments des douze patriarches*, Strasbourg 1930 (*Études de philos. et d'hist. relig.* 22) p. 66; D. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, Philadelphia 1964, pp. 158f.; G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* (etc.), 2 ed., New York 1965, ch. 3, pp. 14-19, esp. 17f.

²⁶ 6.13; cf. 3.20ff.; 11.10ff.; frag. 2.10.

²⁷ W. Bousset, “Die Himmelsreise der Seele,” *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 4 (1901), p. 143.

²⁸ *PGM* (above, note 22), papyrus IV, lines 741, 747, 771. The emphasis on immortalization in the opening section of the ritual—lines 479, 500, 504, 505, etc.—is conspicuous. Cp. the “Prayer of Jacob” in papyrus XXIIb, esp. line 24.

²⁹ In these hymns the access is commonly described as “descent” to the throne, but it is clearly the same sort of process, with much of the same itinerary, as the “ascent” in the other texts. The reason for the reversal of the terminology is uncertain. See my article,

most important element is the revelation of the names of the gods or angels who will be encountered on the way. Like watchdogs, they are friendly if you can call them by their names, but if not, they will attack. This explains why the Essenes attributed so much importance to knowledge of the names of angels, as Josephus tells us they did (*Bellum* 2.142). The explanation is further supported by the fact that the Hekalot hymns and some of the liturgical texts of the Dead Sea sect have striking stylistic similarities.³⁰ Taken together, these considerations make it probable that the Dead Sea sectarians had a technique, like that of the “Mithras Liturgy” and the Hekalot mystics, to induce hallucinations interpreted as ascents into the heavens. We may have another echo of the practice in the Epistle to the Ephesians, 6:11ff.: “Put on the whole armor of God, ... for our battle is ... against ... spiritual powers of evil in the [413] heavens.” Ephesians was written by an imitator of Paul and has important contacts with the Dead Sea material.³¹

Such practices seem to have been going on along the Palestinian coast for a long time. Centuries earlier Ezekiel attacked the King of Tyre:

Thus says my lord, Yahweh, ‘Because you are proud and say, “I am a god. I have sat in the throne of God in the midst of the sea,” whereas you are [actually] a man and not a god ... Therefore I am bringing foreigners against you ... and they shall bring you down and you shall die ... Will you really say, when you face those who will kill you, “I am God,” although you are a man and not a god? ... You shall die by the hands of foreigners’. [...] The word of Yahweh [came] to me, saying, ... ‘Lament for the King of Tyre and say to him, “Thus says my lord, Yahweh... ‘You were in Eden, the garden of God. You were clothed with every precious stone.... You were in the holy mountain of God. You walked among the burning coals.... And you sinned and I polluted you, [forcing you to leave] the mountain of God. And I shall destroy you, covering cherub, from among the burning coals’”’ (28:1-16).

A little later, another prophet, whose work is now preserved in the Book of Isaiah (14:12ff.), made similar pronouncements against the King of Babylon:

How are you fallen from heaven, famous son of Dawn ... You said to yourself, ‘I will go up to heaven. I will set my throne above the divine

“Observations on *Hekalot Rabbati*” in *Biblical and Other Studies*, ed. A. Altmann, Cambridge, Mass. 1963, pp. 142ff., which demonstrates the similarity of that text to the “Mithras Liturgy.”

³⁰ See J. Strugnell, “The Angelic Liturgy,” *Vetus Testamentum Supplements* VII, Leiden 1960, pp. 318-45, and the observations of G. Scholem in *Jewish Gnosticism* (above, note 25), pp. 29 and 128.

³¹ K. Kuhn, “Der Epheserbrief im Lichte der Qumrantexte,” *New Testament Studies* 7 (1961) 334-46. On p. 345 Kuhn suggested that Eph 6:10-20 reflected Essene tradition.

stars and I will dwell in the mountain of the assembly (of the gods) on the peak of Mt. Zaphon. I will go up on the high places of the clouds. I will be like the Most High.' But in fact you shall be brought down to Sheol, to the depths of the pit.

These two passages are not sufficiently similar for either to have been modeled on the other. They are therefore independent pieces of evidence either of royal propaganda or of practices attributed by the prophets to the kings. Now we have specimens of Phoenician royal sarcophagi and of the propaganda of the neo-Babylonian kings,³² and nothing in them matches these claims. It would seem, [414] therefore, that the prophets referred to magical rites these rulers were supposed to practice. In any event, the passages prove that men believed in the possibility of ascent to the realm of the gods, on top of their holy mountain above the clouds and the stars, in the garden among the burning coals, and this ascent was thought to make the man who accomplished it an angel or a god.

Centuries later we find similar beliefs in the Enoch tradition, from which we have the earliest of the preserved Jewish accounts of ascents into the heavens.³³ We have also the evidence already reviewed, indicating that some sort of technique for ascent was practiced in the Dead Sea sect. Another century later, about A.D. 50, we find Paul answering the claims of his Palestinian competitors³⁴ who prided themselves on their visions and revelations of the Lord. Paul's answer is that he, too, is a speaker of Hebrew, an Israelite, a descendant of Abraham, and an apostle, and that fourteen years ago he knew a man who went up to the paradise in the third heaven (2 Cor 12:1ff.). The answer is not a strong one. Paul does not claim to have gone up to heaven himself. His modesty was perhaps necessitated by his readers' knowledge, but it does do something to accredit his report. And his introduction of a theme in which he would make so poor a showing is practically proof that his opponents were making the sort of claim

³² Phoenician sarcophagi in H. Donner and W. Röllig, edd., *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, 2 ed., Wiesbaden, vol. I 1966, section A 1. Neo-Babylonian inscriptions in J. Pritchard, *op. cit.* (above, note 9) pp. 307-312; and *id.*, *Supplement*, Princeton 1968, pp. 560-63.

³³ Walking (no longer on a mountain, but in heaven) among the flames of fire, J. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, Oxford 1976, pp. 194f. Entrance of the garden of God, *idem* pp. 201, 221, 232. Ascent, M. Knibb and E. Ullendorff, edd., *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, Oxford 1978, ch. 14.8-25; garden(s) of God, chs. 24-32; transformation of the seer, 71.11. In 2 *Enoch* the account of heaven and the transformation is fuller; Enoch becomes an angel: A. Vaillant, ed., *Le Livre des Secrets d'Hénoch*, Paris 1952, ch. 9, especially the end. The seer's omniscience, ch. 13. He no longer eats or drinks, ch. 14.

³⁴ They were "Hebrews" (i.e., probably, Hebrew was their native language), "Israelites" (Jews by race as well as by religion), "descendants of Abraham" (therefore heirs of his promise), and "*par excellence* apostles": 2 Cor 11:22; 12:11. The last of these qualifications may indicate some claim of authorization by Jesus himself.

[415] he was trying to match. In Colossians, too, we find a reference to some Christian who was trying to justify observance of Jewish laws and worship of angels by appealing to things he had seen while “going up”—presumably, to the heavens (Col 2:16ff.). In Romans Paul insists that his message is not something hidden in the heavens, which a man would have to go up there to bring down (10:6).³⁵ Why should the Romans have thought it was? I suppose, because some of his competitors, like the man attacked in Colossians, claimed to be teaching secrets they had learned while “going up.” There is no question that John, the author of the Apocalypse, claimed to have gone up to heaven (4:1f.). Unlike the authors of earlier apocalypses, he did not put the claim in the mouth of some long dead worthy. As a disciple of Jesus, he made it for himself. It probably shows the sort of thing that was being claimed by Paul’s opponents.

Finally, we have to recognize that all these bits of evidence concern what was presumably secret teaching about which no explicit reports were likely to be preserved. So what is preserved must be only the tip of the mountain of revelation. Hence we can fairly conclude that one or more techniques for ascent into heaven were being used in Palestine in Jesus’ day, and that Jesus himself may well have used one.

4. Evidence that Jesus did use such a technique:

A. Ascent in the beliefs of his followers

Clearly ascent was not one of those aspects of Jesus’ practice that the evangelists chose to publicize. But we know that they kept other important elements secret, too. The fourth Gospel suppressed the institution of the eucharist, but discussed the rite in terms clear to those who knew it and riddling to those who did not (John 6:48-59, etc.). Mark wrote of a “mystery of the kingdom of God” [416] given to the disciples, but he never told us what it was (4:11). Consequently we cannot suppose that the gospels fully report everything Jesus did and taught. We must look at the indirect evidence.

Important indirect evidence of what a man did and taught is what his followers believed and expected. We anticipate some distortion and innovation, but the proposition that a man’s devoted followers radically misrepresented his teachings is *a priori* improbable. It may sometimes be true, but its truth has to be proved by strong evidence for every point concerned. I see no strong evidence *against* the proposition that Jesus taught and practiced ascent to the heavens.

There is no question that Jesus’ followers often anticipated ascent to the heavens as their goal. They reported that Jesus had ascended

³⁵ Nor is it something in the underworld of the dead (10:8)—perhaps a hit at Christians who practiced necromancy.

after his resurrection—a full story is told in Acts 1, the belief appears already in Philippians 2:9 and a string of later passages.³⁶ They themselves hoped to ascend when the End came. Paul (or, if not Paul, the author of 1 Thess 4:16f.) was explicit:

The Lord himself ... with a godawful trumpet blast will come down from heaven, and the dead Christians will arise first, and then we the living ... will be caught up together with them in the clouds for a meeting with the Lord in the air. And thus we shall be always with the Lord.

A few other passages have the same basic idea with less detail.³⁷ However, more New Testament passages expect the righteous to ascend immediately after death, as Paul in 2 Corinthians (5:1-10) longs to leave the body and go home to the Lord, to his “eternal dwelling ... in the heavens.”³⁸

This fact, that the ascension of Christians is not necessarily connected with the end of the world, suggests that the root of the notion was not in expectations of the End, i.e., in the apocalyptic tradition, but rather in some immediate experience in Christian [417] life. So the author of Hebrews (12:22-28) assures his hearers (in 22f.) that they “have” already “come to Mt. Sion and the city of the living God, Jerusalem in the heavens ... and the church of the first born (whose names are) inscribed in the heavens, and ... the spirits of the righteous who have been perfected.” Even this heavenly realm is yet to be purified (26), but the Christians “are” already “receiving” the eternal kingdom (28). This looks like a passage announcing salvation here and now, adapted by an awkward postscript to eschatological expectations. (I avoid the self-contradictory term “realized eschatology,” since what is now realized is not put off to the End, and there is no compelling reason to think that these present blessings were even originally connected with the End. We must reckon with the possibility that Jesus primarily promised present salvation.) Another such passage in Hebrews is 10:19ff., where the author praises Jesus as the High Priest who has prepared “a *ready* and living road” by which to enter the holy place of the heavenly temple, and urges his readers, since they have been purified by the sacraments, to enter at once. Here, too, an eschatological reference is awkwardly tacked on. A similar passage, with a similar contradiction, is found in John 14:4, where Jesus, having promised to go to his father’s house, prepare a place for his disciples, then come back and take them with him, adds casually, “And where I am going, you know the road”—as much as to

³⁶ John 20:17; Eph 1:20; Col 3:1; Heb 7:26-8:1; 9:24; etc.

³⁷ John 14:2f.; 1 Pet 1:4f.; perhaps Phil. 3:20f., though it is ambiguous.

³⁸ Cp. Phil 1:23; Luke 23:43; probably 12:33f.; certainly Apoc 7:9-15 (notice the change of tense in 16f., another eschatological postscript); probably 3:21.

say, “You can follow whenever you want to.” This understandably puzzled the copyists, so the manuscript tradition is much confused. The sentence suggesting heaven’s immediate accessibility can claim respect as the more difficult reading.

Another passage of the same sort is 2 Pet 1:11, where the readers are urged to be virtuous because “thus you will be plentifully provided with entrance into the eternal kingdom.” Nothing indicates that the entrance need be put off till death, and the adverb “plentifully” would seem to refer to repeated access. Finally Paul (if Paul was the author of Colossians) insists that all Christians have already ascended into the heavens along with Jesus, “being buried with him in baptism, in which you *have* also [418] been raised with him ... who stripped off the (cosmic) rulers and authorities... (and) led them... (as defeated enemies) in a triumphal procession... If then you, with Christ, *have* been liberated by death from the elements of the cosmos... (and) if *you have* been raised together with Christ, seek the things on high, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God. Think of the things on high, not those on earth, for you *have* died and your life *has been* hidden with Christ in God” (2:12-3:3).

In sum, early Christianity, as we see it in the earliest texts it preserved, was constantly oriented towards ascent to the heavens. Christians not only believed that Jesus had ascended after his death, they also expected to do the same themselves. Some thought ascent would come only at the end of the world, but more expected that it would shortly follow their own deaths. This suggests that they had not come to the expectation from eschatological prophecies, but from the importance of the present experience, or of pretensions to it, in Christian communities. This suggestion is confirmed by passages in Hebrews and Colossians which claim that Christians have already ascended and are now in the heavens as well as on earth. While such claims for all Christians might be dismissed as mere theological theory or rhetorical exaggeration—as they are generally thought to be—and the frequency of expectations of ascent after death indicates that many did not expect it immediately—nevertheless, we have reports of specific Christians who did claim and were believed to have gone up to heaven while yet alive (the author of the Apocalypse and the man known to Paul), and we have reason to believe that similar claims were made by some of Paul’s Palestinian competitors. For some, at least, in primitive Christianity, ascent to the heavens was not only a post-mortals reward, but a goal exceptional individuals could achieve and had achieved in this life. The orientation of the cult towards it appears in some of the earliest evidence we have, within fifteen or twenty years of Jesus’ death. We should normally suppose it a reflection of Jesus’ own teaching and practice. [419]

B. Sayings of Jesus and reports about him

Those who resist the notion that Jesus practiced ascent commonly resort to argument from silence. They claim that no reference to ascent into the heavens, still less to any actual ascent, can be found in the genuine sayings of Jesus and the reliable stories about him.

I grant that arguments from silence can sometimes be practically conclusive. But they do have to be handled carefully, and they all have one weakness, they depend entirely on one piece of evidence—silence. An argument from silence that has to produce the silence, by getting rid of all the evidence that breaks it, is hardly worth stating. So what is the evidence about Jesus' teaching and practice that this argument from silence has to get rid of?

There is much in stories told about Jesus by his enemies, and a little in Christian pseudepigrapha, but in such literature the theme cannot confidently be traced much before the middle of the second century A.D., when the *Actus Petri cum Simone* also credits Peter and Simon Magus with similar achievements. This is no great help.

Among the sayings of Jesus reported by the synoptic gospels are about a score in which he speaks of the kingdom of God as present and of his followers as already in it, or able to enter it now.³⁹ For instance, he attacked the scribes and the Pharisees because "you lock the kingdom of heaven shut in men's faces, for you (yourselves) do not go in, nor do you permit those who are going in to enter" (Matt 23:13; cp. Luke 11:52). Since the kingdom was commonly thought to be in heaven—as we all know from the Lord's prayer—such sayings would seem to indicate access to the heavens. Moreover, because they do not fit ordinary Jewish apocalyptic or moral teachings, but are peculiar to Jesus, they are commonly thought to be genuine. However, they are not conclusive. The kingdom was supposedly in heaven, but Jesus' disciples were certainly on earth, so we are left with a problem, not an [420] answer. Other sayings in the synoptics, like Jesus' claim in Luke, "I saw Satan falling like lightning from heaven" (10:18), are of equally dubious significance and more dubious authenticity.

In John we have Jesus' statement, already mentioned, that the disciples know the way to the heavens, whither he is going (14:4). He then declares that he is, himself, the way (14:6). This would be understandable if we supposed the disciples had experienced ascent as part of an initiation in which they were magically and psychologically identified with him. The rituals for ascent in the "Mithras Liturgy" and in the Hekalot texts contain directions for taking assistants along, and Paul understood baptism as a ritual for identification with Jesus (Rom

³⁹ These sayings are collected and discussed in my *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark*, Cambridge, Mass. 1973, pp. 211ff.

6:3ff., 8:9f.). The identification of him as “the way” (echoed by Hebrews 10:20) is particularly vivid in his saying in John 1:51, “You shall see the heavens opened and the angels of God ascending and descending on the Son of Man.” “The Son of Man” is a title characteristic of the earlier strata of the gospels. In this saying Jesus identifies himself with the ladder between earth and heaven, foreseen in Jacob’s dream (Gen 28:12). Aphraates, one of the earliest Christian writers of Mesopotamia, declared, “The ladder is the mystery [initiated by] our saviour, by which righteous men ascend from the lower world to the world above” (*Demonstratio* 4.5). What mystery he had in mind is not known. It would seem to have included a technique for ascent.

We may have a reflection of it in the story of the transfiguration, which circulated in several forms.⁴⁰ The oldest form we have, that in Mark, reports that Jesus took three of his closest disciples, Peter, James, and John, “by themselves alone” up a high mountain, and was transfigured before them. His clothes became [421] shining white. Elijah and Moses appeared and talked with him. Thereupon Peter made a stupid remark, and as soon as he spoke a cloud covered them. A voice from the cloud said, “This is my beloved son, hear him.” “And at once, looking around, they no longer saw anybody except Jesus alone with themselves.”

This is a story of a well known magical type—the interrupted rite. Some ignorant person is involved in a magical operation, extraordinary things begin to happen, then the ignoramus says or does something unpropitious, the magical scene vanishes, and the ignoramus finds himself back in his original situation, if not in a worse one.

So we have here a folk tale about Jesus and his disciples. But what was the basis for the folk tale? People are to some extent characterized by the stories told about them. Nobody would have told such a folk tale about Jesus’ distinguished contemporary, the emperor Caligula, though he, too, claimed to be a god. Why, then, was this told about Jesus? For what purpose would Jesus take three disciples apart, up a mountain, and why would they see him in glory, with supernatural beings? When we recall the prophecies attacking kings who were said to have gone up into the mountain of the gods, above the clouds, and there been clothed with precious stones and become gods (Ezekiel 28

⁴⁰ Mark 9:2-8; Matt 17:1-8; Luke 9:28-36; 2 Pet 1:16ff. See my discussion, “The Origin and History of the Transfiguration Story,” chapter twenty-six below. The common claim that this is a misplaced resurrection story is based on trivial similarities of wording and content (two men, white/shining garments, etc.), elements commonplace in stories of all sorts of epiphanies; it overlooks the essential differences of content that clearly distinguish the transfiguration tale from the resurrection legends.

and Isaiah 14, above), the sort of practice that gave rise to the folk tale is not hard to guess.

There may be a few other traces of the rite. The ancient Gospel according to the Hebrews reported that Jesus said, "My mother, the Holy Spirit, took me by one hair and carried me off to the great mountain, Tabor."⁴¹ What happened then, we are not told. More important, Paul said of the Israelites who came out of Egypt that, "They were all baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea" (1 Cor 10:2). That he should have interpreted crossing the sea [422] as a baptism is not very surprising,⁴² but where did he get the notions of baptism into Moses, and baptism in a cloud? Baptism into Moses might come by retrojection from "baptism into Jesus,"⁴³ since the old revelation had to prefigure the new one. But when were people baptized into Jesus in a cloud? If the rite of ascent involved identification with Jesus (as we were led to think it did), and if the identification was effected by baptism (as Paul said it was), and if the hallucination of ascent commonly ended in loss of the vision and a confusing, cloudlike moment of readjustment to the real world (as the transfiguration story reports),⁴⁴ then the legendary clouds of the ancient mountain of the gods, and the cloud of the exodus, would be understandably connected with baptism, and Paul's exegesis of the exodus story could be explained.

This theory is supported by several very early passages which indicate that Jesus was believed to have ascended into the heavens during his lifetime. The first is a famous fragment of a Christian hymn cited by Paul in Philippians 2:5-11, therefore substantially earlier than Paul's letter, and thus one of the earliest pieces of [423] evidence about Jesus that we have. Paul has been urging the Philippians to practice

⁴¹ Origen, *Commentary on John*, Book II, 12.87; parallels collected by K. Aland, *Synopsis quattuor evangeliorum*, Stuttgart 1964, p. 34, on Mark 1:12f.

⁴² Although, according to Exodus 14:22 and 29, the Israelites never got wet. A pious exegete cannot be expected to pay close attention to the sacred text; he must be intent on discovering its true meaning, as distinct from what it says.

⁴³ Rom 6:3; 1 Cor 12:12-27.

⁴⁴ From discussion with a number of the psychotherapists present at the Eranos Conference when this paper was presented, I understand that disorientation and blurred vision are common in patients emerging from certain types of hallucinations. Mr. Robert E. Bosnak, holder of a diploma from the C.G. Jung Institute, has since written me as follows: "After work on dream images and distant memories, in a state of trance-like concentration ... two male patients reported a state of dizziness and blurred vision ... In one case it took more than a minute for the eyes to come back to focus. These patients were not suffering from psychiatric disorders. They were both quite depressed. The trance-like experiences of the imagery... had profound impact on both of them. In other cases (4) I have noticed a state of disorientation upon awakening from a trance-like state. Blurred vision was not specifically reported, but these patients were also unable to get up immediately." He adds that none of these six usually wore glasses, and none, at the time of these experiences, was under the influence of drugs which might have affected vision.

charity. He winds up, "You should have among yourselves that intention which was also in Christ Jesus who"—here comes the hymn—"being in the form of God, did not think he should grasp at equality with God, but made himself contemptible, taking the form of a slave, becoming like men, and being cast in a human role, he humbled himself, becoming obedient even to death, and death by crucifixion." Modern exegetes have commonly overlooked Paul's introduction and understood the first words of this hymn as a reference to the preexistent Christ. But Paul says explicitly that it was *Jesus* who was in the form of God, but did not grasp at equality with God, submitting instead to take the form of a man and be crucified. Moreover, his statement cannot be explained away as a bit of careless wording. He says the same thing again, more briefly, in 2 Cor 8:9, "You know the kindness of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, how he impoverished himself for you, when he was rich, so that you might become rich by his poverty."

These statements show a pre-Pauline notion of Jesus, one shaped by the Enoch legend. Enoch was one of the antediluvian patriarchs of whom the Old Testament said that "he walked with God and he was not (to be seen), because God took him" (Gen 5:24). This brief remark may be either the cause or the consequence of a story about Enoch's being taken up to heaven. The story became so popular that we have it in three major preserved versions and several minor ones.⁴⁵ According to the fully developed legend, Enoch was taken up to the highest heaven and introduced to God Himself. Since one becomes like what one looks on—a principle we have heard from Jean Brun and Daryush Shayegan—Enoch, when he saw God, became like him in appearance (1 Enoch 71:11-16, 2 Enoch 9 end). But unlike the [424] wicked Jack of the beanstalk, he did not try to destroy his rival. Instead he remained obedient and was sent back to earth to preach to men (1 Enoch 81:5, 2 Enoch 11). On his way down he was transformed again to the appearance of a man (2 Enoch 13). He thus carried out his mission on earth and died. Thereupon he was again taken up to heaven, restored to glory, and given, as Paul's hymn, too, went on to say, the name of God himself, YHWH (3 Enoch 12, cp. 16, Phil 2:9ff.). Thus the good boy solved his Oedipal problem by identification with his father. That may have been one of the reasons for the popularity of the Enoch story. At all events, Paul was not the only Christian to use it. The author of *The Ascension of Isaiah* did much the same thing, though he chose Isaiah rather than Enoch for his Old Testament hero.

⁴⁵ The best editions are, for 1 Enoch, Knibb and Ullendorff (above, note 33), for 2 Enoch, Vaillant (*ibid.*), for 3 Enoch, H. Odeberg, 3 Enoch, repr. with prolegomena by J. Greenfield, New York 1973. There are also important fragments in Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic.

This neglected episode of early Christological speculation has distracted us from our main concern here—that the use of the Enoch story as a model for Jesus’ career implies the belief that he had already ascended to heaven and become like God before the beginning of his public ministry. Another reflection of this same outline may be found in another fragment of an old Christian hymn, that quoted in 1 Tim 3:16, where Jesus is said to have been “revealed in flesh, justified in spirit, seen by the angels, preached in the nations, believed in the world, taken up in glory.” Notice that “seen by the angels” precedes “believed in the world” and “taken up in glory.” These hymns can obviously be understood as interpretations, by adherents, of the career of a magician who claimed to have ascended to heaven and become a god, but had to live on earth and was eventually crucified.

Another trace of the same outline turns up in John 3:13. Jesus is lecturing Nicodemus on baptism as spiritual rebirth. Nicodemus is politely incredulous, so Jesus assures him that, when speaking of heavenly things, he (Jesus) is unique because he knows what he’s talking about. “For nobody,” he says, “has gone up to heaven, except he who has come down from heaven, the Son of Man.” Here Jesus claims not only to have come down from heaven⁴⁶—a [425] claim John constantly puts in his mouth, to emphasize that he was the pre-existent Logos—but also to have gone up to heaven at some time before his conversation with Nicodemus. This latter claim is not in line with John’s usual teaching, so we may suppose he took over the saying, in a moment of carelessness, from one of his sources. Its original *Sitz im Leben* was probably a controversy between Jesus’ followers and those of some other Palestinian teacher who also claimed to have gone up to heaven. Besides the followers of Jesus and the Dead Sea sectarians we know of one other teacher of Jesus’ time who is said to have made the claim—Simon Magus. No doubt there were others, too. Such indemonstrable claims are easy to imitate and commonly imitated.

Finally we come back to a passage twice cited already—Paul’s report in 2 Cor 12 that he himself knew a man who had gone up to the third heaven. Who was that man? Exegetes have long been divided between those who think it Jesus and those who think it Paul himself. The Paul party is much more numerous. I adhered to it when I wrote *The Secret Gospel*, but I have since come round to the other view. To explain my conversion, let me explain the passage.

Paul is writing in his own defense. His hold on the Corinthians is challenged by competitors who boast of their qualifications and belittle his. They are apostles, indeed, he ironically calls them, “superapostles” (12:11). They are Hebrews, Israelites, descendants of Abraham

⁴⁶ John 1:9; 3:17ff.; 12:46; 16:28; etc.

(11:22). They have labored and suffered for the cause (11:23). They pride themselves on “visions and apocalypses of the Lord” (12:1), and on “signs and wonders and powers,” miracles they perform as evidence of their apostolate (12:12). They also are proud of their apostolic authority to require their adherents to support them (12:13), and they seem to have permitted or even encouraged their adherents to indulge in sexual promiscuity and other practices Paul thought “impure” (12:21).

Paul’s answer is to claim, as far as he can, superiority, failing that, equality, failing that, something else just as good, if not better. As remarked before, his relative modesty suggests that he [426] was writing to a well informed audience. Nevertheless he claims to be no less an apostle than his competitors and to have done just as many miracles (12:11-13). Like them, he is a (speaker of) Hebrew, an Israelite, a descendant of Abraham (11:22). He has worked more and suffered more for the cause than they have (11:23-33, this was evidently his long suit). That he has not made the Corinthians support him has been due to his virtue, not lack of authority (12:13-18). As for those who have been indulging in improper practices, they had better repent now, or when he comes they will learn, to their grief, his spiritual power (12:19-21). So far, so good, a powerful answer. But right in the middle of it is the passage that concerns us (12:1ff.).

I now come to visions and apocalypses of the Lord. I knew in Christ, fourteen years ago, a man—whether in the body or out of the body, I don’t know, God knows—caught up ... to the third heaven. And I knew this man—whether in the body or out of the body, God knows—that he was caught up into the paradise and heard words not to be reported.... About that sort of man I will boast, but about myself I will not boast, except about my infirmities. For if I should wish to boast—I will not be foolish, for I will tell the truth: Briefly, I go easy, lest someone should have a higher opinion of me than [that justified by] what he sees of me and hears from me, and [should have it because of] the excess of my revelations. Therefore, so that I should not be stuck up, I was given a thorn in the flesh, an angel of Satan, to keep striking me ... About him I entreated the Lord three times, that he should leave me, and [the Lord] said to me, ‘My grace is enough for you.’ For [his] power is made strongest in weakness. Therefore I would much more gladly boast of my infirmities, so that the power of Christ may dwell on me.

This last paradox is developed a little further, and so the passage ends. Now what can be done to identify the man Paul says he knew? First of all, was he Paul himself?

The only important reason for thinking him Paul is that Paul’s purpose throughout the chapter is to praise himself. If he merely claimed to have known some other man who was taken up to heaven,

when his opponents were claiming to have gone up themselves, he would have cut a poor figure.

This argument is strong and seems to require that the man be [427] Paul. However, the text cannot be made to say that he is. Paul clearly distinguishes the man from himself, saying, “about such a man I will boast, but about myself I will not.” He gives no indication anywhere in the passage that the man was himself. But if he could have claimed such an ascent for himself he certainly would have done so, and clearly. It was just what he needed to answer the claims of his opponents. So the fact that he makes no clear claim is proof that he could not make any claim at all. The plain sense of the text has to be accepted: the man was not Paul.

Who, then, was he? We have a clue in Paul’s statement, “About such a man I will boast.” Paul was much concerned about boasting. The ancients in general were less inhibited than we by attitudes like modesty and pity, which we call virtues and cherish because they blur the distinctions between good and bad. The richer a society is, the more it can afford to tolerate dysfunctional traits. Ancient society, even that of the Roman empire, was almost unimaginably poorer than ours, so for most of its members the distinctions between good and bad were very clear and important. They blamed, ridiculed, and otherwise tried to destroy what they thought bad, with very little of the pity or latent self-criticism which David Miller so persuasively described; they encouraged and praised what they thought good, and were proud of and unashamedly boasted about their own merits, in ways which we, according to our temperaments, find tasteless, tactless, or enviable. For Paul, pride and boasting had an importance unusual even in the ancient world; the subject comes up in every one of his major letters.⁴⁷ He admits to boasting about his converts,⁴⁸ he expects them to boast about him,⁴⁹ he boasts about himself to match the boasting of his opponents (2 Cor 10-12), but he also insists repeatedly that he will boast about no one but Jesus,⁵⁰ and he even defines Christians as “those who boast about Christ Jesus” (Phil [428] 3:3). Consequently his identification of the man taken up to heaven as the sort of man he will boast about, identifies him as Jesus.

The reference to Jesus also explains why Paul can claim that he, because of this man’s ascent, equals his (Paul’s) opponents. For Paul has often asserted or implied that he and Christ are one.⁵¹ That he should refer to Jesus as a man he knew “in Christ” fourteen years ago,

⁴⁷ A few examples from each appear in the following notes.

⁴⁸ 2 Cor 7:4, 14; 8:24; 9:2f.; 1 Thess 2:19; 2 Thess 1:4.

⁴⁹ 2 Cor 1:14; 5:12; Phil 1:26.

⁵⁰ Rom 15:17f.; 1 Cor 1:29-31; 2 Cor 10:17; 12:5; Gal 6:14.

⁵¹ Gal 2:20; Rom 8:9ff.; 14:8; 2 Cor 4:10f.; Phil 1:20; Col 3:3.

is surprising, but not impossible. He elsewhere declares that he no longer knows anyone “according to the flesh,” i.e. in a merely physical way, and he adds, “Even if we knew Christ according to the flesh, yet now we no longer know (him thus)” (2 Cor 5:16). The alternative to knowing “according to the flesh” is knowing “in Christ,” i.e., as a constituent of the total Christian experience. That Paul dates the beginning of this knowledge fourteen years back gives us an approximate date for his conversion—fourteen years prior to the date of this letter when his knowledge of Jesus “in Christ” began.⁵² Since this was after the crucifixion, the ascension of Jesus that he refers to might be that after the resurrection, but the statement that he “was caught up into the third heaven ... and heard words not to be reported” seems to refer to some ascent that occurred during Jesus’ lifetime and led to a revelation, rather than to the final exaltation after his death.

Thus Paul’s argument can be summarized as follows: Concerning visions and apocalypses: For the past fourteen years I have known (Jesus) as part of my Christian life (in which I am united with him). He, whether in the body or out of it, was once caught up to the paradise in the third heaven and heard ineffable words. About Jesus, therefore, I will boast (since I am one with him). About myself (apart from him), I will not boast, except about my infirmities. These were inflicted on me to keep me from seeming [429] insufferably great on account of my many revelations, and they are accompanied by the gift of grace to endure them.

From this argument we may infer that Paul was bluffing about his own revelations and did not himself have any experiences of ascent into heaven that he could honestly set up against his opponents. But we may also infer that he did attribute to Jesus an ascent, during his lifetime, into the paradise in the third heaven, where “he heard words not to be reported” (except to the chosen few).

Thus Paul, an early source used by John, and the early hymns quoted in Philippians and 1 Timothy, agree in crediting Jesus with an ascent to the heavens. Preparation for such an ascent is the most likely explanation of the interrupted rite reflected in the transfiguration story. The ascent itself, and the practice of ascent, explain a number of puzzling sayings attributed to Jesus. They also explain why Jesus’ enemies charged him with the practice, as an act of magic, why some of Jesus’ followers carried on the practice and used Paul’s inability to do so as an argument against him, and why early Christians generally accepted the story of Jesus’ ascension after death, looked forward to

⁵² Whether or not this date can be reconciled with the reports in Galatians 1-2 (not to mention Acts) is a secondary question. What Paul claimed must first be determined, before asking whether any one of his claims was true.

similar ascent for themselves, and sometimes claimed to have ascended already by virtue of the sacraments. All in all, this is a large body of essentially consistent evidence from diverse, independent sources, among them several of the earliest we have. The existence of such a body of evidence has to be explained. I think the most likely explanation is that Jesus, in his lifetime, believed he had ascended into the heavens, told his most intimate disciples of his experiences, and thus—and perhaps by other methods—induced similar hallucinations in some of them.⁵³

⁵³ For further evidence and fuller discussion, see my books cited above, notes 2 and 39. Also *The Secret Gospel*, New York 1973, reprinted in San Francisco by The Dawn Horse Press in 1982.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

TWO ASCENDED TO HEAVEN— JESUS AND THE AUTHOR OF 4Q491

[290] I write this article with unusual pleasure because it reports new evidence that confirms a conjecture I published in 1973. To make the matter clear, however, I must review rapidly the evidence that led to the conjecture. Hence, readers familiar with my earlier work may find the first section of this chapter somewhat repetitive. The new material begins with section II.

I

Clement of Alexandria says that in his church (175-200 C.E.) a “secret gospel” believed to have been written by Mark was “carefully guarded” and read only to those being initiated into the great mysteries.”¹ He also quotes fragment of this gospel, a version of the Lazarus story of John 11:1-44. This version is written in Marcan style and is form-critically more primitive than the Johannine text.² Moreover it goes on to report that Jesus and the disciples went to the house of the young man after he had been raised and stayed with him for six days, after which he came to Jesus, “wearing only a linen cloth” and “stayed with him that night, for Jesus taught him the mystery of the Kingdom of God.”³ [291]

Whether or not this report was written by the author of canonical Mark, it was almost certainly revered and read in the “mysteries” celebrated in Clement’s church in Alexandria. Clement, to judge from his preserved works, was a model of ascetic propriety. The story, therefore, must have been understood to have an edifying meaning.

¹ Letter to Theodore, folio 1, verso, lines 1-5, in M. Smith, *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973) pp. 448-53; hereinafter, *Clement*. The Greek text is reprinted in *Clemens Alexandrinus III*², ed. O. Stählin, L. Früchtel, and U. Treu (GCS; Berlin, 1970). Many scholars have accepted the letter as probably authentic (*Clement*, p. 67), and study of the language and style has brought the probability close to certainty (*Clement*, pp. 5-85). Nevertheless, the content of the gospel fragment which the letter quotes has prompted a number of attacks. For the state of the question in the early 1980s see M. Smith, “Clement of Alexandria and Secret Mark, the Score,” *HTR* 75 (1982) 449-61. For the present location of the manuscript (the Patriarchal Library in Jerusalem), see. T. J. Talley, “Liturgical Time in the Ancient Church,” in *Liturgical Time: Papers read at the 1981 Congress of the Societas Liturgica*, ed. W. Vos and G. Wainright (Rotterdam, 1982) p. 45 (also in *Studia Liturgica* 14 nos. 2-4 [1982]).

² Smith, *Clement*, 148-58; contra R. E. Brown, “The Relation of ‘The Secret Gospel of Mark’ to the Fourth Gospel,” *CBQ* 36 (1974) 466-85. Brown’s examination of the texts prudently stops just before their parallelism becomes close enough to yield probable conclusions.

³ Folio 2, recto, lines 6-10; Smith, *Clement*, p. 452.

The key to this meaning is the linen cloth worn as the sole garment. This was a common costume for ancient religious, especially mystery, ceremonies; it was customary for magically induced visions, and it became the standard costume for Christian baptism, the initiatory mystery of the church.⁴

A quarter of a century before Mark wrote, baptism and the Eucharist had been classed by Paul among the “mysteries of God” which he administered (1 Cor 4:1). Therefore, given the characteristic costume, the nocturnal setting (mysteries were commonly celebrated at night), and the concluding explanation (that Jesus “taught him the mystery of the kingdom of God”), it seems the reader was expected to understand that Jesus administered a mystery.⁵ If the reader were a Christian, he would also understand that the initiatory rite of this mystery was baptism.⁶

That Jesus should have founded a mystery cult should not be surprising. It was something men of extraordinary religious powers were expected to do. Such cults were generally attributed to great men of the past (including Moses),⁷ but some were founded in historical times. There were, for instance, mysteries of Ptolemaic kings and of Roman emperors.⁸ Lucian (who classed Christianity as a mystery cult⁹) has left us a full account of the founder and founding of an unusually successful second-century cult well documented by the coinage minted in honor of its peculiar god.¹⁰ The cults founded by Simon of Samaria and by other miscalled “gnostics” would probably be recognized as “mysteries” had not their distinguishing traits been obscured by immersion in Irenaeus’s “gnostic” stew.¹¹ W. Burkert has done well, in his perceptive book *Mystery Cults*, to emphasize that these were *cults*

⁴ For pagan usage, see Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11.3; W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*⁴, no. 736 (Andania), sec. 4; W. Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987) figs. 6 and 12. For magical visions, see K. Preisendanz and A. Henrichs, eds., *PGM* 3.706, 712; 4.88, 171-75, 3095. For Christian practice, see Smith, *Clement*, pp. 175-77.

⁵ When writing *Clement*, I supposed that an objection to this theory could be brought from the statement “Jesus taught him the mystery,” since mysteries were commonly “given,” not “taught” (*Clement*, p. 183). Half a dozen reviewers, no less ignorant than I, appropriated my objection and announced that it refuted my theory. Therefore, I am glad to have found evidence of my error—a good number of passages in which mysteries and/or magical rites are said to have been “taught”: Herodotus 2.171; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 1.68; Porphyry, *De abstinencia* 4.16; *Orac. Chald.* (ed. des Places) 224.1; *PGM* 4.750, 1372.

⁶ John’s statements that Jesus baptized (3:22; 4:1) are supported by important historical considerations; see Smith, *Clement*, 201-64.

⁷ Diodorus 3.65.6; 5.64.4, *PGM* 12.92-95.

⁸ M. Nilsson, “Royal Mysteries in Egypt,” *HTR* 50 (1957) 65ff.; H. Pleket, “An Aspect of the Emperor Cult,” *HTR* 58 (1966) 331ff.

⁹ *De morte Peregrini* 11.

¹⁰ Glykon. See Lucian, *Alexander*; and *Lexicon Iconographicum* 4.1.279-83; 2.161-62.

¹¹ I.e., *Contra haereses* 1.

and to “abandon the concept of mystery *religions* from the start” (his italics) because “in the pre-Christian epoch” the mysteries “appear as varying forms, trends, or options within the one disparate yet continuous conglomerate of ancient religion” (pp. 3-4). Here I need add only that the work of Jesus occurred in the pre-Christian epoch.

If we suppose that Jesus founded a mystery cult and that the initiatory rite was some sort of “baptism” (or immersion),¹² we have now to ask, What was the mystery? Mark 4:11 and “Secret Mark” say that it was “the mystery of the kingdom of God” This makes it somewhat different from [292] the other cults. They were “mysteries of” various gods, and the mystery revealed by each was some sort of practice and/or knowledge by which the initiate could gain the god’s favor and consequently enjoy, both in this life and hereafter, the blessings that the god might give.

The kingdom of God, however, was impersonal. We should not think about it as a mere metonymy for “God,” since one is said to “enter” it. The kingdom of God is commonly spoken of as a place, but a place that could move and “come” The most likely explanation conceives of it as the area of God’s rule, which he will soon extend. Therefore, the “mystery” of it—the way to derive benefit from it—might have been by knowing when it would “come,” that is, be extended to the earth. However, although the Gospels contain many assurances that it is “near,”¹³ the precise time of arrival is never specified. There are likewise many warnings to watch for and expect it, and statements that it will come when least expected, for instance, “as a thief in the night.”¹⁴ Besides, Jesus is credited with the statement that even the Son does not know when it is coming; only God knows (Mark 13:32; Matt 24:36; “credited,” because this time he was right). If we can trust the Gospels, therefore, the proximity of the kingdom was, for Jesus, not a mystery but a message to be proclaimed.

A different set of sayings either heightens or, depending on the exegete’s attitude, contradicts the preceding. These declare that the kingdom is not only near; it is here. By contrast with the preceding, they are usually less clear—so, for instance, the series of parables indicating that the kingdom is already in the world, a treasure to be taken now (Mark 4:26, 30; Luke 13:21; Matt 13:44, 46). These look like fragments of teaching intended—as Jesus said they were—not to be understood by outsiders (Mark 4:11-12). To have a mystery is a profitable thing; people will pay to be initiated, as Alexander of Abonuteichos and Sigmund of Vienna demonstrated. Then there are

¹² Ephesians’ insistence that its readers should recognize only “one baptism” (4:5) is explained by the reports in Acts that there were several (8:12-17; 18:24-26; 9:3-4).

¹³ Mark 1:15; 13:28, 29; Matt 3:2; 4:17; 10:7; and parallels.

¹⁴ “Watch out” (Mark 13:35, 37 and parallels); “like a thief” (Matt 24:43 and parallels).

sayings which indicate that the kingdom is now accessible: it is within your grasp (Luke 17:21); it can be had by violence and violent men seize it (Matt 11:12; the parallel in Luke 16:16 says everybody pushes in, a wishful revision); those who *were* entering were hindered (Matt 23:13); a scribe can already be a disciple of the kingdom (Matt 13:52). These are capped by another series promising that what we saw were the common objectives of mystery cults—the benefits the initiates might gain: they are exempt from fasting—or were, while Jesus was with them (Mark 2:19); they need not observe the Sabbath (Mark 2:23-27) or purity laws (Mark 7:2-13); they can exorcise (Mark 3:15; 6:7; Luke 10:17); they can heal the sick and proclaim the coming of the kingdom (Luke 10:9). The least among them is greater than the Baptist (Luke [293] 7:28). They will get whatever they ask (Luke 11:10); or at least they are sure of food, drink, and clothing (12:29-31); and Jesus will give them rest (Matt 11:28). Their names are already written in heaven (Luke 10:20).

With all these promised benefits¹⁵ to be had by entering the kingdom, and the assurance that it can be done now (at least, by violence), we are led directly to the questions, Where is the kingdom? and, How can we get in? These the Gospels do not answer. Presumably the answer was given in “the mystery of the kingdom of God.”

This convenient presumption leads to a further question: What could Jesus have done in his mystery rite to persuade his initiates that they had entered the kingdom and would now enjoy these benefits, and to do this so powerfully that they not only left everything to follow him around Palestine but, even after he had been taken and crucified, saw him risen from the dead, watched him ascend into heaven, and reshaped their hopes so as to continue to believe in him? Whatever he did, its effect was dazzlingly different from that of any rabbinic teaching known to us. The nearest Old Testament analogue is Elijah's call of Elisha, but the similarities are minor and the consequences comparatively trivial. Hence, we must conjecture.¹⁶

The steps of the conjecture are as follows: First, with regard to baptism. Bits of evidence suggesting that Jesus baptized have been touched on above, but what chiefly leads us to conjecture that he did

¹⁵ None of which, by the way, has anything to do with a change of the government of Palestine, much less of the Roman Empire.

¹⁶ To this point the argument has followed closely the plain sense of the Gospels. That is why so many commonplace critics have found it unacceptable—the liberal, since it recognized as genuine many elements they gladly dismissed as “unhistorical”; the conservative, because it held to the plain sense of many they disposed of by “exegesis.” Both sides exemplify the paradox of the past century's New Testament study: the combination of a “search for the historical Jesus” with a determination not to recognize his historical features.

so is the great change from the baptism of the Baptist to that known to Paul. The baptism of John (about 30 C.E.) merely removed impurity and remitted sin, but according to Paul—if we suppose him to have held faithfully to the teaching given him when he was baptized (about 35 C.E.)—in baptism he died, his body was taken over by the spirit of Jesus, and he and his body were raised by this spirit to a new life, a long battle in which the spirit would finally subjugate and remake the body (2 Cor 4-5; Rom 6-8). These ideas may reflect the imagery of death and resurrection after the Easter experience, but that is not basic. The basic notion is that of possession by a more powerful spirit, which drives out not only death but also sin and subdues the body to order. This goes back beyond Easter to Jesus' work as an exorcist. Many of his followers are said to have been women from whom evil spirits had been driven out (Luke 8:2-3)—we should say, by the power of his personality, but they said, “by his spirit.” We may therefore conjecture that the baptism given in his mystery was a baptism similar to the one that he—unlike the Baptist's other followers—had himself experienced, one in which the initiate was possessed by the spirit. This was what Paul believed and is what the church still officially teaches. It may have been true. [294]

Second, with regard to the entrance to the kingdom. Let us accept the common opinion that the kingdom of God is the area of God's rule, primarily the heavens, where God and his throne are (Matt 6:1, 9, etc.; Rev 4:2, etc.).¹⁷ Thither Jesus was thought to have ascended at or after his resurrection,¹⁸ and Christians hoped to go there immediately after death,¹⁹ a belief that contradicted the prevailing Jewish one. Some claimed even to have gone there while alive.²⁰ Hence it is not surprising that John 3:12-13 makes Jesus himself claim to have been in heaven (and 3:32 adduces unlikely confirmation of this claim from the Baptist). A lot of secondary evidence—not probative, but not certainly worthless—tends to corroborate the assumption that Jesus claimed during his lifetime to have ascended to heaven.²¹

Such ascent stories were popular in the thought of the time, particularly among the Jews. Half a dozen Old Testament pseudepigrapha credit their heroes with visits to the heavens.²² So there is no doubt that the idea was well known to Jesus. More important is the fact that there was a method for attaining the

¹⁷ For fuller references, see Smith, *Clement*, pp. 202-4.

¹⁸ Col 3:1; John 20:17; Acts 1:9; Luke 24:51.

¹⁹ 2 Cor 5:1-10; Phil 3:20; Mark 10:21; Luke 6:23; 12:23; etc.

²⁰ 2 Cor 12:1-5, presumably to match the claims of Paul's rivals; Col 2:18; Rev 4:1-2;

²¹ 1 Pet 1:11.

²² The material is collected in Smith, *Clement*, pp. 240-48.

²² See Smith, *Clement*, 238-40, bibliography in n. 1. Adam and Eve 25; 1 Enoch passim; T. Abraham 10; Apoc. Abraham 15; T. Levi 6-8; 3 Bar 2-4; etc.

experience by self-hypnosis (presented as magic, but involving expectation of the events, recitation of repetitive formulas, gazing at the sun (perhaps), and regulation of breathing; see *PGM* 4.475-829, esp. 537-40).²³ The same rite includes instructions for “using a fellow initiate so that he alone may hear with you the things spoken... and if you wish to show him (the things seen)...” Directions follow for preliminaries that would incline him to submit to hypnosis.

If it is in fact true that a man practicing self-hypnosis can communicate his hallucinations to a companion, we have here the sort of means by which Jesus might have introduced his initiates to the kingdom of God and given them experiences, like that of his transfiguration, which prepared them to see him risen from the dead and, by their worship, to make him the “Savior of the world.” This conjecture seemed, and seems, to me the most likely explanation of the data.

II

This conjecture was of course rejected at once by most New Testament scholars since they had “never heard of such a thing”—to their minds this was an adequate reason. So I let the matter ride.

Now, to my amazement, the Qumran fragments have provided a little [295] poem by some egomaniac who claimed to have done just what I conjectured Jesus claimed, that is, entered the heavenly kingdom and secured a chair with tenure, while yet commuting to earth and carrying on his teaching here.

The fragment in question is printed as col. 1 of fragment 11 of 4Q491.²⁴ M. Baillet says that it and the material printed as col. 2 of the same fragment have been pieced together from seventeen scraps and that the small connection between the two columns is “only probable.”²⁵ He might have added, “if that,” since the second column

²³ *PGM* 4 is of the fourth century C.E., about the same date as the *Sinaiticus* and *Vaticanus* manuscripts of the New Testament, the oldest of the New Testament uncials. It is a collection into which many earlier manuscripts have been copied. The source of lines 475-829 was a manuscript in which a yet earlier text (a rite for a man's immortalization by the sun god) had been reworked as a letter telling a woman how to get a favorable oracle from the god of the pole star. It seems sure that the letter writer did not use the first copy of the original spell, and almost sure that the anthologist of *PGM* did not use the first copy of the letter, and very likely that the text we have is not the first copy of the anthology. Therefore, the text we have is presumably *at least* of the sixth literary generation, if we count the original spell as the first (i.e., spell, copy, letter, copy, anthology, copy). Allowing an average of thirty or forty years to a literary generation (i.e., to the span between the autograph and the *preserved* copy) this would date the original spell to the second half of the first, or the first half of the second, century C.E. The Gospels would seem to be products of about the same time as this spell.

²⁴ M. Baillet, *DJD* 7 (Oxford, 1982) pp. 26-29; pl. VI.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

is clearly a fragment of the War Scroll text, in which this bit of self-glorification has no apparent place. Baillet's description of the main part of col. 1 as "a song by the archangel Michael" was probably an act of desperation. Since the scraps have been put together mainly on the basis of similarities of hide and handwriting, and since it is likely that the same scribe with the same hand may have written several different texts on different pieces of the same skin, assignment of this text to the War Scroll is not likely. Yet more dubious is its location in the War Scroll. Apparently there was no external evidence for the order of the fragments. Baillet seems to have arranged those that had parallels with the War Scroll in the sequence in which the parallels occurred in that text, and then inserted the unparalleled ones wherever he thought they would go. Consequently, this text can be treated by itself. This material may have come from a collection of poems like the Thanksgiving Hymns, and an oversized *lamed*, which appears on Baillet's printed text, but of which only a vertical line shows on his manuscript—and of which he could not guess the use—may, if correctly conjectured, have been the number of the poem (or book of poems?) that begins beside it.²⁶

I discussed Baillet's text in the 1986 New York University conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls.²⁷ My paper discussed the details of textual criticism and the calculations on which must be based the restorations in the (relatively small) lacunae.

From the corrected and completed text it appears that the preserved remains of col. 1 contain fragments of three poems. The first, which ends with *'ōlāmim* in Baillet's line 11 (p. 26), is the end of a hymn in praise of God; it does not concern us. The third, beginning with Baillet's line 20, is plausibly described by him as a "canticle of the righteous"; neither does it concern us. The nine lines intervening are a brief paean of self-praise, which will be clearer if translated as verse. Differences from Baillet's readings are indicated in the notes to the translation.²⁸ [296]

[El Elyon gave me a seat among] those perfect forever,
a mighty throne in the congregation of the gods.
None of the kings of the east shall sit in it
and their nobles shall not [come near it].
No Edomite shall be like me in glory,
and none shall be exalted save me, nor shall come against me.
For I have taken my seat in the [congregation] in the heavens

²⁶ Ibid., pl. VI.II.11 and p. 28.

²⁷ The papers of that conference are published as *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*, ed. L. H. Schiffman (JSPS; JSOT/ASOR 2; Sheffield, 1990); my article is pp. 181-88.

²⁸ Professors Shaye Cohen and Burton Visotzky and Dr. Seth Schwartz have made helpful suggestions for restorations in the text and saved me from several errors.

And none [find fault with me].²⁹
 I shall be reckoned with gods
 and established in the holy congregation.
 I do not desire [gold,] as would a man of flesh;
 everything precious to me is in the glory of [my God].
 [The status of a holy temple,] not to be violated,³⁰
 has been attributed to me, and who can compare with me in glory?
 What voyager will return
 and tell³¹ [of my equivalent]
 Who [laughs] at griefs as I do?
 And who is like me [in bearing] evil?
 Moreover, if I lay down the law in a lecture³²
 [my instruction] is beyond comparison [with any man's].
 And who will attack³³ me for my utterances?
 And who will contain the flow of my speech?
 And who will call me into court and be my equal?
 In my legal judgment [none will stand against] me.
 I shall be reckoned with gods,
 and my glory, with [that of] the king's sons.
 Neither refined gold, nor gold of Ophir
 [can match my wisdom].

Since Baillet attributed the poem to Michael, that attribution must be briefly discussed.³⁴

Michael is never mentioned in this text. In the War Scroll his name is written on some shields (9.15-16); and after the wicked have gained their one permitted victory, the head priest, trying to cheer up the righteous, promises that El will send Michael to help Israel (17.6-7)—hardly the place [297] for the hero to praise his prowess as a lawyer. Would an archangel have stooped to brag that none of the kings of the east can sit in his heavenly throne, nor any of their nobles come near it? When he goes on to say that no Edomite can rival him in glory, the Edomite he has in mind is probably Herod the Great.³⁵ Consequently, the nobles of the kings of the east, who preceded the Edomite, were probably the Parthian backers of Antigonos, who preceded Herod and was ousted in 37 B.C.E. That the speaker thinks it worthwhile to contrast himself with them probably dates the speech to the early years

²⁹ Reading *yodh* before *mem*, instead of Baillet's *waw*, which he marked as dubious.

³⁰ 'y for negation, here with a final aleph, is dubious in Job 22:30, but common in the Mishna. Its use may have increased because of the need to render the Greek *alpha* privative, e.g., 'y *psr* for *adynton*, 'y *lbwz* for *asylon*, etc.

³¹ Reading *mem* for Baillet's *kaph*, and a medial *peh* for his final one. He marked both his readings as dubious. Also reading *yodh* for his *waw*.

³² Deleting *nun*, probably due to dittography, and reading *beth* for *waw* before *horayah*.

³³ *Gdd*, "attack"; Ps 94.21; CD 1.20. As the dots in the manuscript indicate, the second *waw* should be deleted.

³⁴ These comments follow, with minor changes, my remarks in the conference article.

³⁵ Baillet missed the reference because the aleph of 'edōmi was separated from the *dalet* by a slight gap. Such gaps within words are fairly frequent in this text; see plate VI.I.

of Herod's reign. On palaeographic grounds Baillet thought the manuscript late Herodian, or early Herodian.³⁶

Michael would not have had to emphasize his indifference to money. The speaker suggests that his got him the status of a temple not to be plundered, an honor much sought in late republican times—but not by archangels, who hardly needed it. The speaker may be contrasting himself with the Temple of Jerusalem. It and the entire city had been granted inviolability in Seleucid times (Josephus, *Ant* 13.51), but had not thereby been saved from looting. As Jesus would say, sixty years later, “A greater one than the Temple is here” (Matt 12:6)—a great claim, but not one likely to be attributed to an archangel.

More anticlimaxes follow. The speaker is unique in glory; no sailor could report having seen the likes of him. Were sailors expected to tell of cruising archangels? This glorious being laughs at sorrows and is uniquely able to bear evil, but the only angels who might have wanted to make such claims were the evil ones. The speaker is unparalleled as a legal teacher, and no one dares call him into court. How often are archangels summoned? He has been “reckoned with the gods”; therefore, he was not originally one of them. In glory he ranks with the king's sons, not even with the king!

In summation, Baillet's attribution of the speech to Michael is useful only because it demonstrates that he has not understood it, and so strengthens the case for immediate photographic publication of all the Dead Sea Scrolls. Baillet's work makes the case clear, but its practical utility does nothing to answer the literary question, Who is this new-made deity with all these human virtues?

One thinks immediately of the author of the Thanksgiving Hymns. There are important similarities: the same insistence on sufferings, though not so much pride in bearing them (1QH 3.7-13; 5.8ff.; etc.); the claim to be purified and free of carnal concerns (4.36ff.; 6.3ff.; 7.16ff.); the pride in his irresistible teaching (2.8ff., 8.16ff.; 10.20ff.; 11.4ff.); the claim to have been admitted to the company of angels (3.22-23), to be united with them [298] (fragment 2.10), to be in the lot (*gôrāl*) of the holy and join the company of heaven (11.11f.) and have glory like that of God (9.26).

However, the angels of the Thanksgiving Hymns and those of the War Scroll usually come down into the assemblies of the saints. This speaker's claim to have been taken up and seated in heaven and counted as one of the gods (*'elîm*) is more direct and explicit than anything I remember in the Thanksgiving Hymns or in any other of the Dead Sea Scrolls hitherto published. To continue the contrast with the Thanksgiving Hymns, there is nothing here of the emphasis on

³⁶ Late Herodian: DJD 7, p. 12; early Herodian: DJD 7, p. 45.

revelation, on the secrets of the heavens, the role of the spirit, and the distinction between the (*'elīm*) and the one God “with whom there is no other” (12.11). But the silence of the present text on such points cannot be pressed, since a fragment of twenty-eight lines cannot be expected to touch on many themes. Nevertheless, it is probably better to suppose that the Dead Sea group or groups produced more than one preposterous poet with an exaggerated notion of his own sanctity.

Their frequency should perhaps be attributed to the influence of speculation about deification by ascent toward or into the heavens, speculation probably connected with magical practices that produced extraordinary experiences understood as encounters with gods or angels. Ezekiel’s attack on the Prince of Tyre, and pseudo-Isaiah’s on Lucifer, son of the morning, both seem to have been directed against such practices and consequences in their authors’ environments. In the Enoch books and in the legends about the ascension and enthronement of Moses³⁷ we can see that these ideas (and guess that these practices) have made their way into Judaism. In the fragment discussed here we see that they inspired not only literary fantasies about long-dead heroes but claims by living persons to have made such ascents and to have enjoyed the resultant benefits.

Whether the claims made by the author of 4Q491 ii.1 are completely false, or whether they reflect hallucinations he actually experienced, we have no way of knowing. In either event they prove that fifty or sixty years before Jesus’ crucifixion, men in Palestine were actually making claims of the sort that John was to attribute to Jesus. E. R. Goodenough, who argued for years that the Fourth Gospel expressed an early Palestinian theology derived from mystical Judaism, was a voice crying in the stacks of the Yale library. Everybody—and I among them—thought he was riding his hobby too far. Now, I must wonder. As to Philonic philosophy, which he had in mind, I see little sign of it in Palestine, but I must admit that we have no literary remains from the higher priestly circles (I don’t trust Josephus’ claims). On a more plebeian level, however, it now seems possible and, [299] given the Gospel reports, even likely that Jesus taught a “mystery of the kingdom of God” in which, by means like those known from contemporary magic, initiates were given what they thought was an experience of entering the heavens and they were thus trained to have such visions as those reworked in the transfiguration and resurrection stories. That Jesus ever read 4Q491 ii.1 seems to me utterly unlikely. I doubt that he ever went near Qumran and I think that if he had they would have spat on him—if they hadn’t feared a

³⁷ On these see P. van der Horst, “Moses’ Throne Vision in Ezekiel the Dramatist,” *JJS* 34 (1983) 21-29; idem, *Mnemosyne* 37 (1984) esp. 363-69.

fight with the tough men among his followers. But there is considerable likelihood that both this Qumran document and the mystery material in the Gospels are mushrooms of the same ring, connected not directly but by the ramified root system of popular piety and superstition from which they independently arose.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE TRANSFIGURATION STORY

[39] The story of the transfiguration is found in the Synoptics (Mark 9:2-10; Matt 17:19; Luke 9:28-36) in forms so similar that their dependence on a common source is virtually certain. The source was a text almost identical with that of Mark, since both Matthew and Luke have corrected it in their characteristic ways, while Mark shows no knowledge of the corrections of either.¹

The priority of Mark to Matthew and Luke does not prove that the Markan form and interpretation of the story were the original ones. Caution is dictated by the fact that the story circulated in other forms. We find in 2 Peter 1:16ff. a reference to it that knows nothing of Peter's speech and the cloud, nor of Elijah and Moses and their miraculous disappearance. Luke, too, seems to have known another version beside Mark's. Where else did he get the apostles' sleep (9:32), the departure of Moses and Elijah *before* Peter's speech (9:33)—incompatible with Peter's following proposal to make tabernacles for them and with their yet later disappearance (9:33, 36)?

Since Mark was using a story that circulated in several forms, we have to ask whether or not he interpreted it correctly. He understood it as a confirmation of Peter's pronouncement at Caesarea Philippi that Jesus was "the Messiah" (Mark 8:29). He had used Peter's pronouncement to introduce several sayings by Jesus, but immediately

¹ Specifically: In 9:2 Mark is pleonastic, "privately alone"; Matthew omitted "alone." Luke omitted both. In 9:3 Mark is vulgar, Jesus's clothes glittered "like a washerman on earth cannot whiten so"; both Matthew and Luke omitted this, and both added, but in different words, a statement that his face was also transfigured—both wanted him to equal Moses. In 9:4 Mark, for the sixth time in succession, begins a sentence with *kai*—"And they were talking"; both Matthew and Luke changed the sentence structure, and Luke added an explanation of what was being said. In 9:5 Mark again started with *kai*; both Matthew and Luke again changed the construction. Mark let Peter call Jesus "Rabbi"; Matthew changed the title to "Lord;" Luke to "Master." Still in 9:5, Peter's speech is non-sequential—"It is good for us to be here. And let us make three tabernacles"; Matthew tried to blur the break by inserting, "If you wish." Mark himself apologized for Peter by adding 9:6, "For he did not know what he could say, for they were terrified." Matthew omitted this unedifying picture of the apostle; Luke omitted the last clause, but altered the first to excuse Peter's words as an omen, "Not knowing [the providential significance] of what he says." In 9:7 Mark again begins with *kai* followed by a verb; both Matthew and Luke replaced this by more elegant genitive absolutes, again differently worded. All these changes show independent improvement by Matthew and Luke of a common Markan text; only critics who cannot recognize bad Greek or embarrassing material will fail to understand why Matthew and Luke independently corrected the same places.

after those he went on to the transfiguration story and tied it to the pronouncement story by a time reference (9:2, "And six days after [this discussion]..."). What Peter had conjectured and Jesus (according to Mark) had claimed is now confirmed by the voice from the cloud.

Fortunately, Mark was not a critical student of *Traditionsgeschichte*. He had collected stories and sayings of Jesus from many sources; he put them together with ecumenical indifference to their different terminologies, which reflected the different notions of Jesus held by the different Christian circles whence they had come. Thus to Peter's pronouncement that Jesus was "the Messiah" he made Jesus assent by implication (8:30), but then go on to speak of himself as "the Son of Man." For our purposes, whether or not the "Son of Man" sayings *originally* referred to Jesus is irrelevant; here, the point is that the compiler of Mark understood them, and intended them to be understood, as referring to Jesus, and therefore attached them to Peter's pronouncement as explanations of its import, neglecting the difference of the terms used. Yet more, to confirm both Peter's and Jesus's sayings, he went on to report that the voice from the cloud (God's, of course) declared Jesus "My Son" (9:7), and he made Jesus comment on this by another reference to "the Son of Man" (9:9). For Mark "Messiah," "Son of God," and "Son of Man" were all titles of Jesus and therefore practically equivalent; he makes this clear by equating them in his great trial scene. The High Priest asks, "Are you the Messiah, the Son of the Blessed" [God]? Jesus replies, "I am; and you shall see the Son of Man [me] sitting at the right hand of the Power" (of God—14:61f.). Such editorial equation must not be allowed to conceal from us the different meanings that the terms originally had, as revealed by the different, older, pre-editorial contexts in which they occur. [40]

"The Son," our present concern, is a figure originally at home in miracle stories, where he has nothing to do with either a suffering Son of Man or a triumphant Messiah. Specifically, his native habitat in Mark is:

- 1:11, the voice from heaven at the baptism, "You are my beloved Son"
- 3:11, the demoniacs cry out, "You are the Son of God"
- 5:7, another demoniac calls him "Jesus, Son of the Highest God"
- 9:7, the voice from heaven at the transfiguration, "You are my beloved Son"
- 15:39, the centurion at the cross, seeing Jesus's miraculous death, says, "Truly this man was Son of God."

(With these passages may perhaps belong Jesus's statement in his apocalyptic prophecy, 13:32, that neither the angels "nor the Son" know the date of the End. This shares the notion of "the Son" as a heavenly being, but is so loosely connected with the context that it

seems a gloss. The heading of the whole Gospel, 1:1, is of course editorial, if not later.) These, with 14:61, are *all* the passages in which “Son” (of God) occurs as a title in Mark.

Obviously the “Son” was a power used in exorcism, supposedly the casting out of demons, which was one of the most popular forms of magic. Since Jesus seems to have supported himself and his travelling company largely by exorcisms, it is plausible to find in them the title’s primary role. Thence its appearance in the baptism is explicable by the facts that Jesus, like other magicians, was credited with having/being the power he invoked, and that the baptismal story is a legendary account of how he got/became that power. Like most legends it is a combination of history and imagination. The first part—the report that he was baptized by John—is almost certainly historical; the second—the descent of the spirit and the voice from heaven—is modeled on magical rites by which the magician was supposed to get a spirit as his alter ego. This I have shown in *Jesus the Magician* (Harper and Row, 1978), pp. 96-104, where some magical parallels to the baptismal story are presented in full. Significantly, one of them leads to the magician’s identification as “the Son” (*Papyri graecae magicae*, no. IV, line 535). Since the heavenly voice of the baptism repeats itself in the transfiguration, it would seem that in the transfiguration, too, the Son is this supernatural being. Like the baptismal legend, the transfiguration story proper (as opposed to its Markan framework) knows nothing of his being the Messiah or the Son of Man. Therefore Mark’s use of the story, to confirm both Peter’s identification of Jesus as the Messiah and Jesus’s identification of himself as the Son of Man, was not justified. Mark misinterpreted the story. To find out what it originally meant we must look at what it says.

The Markan story reports:

- (1) date and relation to Peter’s pronouncement
- (2) Jesus’s taking the disciples and ascending the mountain
- (3) the disciples’ vision of Jesus metamorphosed and of two men, identified as Moses and Elijah
- (4) Peter’s saying and his proposal to make tabernacles
- (5) the cloud’s covering them
- (6) the voice from the cloud
- (7) and the disappearance of the men (and, presumably, of Jesus’s glory).

Of these, (1) is secondary (and so, of course, is the conclusion, 9:9, not mentioned in this outline); and (6), the voice, may be secondary—if it were omitted, a good transfiguration story would remain. Otherwise the account seems a unit. It cannot be separated into two stories, one of transfiguration, the other of two men with Jesus; the first would have no [41] conclusion, the second, no beginning. Excision

of Peter's remarks would remove the occasion of the cloud's descent. So verses 1b-7a, possibly 7b, and certainly 8, made up the pre-Markan story.

The common supposition that this is a misplaced resurrection story is unsatisfactory because *the story contains no reference to resurrection*. Moreover, this supposition (a) is supported only by trivial similarities—shining garments, visions of men, etc.—expectable in any report of a vision of supernatural beings; (b) fails to account for the characteristic and essential elements of this story—transfiguration, identification of the men as Elijah and Moses, Peter's speech and its content, the cloud (and the voice, if original), the sudden disappearance; and (c) is based on rationalistic faith, as expressed by Bultmann, that “das visionäre Schauen des leiblich anwesenden Jesus doch ein kaum glaubliche Sache ist” (“that Jesus was seen in visions while he was still present in the body is, after all, something unbelievable.”)² It is historically unjustified to suppose that things unbelievable in modern Marburg could not have been experienced in ancient Palestine, or that the failure of Bultmann's disciples to see him robed in glory proves that Jesus's disciples must have been equally incredulous. What is really *kaum glaubliche* is that such a statement should have been made by a modern teacher of religion, even if only of New Testament, who might have been expected to know something of the phenomena of ecstatic cults. However, there it is in print, and we should accept the evidence of Bultmann's text, as we should of Mark's.

Besides these decisive objections to supposing the transfiguration a resurrection story, there is another, less probative, but more important: the resurrection stories have to be accounted for. If it is difficult to believe that a man's disciples saw him transfigured while he was alive, it is yet more difficult to believe that they saw him so after he had been arrested, “crucified, dead, and buried.” All the talk about Christian faith as “based on the resurrection experience” has overlooked the fact that the resurrection experience was presumably based on Christian faith. If not, why did it occur? If it was customary to see your defunct teacher risen from the dead, why have we no resurrection stories about the great rabbis? Some of them, too, were executed; their disciples, too, believed in resurrection and life after death. But they did not reappear. Evidently there was something peculiar in the pre-resurrection experiences of Jesus's disciples that prepared them to have the resurrection visions. Such similarities as there are between the resurrection stories and that of the

² Rudolph Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958), 4th ed., p. 278, n.1.

transfiguration suggest that the peculiar preparatory experiences were of the sort the transfiguration story describes.

A review of the other “explanations” proposed for the transfiguration story would be a waste of time; they are chiefly of interest as evidence of the proponents’ ignorance. So, for instance, the supposition that the reference to “tabernacles” connects the tale with the Feast of Tabernacles. In that feast the tabernacles are made to eat—and sometimes, sleep—in. There is no indication of such intentions in the transfiguration story, and if they had been latent they would have dictated *one* tabernacle for the whole party, not one for each of the three dignitaries. Were they going to be so uncivil as to eat alone? The most to be said for this theory is that some other conjectures have been even worse.

To avoid such nonsense, let us begin by asking what sense the Markan story would have had for Christians familiar with the books now in the Old Testament. They might well have seen, in Jesus’s taking three chosen disciples for ascent of a mountain, a parallel to Moses’s ascent of Sinai with Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu (Exod 24:9) leading to their vision of “the God of Israel”; after this Moses went up alone, entered a cloud, and received [42] the Law for making *the* “tabernacle,” a tent-temple in which God would dwell among his people (Exod 24:18; 25:1ff.). Like Jesus, Moses was metamorphosed on the mountain: his face still shone when he came down (Exod 34:30) and, as we have seen, Matthew and Luke added to Mark’s story the claim that Jesus’s face was transfigured, too (Matt 17:2; Luke 9:29). They, at least, certainly saw the parallelism. However, it entails a problem: Moses saw God and received the Law; Jesus saw only Moses and Elijah, and received nothing. Does not this make Moses greater than Jesus and, if so, is not this interpretation unlikely for an early Christian story? Yet the parallelism is undeniable. Consequently the point must be in the differences. Moses’s companions saw only “the God of Israel”; Jesus’s companions saw Jesus in glory. Jesus, therefore, is greater than the God of Israel. The point is driven home by the story that Moses and Elijah, the Law and the Prophets, appeared as Jesus’s subordinates. Moreover, when Peter was so foolish as to suggest making three tabernacles—tent-temples—for the worship of Jesus, the Law, and the Prophets, the cloud of the true, hidden God, the Father of Jesus, came down and His voice declared that Jesus (alone) was His Son and Jesus (alone) was to be obeyed (“heard”—in the Greek for “Hear ye him,” *akouete autou*, the “him” is emphatic, [while the whole phrase echoes Deut 18:15: Jesus supersedes Moses³]). Thereupon the Law and the Prophets (Moses and Elijah) vanished and the disciples

³ [This last observation I owe to Prof. Earle Ellis].

were left with Jesus alone to be worshipped, the present deity, the sole and sufficient guide of Christian life.

Thus the pre-Markan purpose of the Christian story used by Mark was to establish Jesus's supernatural status and authority. This also is the stated purpose of 2 Peter in using it (1:16—the *parousia* is that of a present god). Thus, too, it appears that the voice was part, indeed, the climax, of the early Christian story, which was propaganda for a Jewish-Christian libertine group—a group that thought the Law and the Prophets had vanished from “the freedom in which Christ has made us free,” as Paul put it (Gal 5:1). Such a group was, at least in this respect, close to Paul's theological position, if not actually Pauline. But where did the story that the group used for its propaganda come from? And why did they use it?

As to where it came from, there is no doubt. It came, as did the voice and the descent of the spirit in the baptism story, from the world of magic. It exemplifies a well-known type of story in which someone is involved in a magical company or operation or landscape—a witches' sabbath, or fairyland, or the like—which suddenly vanishes when the wrong word is said or the wrong action performed. The most famous example in English is probably Burns's *Tam O'Shanter*. Reports of witchcraft trials swarm with such yarns.⁴ The root of such stories is not only the experience of waking from dreams, but also that of the sudden breaking of hysteria, and that of the sudden return to the normal world from hypnotic experiences. Since these latter were the magicians' stock in trade—and they also dealt in dreams—the connection between such stories and the world of magic was not accidental. Indeed, it was so close that we can feel justified in concluding, because the magical stories do not have the heavenly voice, that the source of the transfiguration story likewise did not have it. It was probably a Christian addition, perhaps taken over from the baptism story.

Why, however, should Jesus's followers have chosen to use the prototype of the transfiguration story for their propaganda about Jesus? Its essential elements—the transformation of Jesus's appearance and the sudden disappearance of his interlocutors and his glory—both suggest that it may have been an illusion; thereby they undercut its credibility and effectiveness. The problem is made more difficult by the fact that, although the story as it now stands in Mark cannot be dissected (except by removing the introduc[43]tion, conclusion, and voice) other stories resembling one or another of its

⁴ See M. del Rio, *Disquisitionum magicarum*, e.g. 11.16. The oldest evidence I know of the type's existence is the parody of it in Horace, *Satires* 1.8, pointed out to me by Ms. Diana Delia.

elements in isolation seem to have been going around. Luke knew one in which the disciples fell asleep and awoke to see Jesus in glory talking with two men who then went off of their own accord. A story of a voice from heaven that publicly testified to Jesus, appears in John 12:28; something similar may have been adapted, but only slightly, to the Markan story, by the writer of 2 Peter 1:16f. But if the elements thus existed separately, why was not something more edifying made of them?

To suggest that the blessed Evangelists, not to mention early Christians in general, wanted to tell what they believed to be the truth, is to strike at the very root of Formgeschichte. Nevertheless, I think it likely that the transfiguration story was not made up of other stories of events like its component parts, but was told as it was because it was basically a report of something that once happened. It has the typical structure of the magical stories, because Jesus practiced magic. He once took three disciples up a mountain for an initiation ceremony that led, presumably through hypnosis, to a vision of him in glory with [one or] two other figures.⁵ The ceremony required silence. When one of the disciples, excited by the vision, spoke, the hypnosis was broken and the enchantment ended.

People who tell the truth commonly improve on it. The disciples had to be identified, and for the circle from which most of Mark's stories came they could only have been Peter, James, and John. The speaker must have been Peter, as usual. To emphasize how innocuous his remark was, it was "reported"—"Rabbi, it's good we're here." The interlocutors, too, had to be identified; they turned out to be Moses himself, and, of course, Elijah. The one creative thinker, not to say "liar," who went beyond such innocent specification was, as might be expected, a theologian—the libertine apologist who saw the opportunity of subordinating the Law and the Prophets to Jesus, and drove home his point by having Peter propose to make temples for all three, using this proposal to precipitate the disappearance of the Law and the Prophets, and introducing the voice of God to contradict the implication of Peter's proposal. (By these changes he produced a non-sequitur: "It's good we're here. And let us make three tabernacles." No matter; theologians are tolerant of non-sequiturs.) A generation later Mark knew this form of the story and thought he saw in it a

⁵ [Mark's report that the beings seen were "Elias, with Moses" (9:4) suggests that the original story was of an appearance of Elijah only (there were many such). The Pauline reviser added Moses to make Jesus take precedence of the Law and the Prophets. When remodeling the old story he thoughtlessly introduced Moses *as an addition*, thus leaving a trace of his work, but in his freely composed explanation of Peter's speech (9:5d), he of course put them in the right order ("Moses ... and Elijah") and both Matt 17.3 and Luke 9:30 corrected Mark 9:4 accordingly].

confirmation of Peter's messianic pronouncement and Jesus's references to himself as "Son of Man." Mark's use, followed by Matthew's and Luke's, preserved the story, but the social history of Christianity refuted the libertine theologian. Moses and Elijah did not vanish. The legalist and Judaizing elements in the Church were strong enough to preserve the Law and the Prophets as parts of the Christian sacred tradition. Hence the meaning of the libertine story became incredible and Christian exegetes went on for almost two thousand years trying to find other interpretations.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

THE REASON FOR THE PERSECUTION OF PAUL AND THE OBSCURITY OF ACTS

[261] The Eranos Yearbooks, for which Professor Scholem did so much, have shown by many examples how certain patterns recur in the history of religion. This recurrence greatly increases the importance of Scholem's specialized studies, for instance, of the Sabbatians and of the Frankists. Not only have these studies clarified areas hitherto obscure in the history of Judaism, but they have provided students of all religions with exemplary dissections of extreme cases of religious pathology, cases in which, just because they are extreme, it is possible to see the full development and understand the essential nature of tendencies that in less extreme cases remain obscure and sometimes are barely recognizable.

One such case is the early history of Christianity, in which we find a similar complex of Messianic claims and antinomian consequences, secret doctrines and subterranean conventicles. In *Jesus' Attitude Towards the Law*,¹ I argued that the essentials of this complex went back to Jesus himself, that his teaching included not only two types of legal interpretation—one for ordinary Jews, the other for the crowds who followed him, whom he considered the bridal party of the Messiah (Mark 2:19)—but also a secret initiation by which he admitted his intimates to the Kingdom of God and thereby enabled them to escape from the authority of the Law (Luke 16:16; Matt 11:11).

One of my arguments for this theory was drawn from the persecution of the early Christians by their fellow Jews. I argued that this persecution is too well attested to be denied (2 Cor 11:24f.; 1 Thess 2:15f.; Mark 13:9 and parallels; Matt 23:34; Luke 11:49; John 7:13; 9:22; 12:42; 16:2; 19:38; Acts 4:2ff.; 5:17ff.; 6:11f.; 8:1ff.; 12:3 and many passages to be cited later in this essay). It is also too serious to be explained by the supposition that Jesus' teaching differed [262] from that of the other teachers of his time only in such minor details as we find disputed between the authorities of Rabbinic literature. Similarly, the persecutions cannot be explained solely by reference to the peculiar Messianic beliefs of the Christians, since peculiarities of Messianic belief seem to have been matters of comparative indifference in the first century, *provided* they did not lead to

¹ Published in the report of the Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies.

peculiarities of practice.² What we must find, therefore, is some peculiarity of primitive Christian practice sufficient to explain the persecution. This peculiarity, I argued, was Jesus' teaching of freedom from the Law and the libertine consequences which he and his followers drew from it.

In the present article I wish to support the above argument by special consideration of the case of Paul, whose letters are the earliest Christian documents known to us (probably earlier by a quarter of a century than any other Christian text now preserved as an independent document).

As to the main outlines of Paul's teaching concerning the Law there is little doubt—they are set forth at length in his own letters, especially Romans and Galatians. It is worth remarking, however, that Paul is not antinomian. The Mosaic Law, he insists, is holy and spiritual (Rom 7:12, 16); it not only was, but still is, valid; even Christians who accept its yoke are bound to follow it in *all* details (Gal 5:3). But no man is capable of obeying it perfectly (Rom 3:20; 7:21ff.; Gal 2:16; 3:11). Therefore the practical effect of its revelation of the demands of God is merely to turn man from an unintentional to a deliberate transgressor (Rom 3:20; 5:13; 7:7). This, indeed, was why God gave it, that men might recognize their sinfulness and so be led to Jesus, the true means of justification (Rom 5:20; Gal 3:19-24). Liberation from the Law is effected by a magical ceremony, baptism, in which the recipient is identified with Jesus (Rom 6:1-11; Gal 2:19f.; 3:27). Jesus had died and thereby both satisfied and escaped the Law; he had also risen again and was now living a new life on which the Law had no claims; the believer identified with him by baptism participated at once in the death, the escape, and the new life of freedom (*loc. cit.* Rom 7:5ff.; 8:10f.). The notion that death sets a man free from the claims of the Law probably came to Paul from his Pharisaic background (cf. *Shabbath* 151b etc.). The free Christian might, indeed, condescend to go through the [263] forms of legal observance, either to win converts (1 Cor 9:20) or to keep from offending conservative Christians (1 Cor 10:28-32) but this was mere pretense, and did not modify the essential doctrine.

It is at once apparent—especially in the light of the better documented Sabbatian and Frankist histories—that these doctrines would immediately lead to serious trouble. Especially dangerous would be the permission of occasional conformity, which could easily be made an excuse for hypocrisy and would make it possible for legally impure and untrustworthy men to penetrate observant communities. It

² Evidence for this will be found in my article "What Is Implied by the Variety of Messianic Figures," volume one, chapter twelve, above.

therefore stands to reason that these doctrines, which appear from Paul's letters to have been his major concern, were also the major reason for his persecution.

However, it is satisfying to find this inference supported by the statements of Paul himself. It is true that he once refers to his preaching of "a crucified Messiah" as "a scandal to the Jews" (1 Cor 1:23) without stopping to explain why it should be so. And it is also true that this verse has been made the hair on which to hang mountains of nonsense about Jewish resistance to the substitution of a spiritual Saviour for a military Messiah. But the actual Jewish indifference to vagaries of Messianic speculation has been noticed above, and it requires that another explanation be found for 1 Corinthians 1:23. That explanation is indicated by Galatians 5:11: "And as for me, brethren, if I still preach circumcision [*sc.* as I did when a Pharisee], why am I now persecuted?" Evidently Paul's nomistic Christian opponents had been claiming that he secretly admitted circumcision was necessary for salvation, but concealed this doctrine from his pagan converts in the elementary stages of their instruction, so as to win more. Paul's reply to this takes for granted that the only reason anybody could allege for his persecution would be his rejection of the Law (not his teaching that the Messiah had been crucified). Of course he *did* teach that Jesus was the Messiah, and of course the fact that the Messiah had been crucified was essential to his theology, but it was essential merely as a means to an end: It was merely the way to death, and death to resurrection, and resurrection to the new life free of the Law, and this life and this freedom were what mattered. They were the experiential elements, the sources of the power of Paul's theology; the preceding elements were merely his attempt to explain and justify the free life.

The state of affairs is even clearer in Galatians 6:12 where Paul is [264] attacking his opponents: "All those who want to make a good appearance in the flesh, they compel you to be circumcised, only in order that they may not be persecuted for the cross of the Messiah." These opponents were Christians; they must have been preaching that Jesus was the Messiah; there is no indication that they denied his crucifixion (and had they done so, Paul certainly would have attacked them for it). So they, like Paul, were preaching a crucified Messiah. Therefore the verse must indicate that they could do so with impunity, provided they took care to pretend to observe the Law; i.e. provided they did not draw, from Jesus' death, Paul's conclusions. The cause of the persecution, therefore, was not the preaching of the crucifixion, but the open teaching and practice of freedom from the Law. Notice Paul's charge that even those who are circumcised do not, themselves, keep the Law (Gal 6:13). Evidently there were elements of libertinism

in even the most conservative of early Christian parties, a fact which strengthens our supposition that this side of early Christian thought went back to Jesus himself.

If the above explanation of the persecution of Paul be correct, we have next to explain why Acts ignores it. Acts constantly represents Paul as persecuted by the Jews (about twenty instances, against two in which persecutions are organized by gentiles—and those two are attributed to personal concerns, 16:19; 19:25). Yet in most cases Acts gives no cause at all for the persecution by Jews, or insists that Paul is utterly innocent, without saying, of what (9:29; 14:2, 19; 17:13; 20:3, 23; 21:4, 11; 23:12, 29; 25:7f., 9, 11, 26; 26:31f.; 28:17, 19, 22). This failure to specify the charges suggests that they may have been justified.

Next most often the blame is put on the Jews: They are jealous of their position as God's chosen people and do not wish to share it with the gentiles, therefore they make trouble when they see the gentiles being taught or converted (13:45ff.; 17:5; 22:21f.; 26:21). This theme appears in Romans 10:19; 11:14 (where the tone is more favourable than in Acts—the jealousy of the Jews may lead them, too, to conversion) and in 1 Thessalonians 2:16 (where the tone is even more hostile than that of Acts, which has sometimes occasioned doubts of the passage's, or the letter's, authenticity). It is probable that the sudden conversion of large numbers of outsiders would produce some hostile reaction in an ancient synagogue, as in a modern church. But the exaggeration of the theme in Acts is to be explained by polemic theology, akin to that in 1 Thessalonians, as well as by [265] apologetic concern. If 1 Thessalonians 2:16 be genuine, as seems likely, it may have inspired Acts' development of the motif.

On four occasions Acts indicates the charges made by Jews to the Roman authorities: They accuse Paul of saying Jesus, not Caesar, is King (17:7), of teaching a form of religion contrary to the law (18:13; 25:18f.), and of inciting to riot and trying to profane the Temple (24:5f.). These charges Acts represents as false. The first of them would hardly have accounted for persecution by the Jews (which is here our concern), while the third and fourth—even if true—would have applied in only one occasion. As for the second charge: Acts represents the Roman governor as ruling that the law concerned is the Jewish Law and therefore throwing the case out of court. The author's purpose here is to tell us that the charge as made in the Roman court was unjustified (18:15). He indicates indirectly—at most—the real cause of the Jews' hostility to Paul.

Acts makes Paul claim in his Jerusalem trial and subsequent apologies that he is persecuted because he preaches the resurrection of the dead (23:6; 24:21; 26:23 + a suffering Messiah!; 28:20?). With these may be associated 9:20ff., where the persecution is aroused by Paul's

preaching that Jesus is the Son of God and the Messiah. "Son of God" is probably here to be understood as a Messianic title³ and the alleged offence is probably in all cases the same: identifying the Messiah with a passible man. The transformation of this into preaching "the resurrection of the dead" (one of the bases for the identification) is represented as a clever idea of Paul's, by which he got some Pharisees on his side (23:6-9). But if only the Sadducees objected to preaching "the resurrection of the dead" (cf. Acts 4:2), then this, too, could not be the common cause of most of the Jewish persecution, since it seems unlikely that the Sadducees were widely influential in the Diaspora, where most of the persecutions arose. Once again we have an interesting concord with Paul's letters. Paul in 1 Corinthians 1:23 specified his preaching of "a crucified Messiah" as "a scandal to the Jews," without saying why; Acts again develops the motif, also without explaining it.

And in Acts, as in Paul, the explanation comes out elsewhere. In Acts' perhaps wishful picture of the friendly, confidential conversation between James and Paul, James is made to warn Paul that he (Paul) is everywhere accused of teaching apostacy from the Law (21:21). [266] The same charge is the essential exaggerated by the Jews who try to lynch him in the Temple (21:28—teaching against the people, the Law, and the Temple; trying to profane the Temple). It must be emphasized that these are the only instances in Acts where the complaints are stated simply and directly; in the other instances when any reasons whatever are given for the persecutions, we have, not what the Jews said, but what Acts' believed their motive to be, or else we have material distorted by obvious concerns—charges made to influence the Romans, pleadings in answer to these charges. Only here do we have frank statements, made directly to Paul, of the reason for the hostility against him. And these two statements coincide, in essential, with Paul's own understanding of the matter, as indicated in Galatians 5:11 and 6:12.

But there is more: After letting James state, as something Paul's enemies say, that Paul is everywhere teaching *the Jews* to cease observing the Law (21:21), Acts goes on to make James recommend that Paul make a public display of his observance of the Law, so that γινώσκονται πάντες ὅτι ὢν κατήχηται περὶ σοῦ οὐδέν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ στοιχεῖς καὶ αὐτὸς φυλάσσων τὸν νόμον (21:24). This is beautifully ambiguous. It may mean, "All will know that there is nothing (no truth whatever) in the things they have been told about you, but you yourself always observe the Law." Or it may mean, "All will know that the things they have been told about you are unimportant, but that you

³ So E. Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Göttingen 1959), *ad loc.*

yourself go along with observing the law (on occasion)”. Now on one occasion the arrival in Antioch of James’ representatives had occasioned a scandal. When they came, all the Jewish leaders of the Christian community, including Peter, who had formerly been eating with the gentile converts, suddenly began to be fussy about purity and to eat by themselves. Only Paul continued to eat with the gentiles, and not only that, he gave Peter a *public* calling down for hypocrisy (Gal 2:11-21, ἐμπροσθεν πάντων, 14). Presumably James’ representatives reported all this when they got back to Jerusalem. It is also likely that Paul’s enemies forwarded to the authorities in Jerusalem copies of his angrier letters (Galatians, for instance!). So James must have had a pretty good idea of Paul’s actual position, and the request in Acts 21:23f. must have been in fact for a demonstration of occasional conformity. Once again we find the picture given by Acts following the principles laid down in Paul’s letters, this time in 1 Corinthians 9:19ff. [267]

Being free from all [laws] I submitted myself to all [observances] in order that I might win over the more [converts], and I became to the Jews, like a Jew, in order that I might win over Jews; to those under the Law, like [a man] under the Law—although I was not, myself, under the Law—in order that I might win over those under the Law; to those who did not observe the Law, like a man who did not observe it... in order that I might win over the nonobservant... I became all things to all men in order that by all means I might save some.

The same principle reappears just below the surface of Acts in the famous episode of 16:1-3. Passing through Lycaonia Paul found a reputable young man named Timothy, the son of a Jewess who had joined the Christian sect and of a Greek father. Paul decided to take him as a companion, therefore “he circumcised him *because of the Jews thereabouts, for they all knew that his father was a Greek*”. Here the superficial reader will find—and was meant to find—a clear case of Paul’s obedience to the Law. But what is the meaning of the italicized words? They are an apology for this obedience; they indicate clearly that if the Jews had not known, Paul would not have circumcised. This was another case of occasional conformity.

The same sort of apology, tacked on, in the same way, after a similar example of legal observance, is to be found in the chapter just before the Timothy story—Acts 15. Here we have the account of the council in Jerusalem to discuss the question, whether or not gentile converts should be required to keep the Mosaic Law. After the discussion (which we need not here discuss) Acts represents James as formulating the following proposal:

It is my opinion that those of the gentiles who have turned to God [*sc.* to us] should not be burdened [by being required to observe the Law], *but*

that we should write to them to abstain from [food] polluted [by having been offered to] idols and from irregular sexual connections and from things strangled and from blood, *for Moses, from long since, has those who preach him in the synagogues, being read [there] every Sabbath* (15:19ff.).

The italicized words here have the same structure, sense and function as do those in 16:3, quoted above. They are again an appended apology for occasional conformity. If Moses had not had his advocates everywhere, James would not have recommended observance of these conspicuous details of the Law. But “because of the Jews,” who are everywhere ready to make trouble, gentile Christians should be ordered to keep up these minimal appearances מִפְּנֵי דַרְכֵי שְׁלוֹם. [268] Here again the thought of Acts reflects the principle stated in 1 Corinthians 9:19ff. We can therefore understand, not only that Paul accepted the outcome of the council, as both Acts (15:25) and Paul himself (Gal 2:1-10) declare, but also that Paul could maintain it had made no change in his essential doctrine (*ibid.*). The question as to the historicity of Acts’ account of the council is not here raised; nor is it here in point. The point is that Acts’ account of the council—be it true or false—is shaped by that principle of occasional conformity, not to say hypocrisy, of which the classic expression is to be found in Paul’s letters.

Why then, it may be asked, if Acts knew Paul’s letters and followed Paul’s advice, was it so reticent as to Paul’s essential teaching? Probably because it was written for catechumens or Christians in the earliest stage of initiation, who had just finished the catechumenate (Luke 1:1-4; Acts 1:1). By the time of Acts, the doctrine of liberation from the Law had produced some extremely embarrassing libertine consequences⁴—indeed, it had already begun to do so in Paul’s time (Rom 3:8; 6:1-23; 1 Cor 4:14-5:13, etc.). Against these, respectable, middle-class Christianity (that cultural level which the author of Acts represents) was closing the ranks, and the letters and doctrines of Paul were being pushed into the background.⁵ Acts, therefore, treats Paul with Paul’s own medicine. The doctrine of liberty from the Law governs the action, at important moments, but is never expounded. The persecutions which resulted from it are left unexplained, or are attributed to what were actually minor factors—Jewish jealousy of gentile converts, Sadducean dislike of the teaching of resurrection. The

⁴ These will be discussed in Chapter IV of my edition of a letter attributed to Clement of Alexandria.

⁵ For studies of the later stages of this process see A. Benoit, *Le baptême chrétien au second siècle* (Paris 1953); C. Barrett, “Things Sacrificed to Idols,” *New Testament Studies* 11 (1965), pp. 138ff.

story told by the book is notoriously puzzling, because its underlying principle was deliberately concealed.

CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

PAULINE WORSHIP AS SEEN BY PAGANS

[241] In *Jesus the Magician*¹ I argued that the earliest pagan reports of persecutions of Christians—those in Suetonius, Tacitus, and Pliny the younger²—indicate that the persecutors believed the Christians were practicing magic. Here I want to explain their belief by reviewing the earliest evidence for Christian congregational practices and indicating how these practices would have been understood by the ancient Christians' neighbors. This does not imply that there were not other grounds for the persecutors' belief. Magic seems to have figured in the charges for which Jesus was condemned;³ it certainly was prominent in the propaganda against his cult that was spread by rival Jewish groups.⁴ Such propaganda doubtless shaped the expectations with which many outsiders viewed early Christianity, and people are apt to see what they expect to see. Nevertheless, Pliny's famous letter shows that Roman authorities sometimes tried to get beyond rumor to the facts. Accordingly we should ask what the facts would have looked like to men of the Greco-Roman world in the late first and early second centuries, a world in which magic was practiced on all levels of society and almost universally believed to be effective. As "the facts" we may take, with some reservations, the evidence about Christian congregations to be found in Paul's relatively unquestioned letters—Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, and Philemon. [242]

At or near the beginning of membership in a Christian cell-group stood baptism. Paul in Romans 6:3-11 appeals to what he hopes will be taken as the common Christian understanding of the rite.

Don't you know that such of us as were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? Therefore we were buried with him, by baptism into death, so that, just as Christ was raised from the dead... we too may live a new (kind of) life. For if we were planted with him in the image of his death, then we shall also (live in the image) of his resurrection... Thus you, too, consider yourselves dead to sin, but living, in Christ Jesus, to God.⁵

¹ Morton Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1978) 50ff. and the notes on p. 180.

² Suetonius *Nero* 16.2; Tacitus *Annals* 15.44.3-8, Pliny *Letters* 10.96.

³ *Jesus the Magician*, 41.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 54-60.

⁵ This argument seems to have been originally designed as a proof for the resurrection, perhaps in connection with the dispute reflected in 1 Corinthians 15. However, as the context shows, Paul is here reusing it as an argument to prove that the Christian life *here*

Such rites, beginning with an imitation death and ending with resurrection by receipt of a divine spirit, to a new life, are familiar in magical material. One, for instance, directs the initiate to lie down on a roof naked and wrap himself up “like a mummy” before saying a prayer in which he describes himself as a soldier of his god, killed by the gods of this world (cf. 2 Cor 6:7; 10:4; 1 Cor 2:8) and asks the god he serves (Typhon) to raise him from the dead. In response to his prayer, as a sign of his communion with the god, a bird will descend on him. At this sign he should arise, clothe himself in white (as raised from the dead), sacrifice incense, and pray, saying, “I have been united with thy holy form, I have been empowered by thy holy name, I have received the effluence of thy goodness, Lord, God of gods,” etc. “Having done these things,” the text concludes, “go down (from the roof) having attained a nature equal to the god’s.”⁶ A similar ritual of imitation death, union with the god, and resurrection to “a new, superhuman life” has been reconstructed by H. Lewy from the *Chaldaean Oracles*,⁷ and the same pattern seems to have been followed in [243] some Isiac and Mithraic initiations.⁸ Both the Egyptian and the Mithraic parallels may be reflected by the engravings of ancient magical gems.⁹

Paul referred more briefly to the same notions of baptism in Gal 3:27 (“Those of you who have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ”) and 1 Cor 12:13 (“We have all been baptized by one spirit into one body”); they are the background of his remarks on the subject in 1 Cor 1:13-7 (explaining his insistence that nobody was baptized “into” *his* name), and are echoed by Col 2:12 (“being buried with him in baptism, in which you were also raised with him”).¹⁰ His question,

and now is of a different sort than before baptism, and that the change of nature should be reflected in a new morality.

⁶ *Papyri graecae magicae* (henceforth *PGM*), ed. K. Preisendanz. (2d ed., ed. A. Henrichs; Leipzig, 1973-74) 2 vols., cited by papyrus number (in this collection) and line. Here 4.154-220ff. Salvation by union with a god’s form appears in 2 Cor 3:18, cf. Phil 2:6. There are numerous other NT parallels, see *Jesus the Magician*, 193, first note to p. 104. For parallels to Paul’s equation of “being in” Christ and “having” Christ or the spirit, see R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* (3d ed., 1927; reprint ed., Darmstadt, 1956) 73.

⁷ H. Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy* (Cairo, 1956) 204-13; (recently reedited by M. Tardieu).

⁸ Apuleius *Metamorphoses* 11.23 with the commentaries of Griffiths (1975) and Hildebrand (1842); “Lampridius,” *Commodus* 9, with those of Casaubon and Salmasius (in the Hacks edition, Leiden, 1671).

⁹ E.g., A. Delatte and P. Derchain, *Bibliothèque Nationale ... Les Intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris, 1964) 89-104; 221-31.

¹⁰ Further expressions of important elements of the notion, especially death and resurrection in Christ, appear in 1 Cor 6:14 (read *exegeirei*, the *lectio difficilior*; 2 Cor 5:15ff.; Gal 2:19f.; 5:24; Phil 1:21; etc).

“What will those do who are baptized on behalf of the dead?” (i.e., if the dead are not raised, what will be the sense of the baptism? 1 Cor 15:29) shows another magical notion—that ceremonies performed on a substitute for an intended object will affect the object. This notion, the basis of all substitutionary magic, is so familiar that it need not be illustrated.

Between Christian baptism and the recognizedly magical rites there was an important difference. In the other magical (and/or mystery) rites known to us, the initiate’s death and resurrection were not conceived as participation in events previously experienced by the god. The death was symbolic of the initiate’s present condition; union with the deity was attained only by/in resurrection. The Christian’s god, however, had been executed, died, and been raised; the initiate’s union with him began with magical participation in his death, and *thence* in his resurrection. Because of this peculiar history of its god, Christianity was allied with another type of magic, that by which the recalled spirits (*not* resurrected bodies) of executed criminals and of persons who had died unmarried or childless were invoked to aid the magician.¹¹ Jesus belonged to all three of these categories. The spirits of such persons were the most powerful of the *nekydaimones*, “spirits of the dead,” who might be acquired as *paredroi*—spirits in attendance on the magician and ready to obey his orders, so that no [244] considerable rite was needed to activate them.¹² Such a “familiar”—to use the old English term—might play a role in the magician’s life not dissimilar to that of “the spirit” in Paul’s. That Paul recognized the similarity is shown by his recommendation of celibacy on the ground that it would free the Christian from distractions and make him *euparedron* for the Lord—well suited to be joined with Jesus as a *paredros*.¹³ In modern terms, the lack of normal sexual satisfaction is likely to lead to compensatory connections with spirits, hence the requirement of celibacy by many shamanistic and priestly groups has probably some functional justification. The medicine man is more likely to get the spirit if he foregoes the flesh. It is worth noting that the ordinary magician got a spirit as *his paredros*, but Paul wants the Christian to be the *paredros* of the spirit (i.e., of Jesus). Since a *paredros* is properly a judge’s advisor/associate, literally “one who sits beside” him, Paul’s insistence that the Lord is to have the central seat—the spirit is to be

¹¹ *PGM* 4.333ff.; 1391ff.; 1871ff.; 2730ff.; 5.330ff.; 58.

¹² *PGM* 4.2000-99 is the best example.

¹³ 1 Cor 7:35. As Lietzmann suggested (*ad loc*) the word seems to have been coined by Paul. The earliest subsequent usages (Dorotheus of Gaza, Pseudo-Macarius) are based on this text, of which they show the developed orthodox interpretation. The editors of *TWNT* omitted the word as of no theological importance.

in control, not the man—indicates an important difference between Pauline Christianity and ordinary magic, cf. Rev 3:21.

Not all *paredroi* were constant companions. Many had to be called when needed for one or another purpose. It is clear from Paul's descriptions that the services in Corinth were largely devoted to calling spirits and to expression of utterances the spirits were thought to inspire. Fossilized remains of such practices can still occasionally be found in Christian services; "Come, Holy Ghost," is a hymn of which the meaning would shock the average congregation only a little less than would the Holy Ghost's arrival. Paul's converts, however, were, he says, "wild about spirits" (1 Cor 14:12) and from the rules he had to lay down in 1 Cor 14:26-40 it seems that his suggestion of what unbelievers would think if they walked into a Christian meeting ("that you are mad" 14:23) was on the charitable side. We should have expected, "that you are possessed" (*daimonate*), but Paul's pretensions prohibited the implicit comparison of the *daimonia* with the spirits who came to the Christians. Notice the plural, "spirits," in 14:12. It appears also in 14:32 and 12:10, where "distinguishing between spirits" is one of God's gifts to the Church. [245]

This contradicts Paul's repeated accounts of all Christian utterance as the work of "the one and the same Spirit" (of Jesus).¹⁴ Insistence on a single source fits Paul's theology and is motivated by his need to minimize the rivalries in his churches, hence the discordant passages, indicating contacts with a considerable number of spirits, not all of them good, are the more trustworthy and presumably reflect what was actually going on. Paul himself, at the beginning of 1 Corinthians 12, gave a rule of thumb by which spirits could be judged: If anyone speaking "with a spirit" says "Jesus is anathema," that spirit is not "of God." This shows how far the variations went. Other references in 1 John 4:1; 1 Tim 4:1, and magical material,¹⁵ to things that must be done to make sure of getting the sort of spirit one wants, prove that the problem, and, therefore, the practice that occasioned it, were not peculiar to the Pauline churches. On the other hand, they were rare in ordinary pagan worship as distinct from magic. Ordinary pagan worship was a matter of offerings (sacrifices, libations, incense) and petitionary prayer; on solemn occasions a choir might sing hymns praising the gods and asking them to be present at the sacrifice and favor the petitioners. Such requests meant no more than "Come, Holy Ghost," now does. A Pauline service devoted to effectual invocation of spirits for observable results differed from such respectable, public

¹⁴ 1 Cor 12:11; cp. 12:4-9; Rom 12:5ff. In 1 Cor 12:28 all are gifts of the one God.

¹⁵ *PGM* 7.635 (a spell to get "the true Asclepius and not some deceptive demon instead of the god"); 8.81 (a spell to get "*the true prophet*"). Iamblichus *De mysteriis* 2.3ff. gives a long list of criteria by which spirits of different sorts can be distinguished.

performances, as a voodoo ritual differs from solemn high Morning Prayer.

The plurality of spirits in Pauline and other Christian passages indicates that Paul's peculiar theology, which represents *all* aspects of the Christian life as the work of "the one" constantly indwelling and ever-active Spirit, is an idealization—perhaps a projection of Paul's own spiritual ambition, but also propaganda for himself. It enabled him to claim, like other magicians, that his utterances were those of his god,¹⁶ that he had the mind of his god,¹⁷ that he [246] was the revelation of his god,¹⁸ etc. Such claims, however, implicitly contradict his many other claims to special revelations¹⁹ which, if he had had the mind of Christ, should have been needless. In fact, his spiritual state seems to have been anything but stable. He spoke with tongues more than any of the Corinthians (1 Cor 14:18). Accordingly we should suppose that for Paul, as well as for the other members of the Corinthian church, its meetings were largely group *séances* of which the most important elements were invocation of spirits, the utterances they inspired, and the changes they produced in the personalities of the possessed—this notwithstanding the fact that all members had received "the spirit" in baptism. The same contradiction persists in "Pentecostal" and similar sects to the present day; apparently the intellectual problem causes no great difficulty to members of such groups.

The content of a typical Pauline prayer meeting is outlined by Paul himself in 1 Cor 14:26: "When you come together each has a psalm, a teaching, a revelation, a tongue, an interpretation." This list seems to begin with liturgical elements imitative of those in traditional Jewish worship—psalms, instruction—go on through new revelations to the climax of inarticulate utterance ("speaking with tongues") and then subside to articulate "explanation" of what had just been gibbered. Invocation of spirits to prophesy was perhaps the commonest of ancient magical practices.²⁰ It regularly led to revelations, commonly given by a medium who reported what he saw or what the god said to

¹⁶ 2 Cor 13:3; contrast 1 Cor 7:10, where he did have good tradition, therefore appealed to it, and therefore was more modest in 7:12. Magicians often represented themselves as the god present and speaking; references to such passages, under *ego*, fill most of a column in the index of *PGM*.

¹⁷ 1 Cor 1:16; cp. *PGM* 3.591ff., "We recognize (our debt of) thanks to Thee (Helios) ... who hast given us mind ... that we may know thee ... who hast deified us by knowledge of thyself."

¹⁸ Gal 1:15f.; see the many passages collected in *Jesus the Magician*, 125f. and notes.

¹⁹ 2 Cor 12:6ff.; Gal 2:2; and often.

²⁰ For a full account see T. Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber* (Leipzig, 1921-24) 2 vols. (*Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyrskunde*, 21 and 23).

him.²¹ Alternatively, the magician himself might be identified with the god and go on to a divine pronouncement that would assure the occurrence of what was said. Such pronouncements often culminated in inarticulate utterances which seem to have resembled very closely the noises the Christians made when they “spoke with tongues.” [247]

Paul’s best known discussion of “speaking with tongues,” that in 1 Corinthians 12-14, was written to correct the divisive conceit of some Corinthian Christians who prided themselves on their performances. This explains Paul’s insistence (1) that *all* Christian activities are equally works of the spirit, (2) that all are subordinate to love, which should unite all members of the congregation, (3) that in particular “speaking with tongues” is inferior to teaching and prophecy which are immediately edifying, (4) that Christian meetings are to be conducted “decently and in order” (14:40)—even the spirits of the prophets should be disciplined: it was the prophets’ duty to keep them under control and make them yield the floor to their fellows (14:29-32).

Elsewhere, when free of such disciplinary concerns, Paul wrote of “speaking with tongues” much more favorably. When he could, he found meanings for the utterances. If his converts cried *abbaabbaabba* he explained, that, by receiving the spirit of Jesus, they, too, had become sons of God, and that *abba* meant “father” in Aramaic (God’s language); the spirit was prompting them to claim divine paternity.²² When he had to admit that the sounds were incomprehensible, he explained that the reward destined for Christians exceeds imagination. “Therefore we do not know for what we ought to pray,” but “the spirit helps out our weakness” for it “entreats on our behalf with inarticulate groanings” (*stenagmois alalētois*) and God knows what it intends to say (Rom 8:26f.). Such utterances are thus made the supreme prayer of the Church, precisely as they are the climaxes of many prayers in the magical papyri. *Stenagmos* was a term for a characteristic form of magical utterance,²³ and later Christian texts which try to represent the secret prayers of Jesus present passages of jabbawocky filled with

²¹ For “revelation” Paul uses *apokalypsis*, but this need not be taken to refer to a work having literary form or eschatological content like those of the NT Apocalypse. The use of *apokalypsis* for works of this latter sort began (so far as we know) with the title of the NT book, probably given it half a century or more after Paul’s time. See my article in the volume of the International Conference on Apocalyptic, chapter thirty-five below. Paul unquestionably used *apokalypsis* for revelations that answered immediate, practical questions, e.g., Gal 2:2. It seems likely that most revelations given the members of Pauline communities, like most of those sought in the magical papyri, were of this sort.

²² Rom 8:14ff. (*ho pater* is Paul’s translation); again Gal 4:6. With *abbaabba* compare *hubbahubba* and the like in modern popular songs; ecstatic utterances in western society have probably changed little through the ages.

²³ C. Bonner, “Traces of Thaumaturgic Technique in the Miracles,” *HTR* 20 (1927) 171ff.

“words” found also in magical texts: *iao*, *aoi*, *psinother*, *thernops*, *zagoure*, *pagoure*, *thobarrabau*, *sabaoth*, etc.²⁴ Such passages probably reflect prayers actually made in the authors’ congregations.

Finally, besides these *séances*, the Corinthian Christians met for meals in which they ate bread and drank wine identified with the body and blood of Jesus. Such consumption of food identified [248] as the body or blood of a god was a familiar form of love magic. As in the case of baptism, *no other ancient parallels to Paul’s words are so close as those in the magical texts*.²⁵ In Christianity the rite seems to have been introduced by Jesus (as I argued in *Jesus the Magician*, see the citations in the preceding note) probably to bind his followers to himself when persecution seemed imminent. Paul’s discussion of the rite in 1 Cor 10:16-22 and 11:17-34 takes for granted the identification of the elements with Jesus’ blood and body (10:16) and the unitive function (10:17). Paul argues that in pagan sacrifices, too, those who eat of the elements partake of the gods (*daimones*—16:20); this was particularly the case in magical rites (see the examples cited in the note above). The wording of 11:23ff. suggests that by Paul’s time the magical identification of elements, body, and blood was thought to be effected by telling the story of what Jesus did; such paradeigmatic storytelling often served as the essential element of magical rites.²⁶ That those who eat the elements without adequate preparation fall sick or even die (1 Cor 11:27-32) is further proof of the sacrament’s magical power.

The body and blood of a sacrificed and life-giving god might figure not only in magical rites, but also in the sacred meal of a cult group that celebrated the god’s mysteries. Consequently it is not surprising that as Christianity gained more upper class followers the eucharist was commonly treated as a “mystery,” described with the language of the mysteries and protected by their discipline. This development, familiar from patristic material, should be seen as one of the adjustments of Christianity to respectable Roman imperial society. Paul’s claim to “speak the wisdom of God in a mystery” (1 Cor 2:7) and to be “an administrator (*oikonomos*) of the mysteries of God”

²⁴ *Pistis Sophia*, trans. Schmidt-Till, chaps. 136, 142, discussed in my *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1973) 233, where the many parallels from magical texts are cited.

²⁵ PGM 7.643ff. *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden* (henceforth DMP) eds. F. Griffith and H. Thompson (London, 1904; cited by column and line) 15.1-23; 21.10ff. See *Jesus the Magician*, 110ff. (where PGM 7.643 is translated), 122 (where DMP 15.8ff.) and 146f. for a brief discussion of some other proposed explanations of the rite. E. Bickerman (“Ritualmord und Eselskult” *MGWJ* 71 [1927] 171ff. and 255ff.) has shown that drinking human blood is a rite used in primitive societies all over the world to establish alliances. Such usage presumably often reflects belief in its magical efficacy.

²⁶ In PGM the great example is 13.139-209, parallel 441-563, but there are many minor instances: 4.95ff., 2978ff., etc.

(4:1) may reflect the beginning of the process, but Mark 4:11, now supported by the secret text of Mark used in Clement's church in Alexandria, makes it seem more likely that Jesus himself called at least one of his magical rites "the [249] mystery of the kingdom of God." Mysteries and magic cannot always be sharply distinguished; respectable Greek tradition (e.g., Ephorus *apud* Diodorus 5.64.4) attributed the institution of mysteries to magicians (*goētes*) and Paul may have been influenced by such notions. They, conversely, influenced the pagan notion of Paul. In the fourth century, when the interpretation of Christianity as a "mystery" was well established, the emperor Julian, himself experienced in magic and far from prejudiced in Paul's favor, would describe him as "the man who surpassed all magicians and deceivers that ever were, anywhere."²⁷

Here we cannot go on to discuss the many other magical aspects of Paul's work, for instance, his "handing over" an opponent to Satan "for destruction of his flesh"—an idea expressed, with some of the same words, by many magical curse tablets;²⁸ his repeated claim that his converts had been won by his success in working miracles and invoking the spirit, *not* by his skills as a preacher;²⁹ his references to some sort of magical power over the members of his churches, a power by which, if they are not obedient, they may be harmed (1 Cor 4:19ff.; 2 Cor 10:1ff.; 12:20ff.; 13—hence his congregations received him "as an angel of God ... Christ Jesus" Gal 4:14); his claim to have the same magical marks (tattooing?) as Jesus;³⁰ and most important, the many magical traits in his teaching, beginning with its essential element, the belief that the death or life of one creature can be ritually imparted to another.³¹ As initially indicated, the primary purpose of this paper has been to show what Paul's pagan contemporaries would have seen if they had been able to see the services in his churches *as he himself described them*. That they would have thought such services magical rites is presumable from the parallels cited. The presumption is confirmed by the fact that they did think them so and acted accordingly.

²⁷ *Against the Galileans* 100 A.

²⁸ See the evidence in *Jesus the Magician*, 110 and notes on 196.

²⁹ 1 Cor 2:4; 2 Cor 1:12; 12:12; Rom 15:19; cf. Gal 3:2.

³⁰ *Jesus the Magician*, 47ff. and notes.

³¹ 2 Cor 4:10 and the many parallels cited *ad loc* in Nestle-Aland. *PGM* 1.1ff. (the life of the drowned and thus *deified* hawk); 4.1823ff., 2943ff.; 7.335ff.; 12.32ff., 311ff.

CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

PAUL'S ARGUMENTS AS EVIDENCE OF THE CHRISTIANITY FROM WHICH HE DIVERGED

[254] While the topic of this paper is familiar, I believe that one source of information has been generally neglected: the arguments that Paul does not use. Since Bishop Stendahl has done so much to illuminate Paul's words, it seems appropriate to dedicate to him this brief sketch of things to be learned from Paul's silence.

First Corinthians is the epistle with which to start; it tells us most about the community to which Paul was writing, and shows him in closest dialogue with its members. Paul claims to have founded the community ("I planted, Apollos watered," 3:6; there is a suggestion that Kephas came third, 1:12), but we cannot assume that when Corinthian practices differed from Paul's wishes the differences were merely distortions of Paul's teachings. His converts may not have been forgetting his lessons, but learning from others'. Later missionaries may have brought earlier practices. Kephas certainly could have—Paul claims to have made his first friendly contact with the Jerusalem church by going to see him (Gal 1:18). Again, if Acts 18:25 truly reports that Apollos at first "taught accurately the things about Jesus, understanding only the baptism of John," he would seem to have come from a circle of Jesus' followers that antedated or, at least, preserved a tradition independent of that of the Jerusalem group.

Against the supposition that the Corinthians' misbehavior resulted only from misunderstandings of Paul, there is also the fact that Paul has no hesitation about pointing out a misunderstanding when he thinks one has occurred (as in 5:9-10). Thus when he does not allege misunderstanding we should not suppose it, though it cannot always be ruled out.

On other matters, however, Paul is far more reticent. For instance, when making attacks he does not usually name names. Thus his attack on worldly wisdom and especially on rhetoric, in 1:17-2:16, is generally [255] thought to be aimed at Apollos, but Apollos is mentioned only before it, and afterwards when subordinated to Paul in 3:4-6. Acts praised Apollos for his learning and eloquence (18:24). If he brought these accomplishments to a community in which there were "not many wise by worldly standards, not many powerful, not many well born" (1:26), as Paul had brought speaking with tongues (which he did more than any of his converts, 14:18), such personal distinctions, though not primarily matters of the new cult, doubtless led to the formation of

different groups around the different leaders. This may account for Paul's reluctance to name Apollos in the attack. To have attacked him by name would have alienated his adherents, some of whom Paul may have hoped to win over.

If this suggestion seems plausible, it may apply also to the next section, the attack on sexual libertinism, where again the chief offender is unnamed. Of course he was not Apollos, but can we infer that, like Apollos, he was not a mere eccentric, but a ringleader? Is not this implied by Paul's complaint that many Corinthians are proud because he is committing incest (5:2) and are claiming that "all things," and particularly irregular sexual relations, "are permissible" (6:12 *bis*)? If such liberty had become an important element in the cult (as pagans long charged that it was; Justin *Dial.* 10.1, etc.) we can be sure it had not come from Paul. He was of ascetic disposition, unmarried (9:5), beating his body (flagellation?), and keeping it under as a slave (9:27). Paul had already written the Corinthians that they should not associate with licentious persons (5:9). Does he again deliberately avoid specification when he suggests that they misunderstood and thought he referred only to non-Christians? This enables him to ignore their defiance and merely correct their mistake.

He insists that he has already judged the single, unnamed offender (so as) to hand him over to Satan for "the destruction of the flesh" (5:3-5). Is this an allusion to the man's having fallen ill, or an attempt to represent his further indulgences as self-destruction consequent on the demonic possession for which, as disciplinary, Paul claims credit? He also claims that, although not in Corinth, he had, "by the power of our Lord Jesus" (presumably an invocation using Jesus' name) united the Corinthians' spirits with his own in this disciplinary action. They would have known nothing of this, since their spirits would have been called out of them at the time. Now they are told of it and warned that they have willy-nilly been united with Paul in this curse. The act has been done; the consequences follow.

Being parties to the curse, they are not to eat with, but to treat as impure, any Christian (again Paul names none) who has a bad [256] reputation for sexual or other vices. Shortly afterwards (6:12-20) Paul returns to the subject with additional arguments central to his theology: their bodies are temples of the Holy Spirit and members of the body of Christ. This emphasis on mystical union again enables him to pass over the actual schism.

From this height he comes down to answer a letter some Corinthians have sent him. It, too, began with a question on sexual relations. He begins, this time, with a general rule: "It is best for a man not to touch a woman" (7:1). That this is his rule, not the Corinthians', appears not only from its incompatibility with what was evidently

going on in Corinth, but also from the fact that Paul defends it as an ideal (7:8, 32-35, 37) and permits marriage (for the incontinent) only grudgingly, because "it is better to marry than to burn" (7:9). That the teachings of such a man had given rise to the practices of the Corinthians is incredible. Where did the practices come from? Apollos? Or Kephas? The teaching that sexual acts are morally indifferent could easily have been derived from Jesus' reported saying, "There is nothing outside a human being which, by entering, can make the recipient impure" (Mark 7:15).

The opponents must have had some strong support because Paul now makes an amazing concession: "All things are permissible for me, but not all things are beneficial; all things are permissible, but I will not be subjected by any" (6:12). But if all things are permissible, then fornication is permissible, and argument must show that it is not beneficial, or enslaves the practitioner, or whatever. Paul has already used the arguments that Christians are bodies of Christ and temples of the Spirit, but these are inconclusive. What if Christ and the Spirit should be indifferent to the physical activities of the bodies they dwell in, as they must be to their physical impurities? The doctrine of salvation by union with a deity lays wide open the possibility of moral indifference, and Paul was much too clever to be unaware of this. Hence his resort to rhetoric instead of reason.

Why, however, should he have put himself into so weak a position? Why such a damaging concession? We are almost compelled to suppose that "all things are permissible" was, in Corinthian Christianity, a generally accepted principle, and that Paul, since he wished to persuade his readers, had to argue from this principle that they all accepted. Once he had made the concession he tried to cut down its implications as far as he could.

These suppositions are supported by the fact that Paul had to come back, later on, to the same damaging doctrine, this time with reference to eating things sacrificed to idols, and he used exactly the same [257] technique, even the same rhetorical device: Yes ... but. "All things are permissible—but not all things are beneficial. All things are permissible—but not all things are constructive" (10:23). The essential claim of the libertine position is conceded, *but* prudential considerations are then introduced to limit the practice of Christian liberty. Anything may be eaten, *but* idols represent demons, and demons may dwell in the meat that has been sacrificed to them, and therefore to eat it may result in demonic possession, and might make Jesus jealous; besides, it might scandalize a weaker brother. This begs the obvious answers: the Christian, united with Christ, should fear no demons; God cannot be jealous of nonentities; the ignorant brother should be instructed, not hoodwinked. Paul's position is again

untenable, again because of the same concession. Why did he repeatedly concede a principle of which he was repeatedly unwilling to face the consequences? Most likely because he found this principle embedded in the religion he had first persecuted and then, by involuntary conversion, been forced to accept. Often, when the ego is defeated, it goes on fighting; the fallen Pharisee becomes a reluctant and sanctimonious libertine. No wonder Paul's personality so often broke down that he was famous for speaking with tongues.

The two verses just discussed, 6:12 and 10:23, are the only ones in which Paul says that all things are permitted, or even uses the verb form *exestin*. We have so little of Paul's writings that I have little faith in fashionable discoveries which show the vocabulary of one or another passage to be "non-Pauline" and argue thence that the passage reflects Paul's use of "an earlier source." (Use of "a later source" is very rare.) Paul must have had a vocabulary larger than the two thousand-odd words used in his genuine letters, and a man's vocabulary and style can change widely in the different circumstances of a dozen years. Nevertheless, I must admit that in this instance, because of the evidence from the contexts, this peculiarity of wording does seem evidence that *panta exestin* ("all things are permissible") was not Paul's own formula, but a cliché of the Corinthian church.

Paul's concession of this principle, however unwilling, was of course exploited by his nomistic opponents. They drew from the principle the same conclusions as did the libertines, but used them as reductions to absurdity. When Paul explained the Mosaic Law as introduced to increase sin, that Christ's grace might be given more fully to overcome the sin, they cynically went on to the consequence, "Let us do evil that good may come" (Rom 3:8) and attributed this to Paul. His indignant reaction does not conceal his inability to refute the argument; nor does the malicious misrepresentation prove that such conclusions were based [258] on teachings peculiar to Paul. That they were not is proved by his character, and by the innumerable attempts in his letters to avoid or mitigate such consequences of principles he must have found in his new faith.

These attempts, in turn, drew attacks from the libertines, attacks reflected in 1 Corinthians where, after having discouraged marriage, outlawed all sexual irregularities, and cut down drastically the use of food offered to idols, he bursts out in an angry passage of self-defense: "Am I not free? Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen Jesus, our Lord? Are you not my work in the Lord? If to others I am not an apostle, at least to you I am! ... My apology to those who judge me is this: Do we not have authorization to eat and drink? Do we not have authorization to lead around a Christian woman, as do the other apostles, and the brothers of the Lord, and Kephas? Or do only I and

Barnabas not have authorization not to work?" (9:1-6). From this he goes off into a long defense of his refusal to accept support from them, and then comes around to his underlying principle, "Being free of all requirements, I have subjected myself to all, in order to win more converts.... I became all things to all men so that by all means I might save some" (9:19, 22).

This tells us clearly what his opponents were saying: He was not really an apostle of Jesus. He had never even seen Jesus. Consequently he did not have the special authorization Jesus was thought to have given to his apostles and brothers (but not to his other followers?). This authorization included freedom (from the Mosaic Law), and especially the rights to eat and drink what they chose, to keep a Christian consort (the Greek word means both "woman" and "wife"), and to exact payment for their services, as would any qualified magician. Christian salvation was evidently conceived as a special supernatural service which only Jesus' authorized representatives could provide, and for which he had authorized them to charge as they saw fit. Psychoanalysis provides a striking parallel.

These accusations against which Paul defends himself are precisely the ones he again tries to meet in the last section of 2 Corinthians, chaps. 10-13, a section so often discussed that I must apologize for summarizing it once more. (My excuse is that the discussions have necessitated restatement of the plain sense and implications of the text.) Plainly Paul has an opponent who claims to be "of Christ" (10:7). Paul does not deny it, but replies, "So am I," and asserts his authorization by the Lord (10:8). He will not compare himself with "those who recommend themselves" (10:12—presumably members of a group with whom he would not compare well). So he appeals, as [259] before, to his work, especially his conversion of the Corinthians (10:13-18). However, lest they be corrupted as the serpent corrupted Eve (in rabbinic legend, sexually), he insists that "the one who has come" to them preaches no other Jesus and gives no other spirit than they had already received from him, Paul (11:1-4). "For I reckon I am in no respect inferior to the apostles of the highest rank.... Was it a fault ... that I preached the gospel ... to you without charge?" (11:7-11, again defending his authorization). Now the competitors become clearer. They are "Hebrews," "Israelites," "seed of Abraham," "servants of Christ"—all these Paul is too, and more (11:22-29). They have "visions and revelations of the Lord" (12:1); Paul has had so many revelations that God had to afflict him with some sort of physical infirmity to prevent him from being thought a supernatural being (12:6-10). He has performed "the signs of an apostle"—the marvels and miracles—just as the others have (12:12). Finally, as before, the Corinthians, influenced by these opponents, have become proud and

been guilty of “impurity and fornication and lasciviousness” (12:21) and Paul once again warns that he will use against them his mysterious spiritual power, which he still hopes will not hurt them (chap. 13). There should be no mistaking the close correspondence of this situation to that in 1 Corinthians, and the leader of these opponents, described as they just have been, must here be Kephas, who was already there. The competition has become more severe, Apollos is now inconspicuous, the areas of dispute have widened and the emphases have shifted a bit, but the structure remains the same.

How can all this be reconciled with Galatians? Paul never tried to reconcile them. In Galatia he was involved in a different argument. In Corinth he is claiming to be equal to Kephas and the other original apostles; they offer no other Jesus than he does. In Galatians his claim is to be *sui generis*. He received his gospel not from men, and particularly not from the Jerusalem apostles, but from Christ himself. When he did go up to consult with them, the “pillars” of the Jerusalem church, James and Kephas among them, added nothing (well, almost nothing) to his message, but agreed that he and Barnabas should have the apostolate of the uncircumcised, they, of the circumcised (Gal 1:1-2:10).

After this there were evidently changes in Jerusalem, for when Kephas came to Antioch he at first ate with Gentiles, but then was so frightened by the arrival of the representatives of James, “those of the circumcision” (2:12), that he gave up the practice and hypocritically pretended to observe the Jewish food laws. Paul then attacked him in an argument which took for granted their agreement that salvation by [260] Christ had freed them from the requirements of the Mosaic Law (2:14-21). By contrast to this, Paul attacks the Judaizers for introducing “a different gospel” (Gal 1:6)—presumably that of the apostolate of the circumcision, since the attack in the body of the letter centers on the requirement of circumcision. The opponent behind the trouble in Galatia is someone of importance (therefore again unnamed) “who shall bear (his) judgment, whoever (i.e., however great) he is” (Gal 5:10). There is intense hostility (5:12), but no clear indication of such personal rivalry as appears in 1 and 2 Corinthians.

Beyond this Paul’s characteristic silence does not permit us to go. But the story in Acts 12:17 suggests that about 44 Kephas fled Jerusalem and James was left in charge. We know Paul spoke of Kephas as his first important friend in the Jerusalem church and as one of the leading parties in the agreement eventually reached with the authorities there (Gal 1:18; 2:9). John 1:43 tells us that Kephas was Peter, and Acts 10:1-11:18 tells us that Peter took the lead in converting uncircumcised Gentiles; 15:7-11 makes him speak in favor of such conversion and in support of Paul and Barnabas at the

legendary "Council of Jerusalem." Is it unlikely that, after Kephas left, the Jerusalem authorities decided to extend more vigorously to the Gentiles their own "apostolate of the circumcision"? And is it not likely that Kephas and others of Jesus' original followers, who had prudently, while in Jerusalem, maintained an appearance of legal observance, rapidly dropped this when they went out among the Gentiles, and behaved as Jesus had and as Paul says Kephas initially did? That in view of James' hostility Kephas was won over by Paul's pleading (or by his own interests and inclinations) would not be surprising.

These likely events would explain the opposition Paul encountered from both sides. His legalistic opponents, "those of the circumcision," doubtless appealed to the authority of James. His libertine opponents were those of the circle of Kephas, whose members soon gave up the pretense of legal observance, took full advantage of their prestige in Gentile churches as true Israelites and fully empowered apostles of the Messiah, and returned with gusto to their Lord's original neglect of the Law. We may see in them the first "back to Jesus" Christians.

POSTSCRIPT: The story in Acts 21:18-26 of the meeting of Paul and James, though not impossible, is so likely to be harmonistic that it cannot be used for evidence in this matter.

CHAPTER THIRTY

TRANSFORMATION BY BURIAL (1 COR 15:35-49; ROM 6:3-5 AND 8:9-11)

[87] 1 Cor 15:44—in the King James translation, “It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body”—is one of the many in the New Testament which are well known but badly understood. It is well known not only because it occurs in one of the most often read letters of Paul, but also because the part of that letter in which it occurs is used in the burial service. This use in the burial service contributes to the lack of understanding. People hear it when they are bereaved, when the thing they most want is assurance that their loss will not be permanent, and the thing they want least is a discussion of what Paul actually meant. Accordingly the text lives in popular exegesis simply as the climax of a great rhetorical argument for some kind of bodily resurrection.¹

This argument began in verse 35. Paul had been defending, all through this chapter, his teaching that the dead will be raised—a teaching that some Corinthian Christians rejected (15:12). Evidently the challenge was serious because Paul, in answering it, was not content with appealing to the example of Jesus, but went on to adduce a series of other sorts of evidence: the agreement of the apostles, the content of Christian preaching, etc. Having wound up this defense he turned, in vs. 35, to face an imaginary opponent: “But somebody will say, ‘How are the dead raised, and in what sort of body do they come?’ Fool! Whatever (grain)² you sow is not made alive unless it die; and when you sow, you do not sow [88] the body that will come into being, but a bare seed ... And God gives it (the sort of) body he wishes, and (gives) to each (kind) of seed its own (proper) body. Not all flesh is the same (kind of) flesh, but (that) of men is one (kind), and another is the flesh of cattle, and another of fowl, and another of fish. Also there are heavenly bodies and earthly bodies, but the glory of the heavenly is different from that of the earthly. There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars, for one star differs from another in glory. And the resurrection of the dead is similar. It is sown corruptible, it is raised incorruptible; it is sown in dishonor, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in

¹ E.g. A. Peake and A. Grieve, *A Commentary on the Bible*, London, 1925, *ad loc.*

² In quotations, round parentheses () indicate words not in the text but implied by it; square brackets [] indicate my comments.

power; it is sown a natural [literally, a 'psychic'] body, it is raised a spiritual."

From this Paul goes on to argue that, just as there is a natural, in Greek, "psychic" body, so there is a spiritual, in Greek "pneumatic," body. His argument runs as follows:

"If there is a natural body, there is also (necessarily) a spiritual body. (Not only can this be inferred from analogy, but) also, in accordance with this, it is written [in the Septuagint translation of Genesis 2:7, 'And man became a living *psyche*', i.e.] 'The first man, Adam, became a *psyche*'—(a principle of natural, physical life)—'living in a body'. [And we know from other writings—he probably had some apocryphal text in mind—that] the last Adam (that is, Christ, became) a lifegiving spirit (*pneuma*). But the first (one) was not the spiritual, but (the natural,) the psychic, (and) then (afterwards came the spiritual,) the pneumatic. The first man (was made) from earth (and therefore) earthly, the second man (was) from heaven. As (was) the earthly (man), so also (are) the earthly (men, his descendants), and as (is) the heavenly (man, Christ), so also (are) the heavenly [men, that is, the Christians, who are united with Christ and become of one nature with him]. And as we wore the image of the earthly [man, that is, we had physical bodies of human form, so] we shall also wear the image of the heavenly [man, that is, we shall have spiritual bodies, like the body of Christ]." [89]

All this sounds very complex, and is so. The reason for the complexity is that the argument is bad. Its first point is merely a rhetorical analogy—if there is a natural body there must be a spiritual body—to which all one need say is, 'That doesn't follow.' Paul may have been aware of this, since he tried to find a proof from scripture. Unfortunately, the best thing he could find seems to have been an apocryphal text that said something like, 'Adam became a lifegiving spirit'. There was a Jewish legend to the effect that Adam was reborn again and again (*Clementine Homilies* III.20; Epiphanius, *Haer.* 30.3). Thence Paul took the idea that Christ was the last Adam, and used his apocryphal text to contrast Christ, as lifegiving spirit, with the first Adam, as a mere living body. However, this did not much help his case. His argument seems to be, essentially, an appeal to what was probably common belief, that Christ is a spirit (*pneuma*). That Christ is in bodily form is taken for granted, as is the conclusion: Therefore there *is* a spiritual body. Instead of spelling this out, he turns directly to one of his favorite notions, that we must be metamorphosed, reshaped into the form of Christ, and that when we are so we shall be rid of our old form/man/body (he shifts from one term to another as convenience dictates). The great example is 2 Cor 3:5, where he begins in 3:6 by contrasting the new covenant of the spirit with the old

covenant of the letter, develops this at some length, and then concludes (in vs. 17), “But the Lord is the spirit, and where the spirit of the Lord (is, there is) freedom, and all of us ... gazing at the glory of the Lord, are transformed according to that same image, from (the) glory (of the old man or covenant) into (the) glory (of the new), inasmuch as (this transformation is effected) by the spirit of the Lord. Therefore ... (4:3) if our gospel is hidden, it is hidden (from the sight of) those who are going to destruction, in whom the god of this world blinded the minds, (that is, the minds) of the unbelievers, to the (end that they) may not glimpse the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ, who is image of God ... (4:6) For (it is) the God who said, ‘Let light shine out of darkness’, who shone in our hearts to light up the knowledge of the glory of God [90] in the face of Jesus Christ. However, we have this treasure in earthen vessels [that is, our physical bodies], ... suffering persecution, ... (4:10) always carrying around the death of Jesus in our body, in order that the life of Jesus, too, may be revealed in our body.... (4:16) Therefore we do not take this badly, but even though our external man is being destroyed, yet our internal man is renewed day by day,” and so on, through most of the next chapter. Compare Romans 12:2: “Do not conform yourselves to this world, but be transformed by the renewal of your mind.”

By means of this notion of the Christians’ transformation from physical bodies into spiritual bodies, Paul is able to reconcile his argument for resurrection of the dead with his assertion, “Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God” (1 Cor 15:50). This assertion may have been a concession to his opponents, or to early Christian opinion in general—we find the same idea implied in John 3:5f., where Jesus says, “Unless one be born of water and spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit” with the implication that only spiritual beings can enter the spiritual kingdom. On the other hand, it is possible that Paul’s statement is simply an explanation of his own position and a transition to the eschatological conclusion that will follow. In either event it concludes the argument in which our text occurs, and we can now step back and look at that argument as a whole.

It’s a surprisingly indirect argument, and a weak one. Paul was not alone in speaking of seed as dying when planted; we find the same metaphor in John 12:24, although with a different application: Jesus says, concerning his own death, “Unless the seed of grain die when it falls into the ground, it remains alone, but if it die, it bears many grains.” Probably the image was one in common parlance, as it remained to the time of Burns’ *John Barleycorn*.

There were three Kings into the east,
 Three Kings both great and high,
 An' they hae sworn a solemn oath
 John Barleycorn should die. [91]

The poem goes on to tell how he did die, rose up as grain, was harvested, threshed, roasted, and became distilled spirits. But even if Paul's metaphor was taken from common speech, the point is that it is not in point. The question to which Paul had to address himself was, "With what kind of body will the dead be raised?" To answer, "Death is the only way to a new life," is irrelevant.

Very well, Paul might say, the relevance is that of the whole metaphor. The revival of vegetation from the earth is one of the common symbols of, and arguments for, the revival of individual life from the tomb. Now when vegetation revives it comes up with a different sort of body than that of the seeds; so when individuals revive, their bodies will be different from those that were buried.

This unlikely analogy is mainly of interest as showing how badly off Paul was for an argument. There was little support for his position in the Old Testament, which has almost nothing to say about life after death. Ezekiel 37 reports a vision of dry bones coming back together, growing flesh and sinews, and becoming once more living bodies. But this was only a vision, less prophecy than allegory, and yet worse, it foresaw restoration of the old, natural body—just what Paul did not want. His departure from such precedent is surprising, the more so because he had doubtless been following Pharisaic teaching (as he often did) by insisting on bodily resurrection. At the same time, however, he was reinterpreting it drastically (as he often did) by teaching that the body to be raised would not be this present one of flesh and blood controlled by the principle of natural life (*psyche*), but something made of spirit (*pneuma*), different in substance as well as in qualities from our previous dwelling. Pharisaic teaching—if we suppose that in this matter it can be inferred from rabbinic—insisted that the resurrected body would be of the same physical sort as the present one. The resurrected righteous will not only enjoy the enormous Messianic banquet, but keep their heads and their liquor, and go on, after dinner, to beget children.³ This is an [92] agreeable picture of the future, and while one is indulging in miracles, one might as well make the most of the opportunity. Why, then, was Paul breaking with his background?

³ H. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, München, 1922-41, on Matt 22:28, and vol. IV, 2, *Exkurse* 29.II. C, Nr. 2, p. 890; *Exkurse* 31.III. Nr. 4, pp. 1146ff.

What follows in his argument gives no answer to that question, nor to the one Paul was supposedly addressing. It is another and yet feebler analogy: As there are different kinds of vegetables, so there are different kinds of meat—flesh, fish, and fowl. Again the idea harks from his Jewish background,⁴ in which distinction of different kinds of meat was important, but again, both the background and the idea are unimportant. The idea serves merely as a transitional element in the series Paul is constructing: different types of vegetable bodies, different types of fleshly bodies, different types of spiritual bodies. Consequently he goes on at once to his goal—another analogy: heavenly bodies, too, differ from earthly bodies and also differ from each other in glory. “There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars” (1 Cor 15:41). That magnificent opportunity was what Paul the rhetorician had been after.

By this circuitous route he has also come near his desired conclusion and has suggested, in advance, biblical support for it. The notion that the resurrected dead will resemble the luminaries appears in Dan 12:2f., “Many of those who sleep in the dust of earth will awake, ... and those who make (men) intelligent will shine as the glory of the sky, and those who make many righteous, as the stars forever and ever.” We cannot be sure this verse was in Paul’s mind—he never cited Daniel and probably never echoed him⁵—but the idea that the dead would be stars or would join the stars was widespread at the time.⁶ For the Stoics (whose opinions were rapidly becoming a sort of common consensus among the [93] *bien pensants* of ancient society) the supreme God, the mind, the world, the stars, and the souls of individuals were all forms of “spirit” (*pneuma*).⁷ For individuals, in particular, Diogenes Laertius (VII.156) declared that the Stoics “say the soul is the spirit (*pneuma*) which grows together with us; it is therefore a body and survives after death.” Accordingly, having reached the heavenly bodies which were thought to be composed of spirit, Paul had no difficulty in concluding that, as there is a natural body, there is also a spiritual body. His argument from the example of Christ was primarily to identify the Christian’s spiritual body with the body of Christ, and so equate the metamorphosis of the person into a spiritual body with the metamorphosis of the personality into the body of Christ.

All right. There are spiritual bodies and when you rise from the dead you will have one, and this is the direct answer to the question

⁴ See Strack-Billerbeck, on 1 Cor 15:39.

⁵ Never unless (A) he wrote 2 Thess, and (B) 2 Thess 2:4 is an echo of Daniel. Both A and B are dubious.

⁶ F. Cumont, *Lux perpetua*, Paris, 1949, 144ff., 159f., 167, etc.

⁷ “Plutarch”, sc. Aetius, *Placita philosophorum* 1.7.33.

from which he started ten verses before. But why did it take him so long to say so? When he asked himself the question, "With what sort of body will the dead be raised?" and had up his sleeve a commonly respected answer, "With a spiritual body", why didn't he simply give the answer?

In part, I think, he wanted to hark back to the first section of the dispute and to bring one more argument for the resurrection of the dead—the argument from the annual revival of vegetation, a great pagan commonplace he had not been able to work into the Biblical and Christian context of the first half of the chapter.

Another reason, perhaps, was that he was aware of a weakness in his answer. If that which dies at death is a man's physical, "psychic" body, then giving him a spiritual, "pneumatic" body is not quite resurrection of the dead, i.e., of that which died, just as giving a mutilated man metal limbs is not the same as making the old ones grow back. The new body may be better than the old one in some respects, but it is not the old one come back to life, and Paul needed continuity, not only to answer his opponents, but also because of his own theory of living metamorphosis into the body [94] of Christ. Consequently he had to compromise when expressing himself about the novelty of the resurrected body.⁸

Another reason for Paul's compromise may have been the contradictory traits in the resurrection stories known to him, for they, too, were composed to serve contrary purposes. On the one hand they were to defend the actuality of the resurrection of Jesus' body, and to silence reports that the witnesses had merely seen a ghost. Hence both in Luke 24:39ff. and John 20:20,27, the risen Jesus is made to show his wounds; in John 21:9ff. he cooks and serves food, and in Luke he eats; even in Matthew the women take hold of his feet (28:9). On the other hand, these stories were to demonstrate his supernatural powers; therefore, besides having risen from the dead, he miraculously appears and disappears, goes through locked doors (in John) and in Acts 1 ascends into heaven. Behind these stories, in turn, may lie not only the mixed motives of those who told them, but the mixed hallucinations of

⁸ Paul's compromise was to have far reaching consequences in Christian exegesis. The easterners, with their interest in spiritual gifts and freedom from bodily necessities, generally insisted on the distinction of spiritual from natural body, and found other texts in Paul for that purpose—the Christian, reborn in Christ, was to be neither Greek nor Jew, neither male nor female, but a new creature (Gal 3:28 and parallels), etc. The westerners, with their interest in morality, legal liability, and the like, found other texts to justify their insistence that the resurrected body would be the same, and would therefore have the same legal claims and liabilities, as the one buried. F. Altermath, who has written a model history of the early Christian exegesis of 15:44—*Du corps psychique au corps spirituel*, Tübingen, 1977—has traced the two lines clearly, and astutely remarks that what held them together was their common acceptance of the contradictory elements of the resurrection myth, e.g. in John 20:19-29.

the earliest Christians, who may actually, after the crucifixion, have “experienced” not only illusory sights and sounds, but also tactile sensations. The consequently conflicting reports, compounded with Paul’s own experiences, could easily have made him hesitant about specifying the nature of the bodies with which the dead would be raised (cp. 2 Cor 12:2).

These considerations may explain, too, why, in his round-about way of dealing with the question, he began with burial. That [95] beginning may be a tacit appeal to a widespread ancient belief. Many, in Paul’s time, thought burial a rite by which the buried were made beings of a higher order. Paul’s emphasis on the burial—the sowing of the seed—would therefore suggest to many of his readers some justification for his claim that the resurrected body would be somehow greater, but still, even if different in substance, the body of the same person.

For this view of burial and its consequences there is a huge body of evidence, and around that body there is a colossal cocoon of dispute, so we cannot possibly discuss the question thoroughly. All I hope is to point out some major sorts of evidence that argue for existence of the belief as a factor in the Greco-Roman world of Paul’s time, and to show how the belief was expressed in some ritual practices which will help to explain Paul’s thought.

First, let me emphasize that this is a question of the Greco-Roman world. Of course the dead had been deified in Egypt from time immemorial, but I see no evidence of Egyptian influence on this side of Paul’s thinking. As for Palestine and Syria, there is no question that in some Semitic pagan thought the dead were gods. The witch of En Dor, when she called up Samuel, cried out, “I see a god rising from the earth.”⁹ However, the Old Testament and Pharisaic Judaism had so completely turned their backs on this side of Semitic paganism that we can more probably suppose Paul’s break with the tradition is due to the Greco-Roman part of his experience than to any contacts he may have had with pagan Semites. Perhaps my opinion, here, is simply due to the fact that so much more is known about the Greco-Roman material.¹⁰ That being the case, let us discuss the material known. [96]

Of course we can’t begin at the beginning. We never can, because in history, as in personal life, we have lost all conscious memory of the beginning. But for history, archaeology tells us that during the dark

⁹ 1 Sam 28:13. The plural of the participle is contradicted by the singular in the following verse, and is probably to be explained as reverential, to prevent confusion of this god with Yahweh.

¹⁰ Here things at last begin to change. The collection of iron age Semitic inscriptions and the study of their religious content in works like J. Teixidor’s *The Pagan God* (Princeton, 1977) promise a better future. For the present, however, I must leave the Semitic side aside.

ages of gestation and infancy that preceded the beginning of the Greeks' historical memories in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C., they had already begun to revere tombs and, presumably, the tombs' supposed inhabitants. The basis of this reverence was probably, in large part, architectural. To invaders scarcely able to build hovels, the great tholos tombs that survived from Mycenaean times were evidence of mysterious powers far beyond their own. The dead who had made and who continued to live in them were therefore powerful beings to whom one might turn in times of need. They were not the invaders' own dead, so the invaders felt no obligation for their regular care and tendance, but the tombs were honored, enclosed, and protected, and when occasions of need arose, occasional offerings were left there.¹¹

When the invaders settled down, their own dead settled with them. After a century or so their great men were no longer buried far away, in the old country, but near at hand, where they had lived only a few years before. So their descendants turned to them, as well as to the builders of the great tombs, for counsel and help. Since these were their own dead, they also had to take care of them. Regular tendance soon developed, and soon thereafter was confused with worship. As powerful beings in the underworld, the dead often came to be identified with some of the non-human underworld powers, and vice versa. The resultant complex of Greek chthonic and hero cults is of notorious complexity¹² but from it, one simple fact emerges: Ancient Greek religion was characterized from the earliest times historically known to us by the important place it gave to worship of the dead. Especially in [97] the classical period, shrines of heroes were in some places as many as the shrines of gods, and some heroes were the objects of more day-to-day observances and popular devotion than most gods received. Theseus in Athens, Asklepios in Epidaurus and later in Cos and elsewhere, Herakles in innumerable sites (where he was worshipped as a hero, not a god) are merely the first examples that come to mind. The list could easily be extended and would be long. Two of the most important oracles in Greece—those of Amphiaraos and Trophonios—were accredited to heroes, though Trophonios may have been a god before he became a hero, as Hyacinthus certainly had been. The practice of treating minor gods as heroes was widespread, and shows the importance of heroes vis-à-vis gods. From this background, perhaps, Euhemerism, the theory that all the gods were great men of old, later emerged.

¹¹ See J. Boardman and D. Kurtz, *Greek Burial Customs*, London, 1971, pp. 22ff. Dr. Kurtz neglects the irregular character of much ancient worship.

¹² See the discussion in M. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, 2 ed., Munich, 1955. 183ff.

Incidentally, in view of what we shall see later, it is important to note that the cults of heroes were closely connected with the physical remains of their bodies, to which great importance was therefore attached. The Spartans were told by the oracle of Delphi that they would not be given victory over their neighboring rivals until they had discovered, brought back to Sparta, and buried properly the remains of the hero Orestes. They did so and were thenceforth victorious (Hdt. 1.67f.). Kimon much increased his popularity by bringing home to Athens, from Skyros, the remains of Theseus (Plutarch, *Theseus* 36, 3f.; etc.). Again, these are only the examples that come at once to mind, others could surely be found, and all go to explain the importance attached to burial.

Let me say, at once, that I have chosen "burial" as an ambiguous term, to head off any discussion of the relation of cremation to inhumation. Cremation was customarily followed by inhumation of the ashes, in an urn, or storage of the urn in an underground chamber, so "burial" will customarily do for cremation. One of A. D. Nock's public services was to go through carefully the evidence for cremation and burial in the first three centuries of the Roman Empire, and discuss its theological significance in an important [98] paper.¹³ His conclusion was that, throughout this period, in most pagan circles, the choice of one or another was determined usually by fashion and considerations such as economy. This being the case, the concern at that time was evidently not to preserve even the main structure of the dead man's body, but to make sure that its remains, whatever their condition, were treated as society thought proper. For brevity's sake we may call any such proper treatment "burial".

However disposed of, the dead were believed to keep their human form. Everybody knew that, with few exceptions, they did so, because they were often seen, both in dreams and in waking visions. Moreover, they were often recognized, which few could have been unless they had kept their old appearances. Everyone knew the wonderful scene in the *Iliad*, when Achilles was visited by the soul of Patroclus, "like him in every respect—stature, and beautiful eyes, and his voice, and the garments he wore," (XXIII. 66f.) and after their talk Achilles "reached out with his dear hands" to take him "and did not grasp him, but the soul went away like smoke" (99f.). And everyone knew, too, the account of the underworld in the *Odyssey* (XI), where Odysseus, while awake, meets his mother and his dead companions, all in their familiar bodily forms, but the bodies now are intangible, as was Patroclus' (204-

¹³ A. D. Nock, "Cremation and Burial," *Harvard Theological Review* 25.321-59, reprinted in his *Essays*, Oxford, 1972, 1.277-307.

222). A fixed circumlocution for "souls" (*psychai*) is "the likenesses (*eidola*) of the dead."

Both Patroclus and the first of Odysseus' companions who approached him, Elpenor, came to request burial, and the request of both was urgent. Patroclus besought Achilles, "Bury me as quickly as possible, so that I shall pass through the gates of Hades. The souls, the likenesses of the dead, keep me far off and do not let me mix with those beyond the river, but I wander by myself beside the wide entrance of Hades' house" (*Il.* XXIII.71-4). Similarly Elpenor plead with Odysseus, "I entreat you, by those whom we left behind, ... by your wife and your father, ... and Telemachus, [99] whom you left as your only child... do not leave me behind unburied and unmourned when you set out for home, lest I become a cause for the gods to hate you, but burn me with my gear, such as I had, and heap up a mound for me" (*Od.* XI.66-75).

With such passages in the Homeric poems it is understandable that in Greek classical culture, shaped by these poems, burial was a sacred duty. That, however, was not the consequence of these passages alone; rather these should be seen as expressions of a widely shared and deeply held conviction that burial was necessary for the well-being of the dead, a conviction of which there are so many other expressions in Greek art and literature that it suffices to mention only the greatest, Sophocles' *Antigone*. Not only was burial, for the Greeks, a sacred duty, it was also, even the burial of strangers, a legal obligation.¹⁴

These archaic beliefs—that the dead had supernatural powers, so that many were important as protectors and helpers (the Greek word was "saviours"), and that the well-being of the dead was somehow dependent on their being given burial—were by no means lost in hellenistic times. With the decline in importance of the city states, civic heroes, like other civic officials, lost something of their old political importance, but heroization, as a practice, not only continued, it was extended. All sorts of people were heroized: founders and legislators of states, great generals and the soldiers who had died in great battles, poets and philosophers and even athletes; and many of these new heroes were worshipped not only because of their past achievements, but also with the hope of their future help.¹⁵ Even well-to-do private persons set up, by their wills, cults for themselves and their relatives, to be maintained by the beneficiaries of their bequests.¹⁶ This may be

¹⁴ J. Kollwitz, "Bestattung," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, ed. T. Klauser, II, 1954.200.

¹⁵ The classic account is L. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, Oxford, 1921, Ch. 13 (pp. 361-72), with many examples.

¹⁶ E.g. B. Laum, *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike*, Leipzig, 1914, I, pp. 68ff., II, nos. 43, 45, 117.

thought evidence [100] for the devaluation of the concept, but along with it we find evidence for even greater reverence of the dead. Heroes had been, at best, theoretically inferior to gods, but with hellenistic and Roman times the deification of men, both living and dead, becomes increasingly common. Not to mention Alexander and the diadochoi, epitaphs for private individuals explicitly deify the deceased.¹⁷ So do funerary reliefs. A recent collection of those that so honored private persons contained a catalogue of 345 items.¹⁸ These are only those preserved.

Besides such worship of exceptional individuals, ancestor worship, for all deceased parents of the family, continued and probably increased in importance with the increasing power of Rome. It had “always” been an established part of Greek domestic religion, but it was a much more important part of Roman.¹⁹ For the Greeks, Farnell, who was inclined to minimize it and to explain all he could as mere “tendance” or precautionary measures, nevertheless felt himself obliged to write, “We cannot determine when first the souls were habitually spoken of as *hoi kreittones* (the more powerful), a title which certainly suggests worship,”²⁰ and he goes on to cite Aristotle’s statement, “Besides thinking the dead blessed and fortunate, we ought to think it impious to say anything false against them, ... because we should be speaking against persons who had already become better and more powerful (than we). And these principles are so ancient and archaic in our society that nobody at all knows either when they began or who first laid them down, but they are simply convictions that have always been held.”²¹ This reverence was backed up by the regular family cult familiar from Rohde’s charming description.²² As for the Romans, they had from the earliest times regular cults both of the *di parentes*—the divine ancestors of a given family—and of the *di manes*, literally “the good gods,”²³ the divine spirits of all the dead, at first a collectivity, but early given narrower references, so that in some contexts *di manes* and *di parentes* become almost interchangeable. With imperial times the plural, *di manes*, comes into common use for

¹⁷ R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Roman Epitaphs*, Urbana, 1942 (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 28.1-2), pp. 100-106.

¹⁸ H. Wrede, *Consecratio in formam deorum*, Mainz, 1981, with some of the world’s funniest funerary monuments.

¹⁹ For the Greek practices see Farnell, *Hero Cults* (above, n. 12), 355ff. For Rome, A. D. Nock, “Deification and Julian,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 47.1957.121; = *Essays* II. 833-46, esp. 842f.

²⁰ Farnell, *Hero Cults*, 351.

²¹ Aristotle, *Fragmenta* (ed. Rose), no. 44, from Plutarch, *Consolatio ad Apollonium* 115 B-C.

²² E. Rohde, *Psyche*, 4 ed., Tübingen, 1907, 1.240ff.

²³ A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, 3 ed., Paris, 1951, *sub voce* “*manes*.”

the soul of a single individual. Cicero (*De legibus* II.9.22) when outlining his ideal Roman law code, rules: "The legal rites of the divine *manes* are to be maintained, and each man is to think of these deceased as gods," and he goes on to argue from ancient customs that from time immemorial Roman authorities had wished the dead to be considered gods (II.22.55). In this matter he expressed popular opinion. The *manes* were expected to be the protectors of the righteous in the hereafter; the funeral eulogy of a good woman ends with the prayer, "may your divine *manes* protect you."²⁴ And they were also the helpers of the living. Nock, who particularly emphasized expectation of help as a criterion of true worship of the gods, conceded that, "Roman *parentatio* seems to imply the hope that the dead can help, just as it is stated by Plato, *Laws* 927A", and he cited as probably genuine prayers (not mere funerary rhetoric) two epitaphs, one asking the dead to "save all [102] your kinsfolk", and another by parents who spoke of their dead child as a "god who hears (prayers)".²⁵

As for the importance attributed to burial: Vergil in *Aeneid* VI took over completely the Homeric tradition. Aeneas' care for the body of Palinurus was presumably one of the many items in the poem that were intended to be exemplary. The importance of the disposition of dead bodies, as a matter of Roman law, is not in doubt—it is demonstrated by Cicero, *De legibus* II. A noted peculiarity was the requirement of interment, as distinct from cremation, and the legal satisfaction of this requirement by cutting off, from a body about to be cremated, one small member (which had to contain at least one bone) to be interred. Cremation was permitted, but interment was legally required.²⁶ Much more conspicuous evidence of the importance Romans attached to the disposition of their dead is given by the miles of funerary monuments that lined the approaches to Roman cities, an obvious record of vast financial sacrifices.²⁷ Along the Appian Way such structures ran continuously, on both sides of the road, all the way to the Alban Mount, some 14 miles. And the Appian Way was only one of the eight or ten great roads leading out of Rome that had such accumulations. Even around small cities they were conspicuous, as

²⁴ *Laudatio Turiae*, end. M. Durry, in his edition (Paris, 1950), thought this referred to the two *daimones* supposed (by Persian mythology and theories derived from it) to be assigned to each man at birth. However, one of these *daimones* was evil, so the wish that your (plural) *manes* will protect you cannot refer either to both or to the (single) good one. Consequently its most probable reference was to the *di parentes*. Nevertheless, Durrie was inconsiderately followed by E. Wistrand, in his edition, Lund, 1976.

²⁵ A. D. Nock. "Deification and Julian" (above, n. 19), p. 843. The epigrams are Buecheler, *Carmina latina epigrapha* (= *Anthologia latina, pars posterior*) 576 and Kaibel, *Epigrammata graeca* 314.

²⁶ G. Rohde, "*Os resectum*," Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie* 18.2. 1942, *sub voce*.

²⁷ S. Showerman, "Death and Disposal of the Dead, Roman," *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings, Vol. 4, 1911, p. 506.

anyone knows who has walked the long stretch of road lined with tombs from Pompeii to the Villa dei Misteri.

To explain all this as social ostentation would beg the question. Why was this form of ostentation chosen, when so many others, more enjoyable and equally conspicuous, were available? The answer may be inferred from the many epitaphs in which the dead ask or give thanks for offerings, praise those who help to preserve [103] their tombs, or curse those who would damage them and, as one dead man said, "trouble me."²⁸

Nevertheless, though the dead continued to be revered and burial to be important, changes occurred. More and more men came to believe that burial was not enough. Even Homer had been aware that not everyone's troubles ended with admission to the underworld. There was also the question of what would happen to you there. Homer's moral standards were low, so he pictured punishments only for the worst offenders against the gods. But besides the question of punishment there was also that of pleasure. Even Achilles, the greatest of heroes, although in the underworld he was still a ruler, replied to Odysseus' congratulations with the chilling comment that he would rather be a serf among the living than king it over the dead (*Od.* XI.482-91).

Clearly there was a market for a more agreeable afterlife. Several were soon made available. The most famous was that offered by the priests of Eleusis to those who came to them for initiation, but other sites had other rites, and cults not attached to special sites developed new rites that could be performed anywhere. Consequently, by the end of the hellenistic age the Greco-Roman world was full of competing cults, offering the protection of various gods who promised their worshipers assorted benefits in this life and, often, a happier hereafter. These cults usually claimed to secure their gods' favors for particularly generous patrons by putting such benefactors through some special ritual(s), almost always secret; the cults that used such rituals are commonly called "the mystery religions." The rituals were complex and differed greatly, but the most important of them seemed to have had one trait in common, by which they differed from ordinary Greco-Roman cultic rites. The ordinary rites were conceived, as Plato remarked, somewhat as business dealings (*Euthyphro* 14 b-e)—services owed to the gods as rulers and owners were performed as required by [104] tradition or religious law, gifts were brought them to atone for offenses or to secure favors, or in thanks for favors that had been granted, and so on. But the mystery rites were intended to

²⁸ Lattimore, *op. cit.* (above, n. 17), pp. 100-25, 220-29. The quotation is from p. 111 (my translation, Lattimore has "injures me").

produce in the initiates some important psychological change, in Aristotle's famous words, to make them "not learn something, but experience something and be set right."²⁹

For ceremonies that would have these effects, the creative liturgiologists of the hellenistic and early Roman worlds—and there must have been many of them—turned to the situations of their society in which alterations of consciousness occurred. Intoxication, wild parties (especially nocturnal) and the breakdown of personality that takes place in such circumstances and was often, in antiquity, thought the result of divine possession—this group was a natural choice and was understandably exploited in the mysteries of Dionysos, god of wine. Understandably, too, in Italy these mysteries soon ran afoul of the Roman authorities.³⁰ Thereafter their practices were considerably curtailed, but their iconography was perpetuated by wishful thinking on innumerable funerary monuments which show us what men hoped to have in the hereafter and generally could not have in the Greco-Roman world of small, strait-laced cities.

Since alcoholic alteration of consciousness had to be used with restraint, the producers of mysteries turned to two other classes of experiences—first, to those acts of everyday life that considerably alter our attitudes, second to the *rites de passage* of ancient society, which not only marked changes of social status, but also signaled and helped to produce changes of personality in those who went through them. Of the everyday acts, abstinence from food, wine, and sex were important preparatives to increase the effects of the ceremonies, and were almost universally used,³¹ though not [105] admittedly for that reason. The commonly alleged purpose was to ensure purity. These abstinences, though prescribed, were usually private observances, not part of the mystery rituals proper. In those, the first everyday act suitable for liturgic imitation was washing, from which many rites were derived, above all, Christian baptism.³² Anointing and clothing were often used,³³ eating and drinking yet more often—in Christianity they

²⁹ Synesius, *Dion* 8.48, "Set right" translates Greek *diatithesthai*.

³⁰ Livy 39.8-19.

³¹ Livy 39.9f.; Apuleius, *Met.* II.23, 28, 30; *Papyri graecae magicae*, 2 ed., edd. K. Preisendanz and A. Henrichs, Stuttgart, 1973-4, cited by numbers and lines of the papyri (and henceforth as *PGM*), IV. 734f.; F. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans l'empire romain*, 4 ed., Paris, 1929 (henceforth, Cumont, *RO*), p. 217, n. 39; p. 225, n. 35. These references, and those that follow in notes 32-34, give only examples. Nothing approaching a complete list has been attempted.

³² Livy 39.9.4, Apuleius, *Met.* 11.23, Lewy, *Chaldean Oracles* 207, Nock, *Essays* 97f., Cumont, *RO* pp. 140, 145, also 35f., and note 34.

³³ Anointing: *PGM* IV.746, 770-75, Cumont *RO* 36. Clothing (and crowning): Apuleius, *Met.* 11.23f., *PGM* IV.176, 214f., Cumont, *RO* 36, n. 36, (denuding); 320 s. v. "habit sacerdotale".

became the basic acts of the eucharist.³⁴ Both singing and dancing were widely used by pagans, but by Christians, chiefly singing.³⁵ Among the *rites de passage* of ancient society which the mysteries took over, the most important was marriage, which of course produced deep psychological changes in a world that highly valued premarital virginity of women and took strong measures to preserve it. However, that world also took strong measures against adultery and other sexual offenses, so, although copulation sometimes occurred, “sacred marriages” are probably more important in modern literature than they were in ancient practice.³⁶ Birth was not easily adapted to liturgical treatment, and the rites that accompanied the attainment of adult status were not much used by the mysteries, perhaps because the event they symbolized was fully conscious, produced [106] no sudden personality change, and was often recognized with some reluctance. There is much talk of birth or rebirth, of growing to the full stature of a man, and the like, in the homiletic literature,³⁷ but little representation of these events in the ceremonies. No doubt the same considerations limited the ritual use of death and burial. The alteration of consciousness that death seems to produce is not one generally desired, and that apparently produced by burial is nil. Therefore the occurrence of death and burial symbolism in ancient religious rituals is *prima facie* evidence of belief in some afterlife or alternate life to which death and burial were seen as entries. (I say “alternate” because we meet the idea of dying to this world spiritually, but continuing to live here in the body, while living spiritually elsewhere.)

Belief in the afterlife had been rationalized to some extent by the development of Greek scientific theories which distinguished different sorts of matter. Homer’s souls, *psychai*, had been of no stated material—mere inexplicable doubles of the persons from whom they came, and whom they resembled in all respects except intangibility. Now that the types of matter were classified, the question arose as to what the *psychai* was made of. “Spirit” (*pneuma*) was commonly said to be the most rarified and powerful form of matter; consequently it was also that most often supposed to be the material of souls, and the expression “his spirit”—which had formerly meant “his breath”—began to replace the old fashioned “his soul”. This pseudo-scientific

³⁴ Livy 39.8.6ff.—9.4, Apuleius, *Met.* 11.24, Philo, *Vita contemplativa* X (64-82), Cumont, *RO* 37, 65 and notes 75-77; 109 and note 52; 140, 198, 201 and note 51.

³⁵ Apuleius, *Met.* 8.27, Philo, *Vita contemplativa* XI (83-88), A. Nock, “A Cabiric Rite,” *Am. Journal of Archaeology* 45.577ff., Cumont, *RO* 243 and note 96; 101-2 and note 25; 203 and note 68.

³⁶ Livy 39.8.7 and 10.7, R. Reitzenstein, *Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, 3 ed., Berlin, 1927, 99f., 246ff.

³⁷ A. Harnack, “Die Terminologie der Wiedergeburt,” *Texte und Untersuchungen* 42.3. 1918.97ff., 1 Cor 13.11, Gal. 4.1-6, Eph. 4.13 and ff.

progress may have done something to extend the belief in an afterlife, but otherwise probably affected it little, partly because there was much disagreement about the terminology. For the Stoics and their friends the *psyche* was made of *pneuma*, for others the *psyche* was a lower power controlling physical growth, as opposed to the spiritual *pneuma* (so Paul); yet others declared the *pneuma* subordinate to the *psyche* (so *Corpus Hermeticum* X, where the *nous*—mind—is superior to both). While philosophers and theologians thus [107] juggled the terminology, most men continued to think of the dead as the doubles of the departed, intangible when they appeared, and gifted with sudden, miraculous, mobility, but able to speak, hear, and sometimes move objects or perform other bodily functions. Theories come and go, but superstitions are perennial.³⁸

Accordingly it is not surprising to find that a number of pagan rituals tried to change men's consciousness by putting them through rites that mimicked death, burial, and resurrection. Perhaps this had already been a practice of the Bacchanalia that were suppressed at Rome in 186 B.C. For those we have only the account of Livy (39.10ff.), and Livy is wholeheartedly on the side of the authorities who suppressed the rites. According to him the cult had become a conspiracy for crime and debauchery, especially sodomitic rape, and the conspirators resorted freely to murder in ritual guise. Those of their initiates who seemed likely to make trouble were offered as sacrifices or attached to mechanical devices which suddenly plunged them into deep caves, their disappearance being explained by the story that they had been carried off by the gods (39.13.11ff.). This suggests that there were rites of some sort which led up to these sacrifices and sudden disappearances. One wonders whether or not these rites always had fatal results. Or were they usually preludes to ritual or hypnotic visits to the other world, so that occasional fatal results could be explained as due to the "unworthiness" of particular candidates? Without further information, we shall never know.

Our next comparatively datable evidence comes from Apuleius. About A.D. 150 he was initiated into the mysteries of Isis. The priest in charge told him in advance that the rite was "modeled on a voluntary death and a deliverance attained by prayer when ... the goddess ... put those who were, in a way, reborn, back on a new course of life" (*Metamorphoses* 11.21). After he himself had [108] gone through the rite, he claims, "I reached the limit of death, and when I had crossed the threshold of Persephone [Queen of the world of the dead], I

³⁸ For this same conclusion in different words, see F. Altermath, *Du corps psychique au corps spirituel, Interprétation de 1 Cor 15.35-49 par les auteurs chrétiens des quatre premiers siècles*, Tübingen, 1977 (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Biblischen Exegese* 18), 244.

returned" (11.23, end). This was all he wished to say as an account of the secret ceremonies.

At about the same time, two magicians in Rome, a father and son, both called "Julian the Chaldaean," were working out a set of similar rituals which the son continued to use for about the next thirty years. These they justified and explained (not to say "obscured") by a collection of "oracles," called after them, *The Chaldaean Oracles*, which became one of the sacred texts of later neoplatonism. From the preserved fragments of the *Oracles* and the neoplatonists' occasional remarks about the Chaldaeans' practices, their rituals have been ingeniously reconstructed by Hans Lewy, who was the first to point out that his reconstruction was necessarily conjectural.³⁹ That is not a serious objection, since all history is necessarily conjectural. The important question, in each case, is whether the conjectures are probable and well grounded. Lewy's conjectures were carefully based on texts and extremely cautious. He wrote: "The ascent of the theurgist's soul [to the heavens] was the concluding act of the principal Chaldaean sacrament. Several texts prove that it was preceded by another act which signified the death of the mortal body" (204f.). Then, after discussion of the texts, he went on, "The neophyte who ... has undergone the prescribed lustrations, is bidden to lie down upon the ground and to cover up his body, but not his head. Sacrifices for the dead are offered up as he lies." Then his soul is called forth, [109] probably by the rites used in necromancy, and sent on high by union with rays of light, as in the "Mithras Liturgy" (pp. 207f.).

As this last passage shows, Lewy drew for his reconstruction not only on reports about the Chaldaeans, but also on magical texts found in papyri, especially the so-called "Great Paris Magical Papyrus,"⁴⁰ which was written in the early fourth century but contains a large collection of texts, some of them probably two or three centuries earlier than the manuscript. One of these texts, commonly but inaccurately called "The Mithras Liturgy" (lines 475-820) has the form of a letter from a spiritual director to a "daughter," telling her how to attain immortality, essentially by reciting a spell and breathing in the rays of the sun, which will cause the magician (in spite of the address,

³⁹ H. Lewy, *Chaldean Oracles and Theurgy*, 2 ed., ed. M. Tardieu, Paris, 1978. This includes (pp. 703ff.) an article, "Bilan et perspectives," by P. Hadot, who follows E. des Places in denying the attribution of the *Oracles* to the Julians, but, like him, has to rely for his objections on the lateness and confusions of the tradition, and is unable to explain how the oracles came to be called "Chaldean" if they were not by the Julians. However, confusions in a late tradition about a secret book are to be expected, and des Places' other arguments are from silence—a silence produced by excluding evidence which does not serve his purpose.

⁴⁰ Bibliothèque nationale, suppl. gr. 574, = PGM IV.

the text is consistently in the masculine)⁴¹ to rise from the earth into the heavens and there, with the help of yet more spells, to meet various gods and receive various favors. In the course of the spells there are several references to the magician's "present and strongly pressing need" (and the like), and these have been taken to refer to the proximity of either real or ritual death,⁴² but the reference is not clear. A postscript says, "This immortalization can be performed three times a year" (746-8), but this probably comes from a revision the text underwent some time prior to the present copy. The reviser turned it into a ritual for divination, which had to be repeated as new questions arose, but kept the wording of the earlier text which shows that its original purpose was once-for-all "immortalization" i.e. deification ("the immortals" are the gods). Among the [110] original elements seems to be a passage to compel the magician's corruptible, psychic nature—here, as in Paul, the psychic is inferior—to withdraw and leave him pure for the ascent, but with the provision that he is to be taken back, healthy, after the rite (lines 523-7, 530-35) This is followed by a warning that in the ascent "you will hear no sound of man or of any other animal, nor will you see any of the mortal things on earth" (542-4) This agrees with *Corpus Hermeticum* 10.6, a theosophic tract of about the same period (first or second century A.D.) which describes the total lack of movement, sensation, speech, and thought in the attainment of knowledge of the author's god. The rest of *Corpus Hermeticum* 10, also, with its account of how the bodily elements withdraw from the mind and the mind flies up to heaven and leaves the body as a mere animal (chs. 16 and 24) is closely related to our text, and the relation is evidence that these "Hermetic" tracts had behind them not only speculation, but practice involving trances of a sort that could easily have been understood as ritual death, and as means of ascent to the heavens and of deification.

Not only the trances, but also the deification, the change of nature believed to result from performance of these rituals, was likewise understood as death. At the end of the "Mithras Liturgy," when the great god has finally appeared, the magician says, "Lord, assuming a new being I cease to be. Being made greater ... I die. Emerging from physical becoming and set free, I go into cessation of being ... as you have ordained and according to the mystery you have made" (718-24).

⁴¹ This suggests that the address to the "daughter" is genuine. The writer who sent the text to her did not compose it, but used an earlier one written for men. This use preceded the remaking of the text from a ritual for immortalization to one for divination, and that, in turn, preceded the present copy, so the original text was at least three literary generations older than our mid-fourth century manuscript.

⁴² Reitzenstein, *Op. cit.* (above, n.36) 182, on lines 503f., 525f., etc. (which he cites as 29 and 34).

“When you say these things [he will at once give you an oracle and]⁴³ your psyche will be dissolved (?) and you will no longer be in yourself” (724-6).

Another passage of the Paris Magical Papyrus is even more to our point. It, too, is a pretended letter (lines 153-285), this time pseudonymous: “From Nephotes to Psammetichus,” and it, too, tells how to attain divinity/immortality. The rite is to be done with [111] a director, though his functions are never specified. It is simple: Spread a sheet on a roof and lie down on it, supine and naked, at about 11 A.M. Have your eyes covered with a black band and yourself wrapped up like a dead man (i.e., presumably, a mummy). Turn your eyes to the sun and shut them, and recite the specified spell to the god Typhon. “Mighty Typhon, ruler and dynast of the world above, god of gods, King ... I am he who, with you, dug over the whole world and found the great Osiris, whom I brought to you, a prisoner. I am he who fought with you against the gods. I am he who closed the double doors of heaven and put to sleep the invisible dragon, who stopped the sea, the tides (?), the streams of the rivers, until you could master this realm. I, your soldier, have been conquered by the gods; I have been thrown prostrate because of unjustified anger. Raise up, I beseech you, your friend, I entreat you, and do not cast me down on the earth, King of the gods.... Empower me, I beseech you. Grant me this favor, that, when I tell any of those gods to move, I shall at once see him moving because of my spells” (179-200).... “When you say these things three times, you will have the following sign of the god’s attention ... A sea hawk, flying down, will strike you with his wings, on your face (?) thus indicating that you should arise. You, then, getting up, clothe yourself in white garments, and burn ... incense ... saying as follows: ‘I have been united with your holy form. I have been empowered by your holy name. I have received the overflow of your goodness, lord, god of gods, King, *daimon*’... When you have done these things go down (from the roof), having attained a nature equal to a god’s” (210-220).

The mythology behind that hymn is a fascinating puzzle, but the main outline of the action is, I think, clear. The ritual death and burial is the justification of an entreaty which gets from the god a favor (Greek *charis*, in Christian texts commonly translated “grace”). The god’s servant is not merely raised from the dead, but is given divine nature. He is, as Paul said of Jesus at the beginning of Romans, “according to (the operation of) the holy spirit [in *PGM* IV, as in the Gospels’ baptismal stories, the spirit is mediated [112] by a bird]

⁴³ Here the bracketed words are in the Greek text, but they probably came from the reviser who made the text into a ritual for divination.

designated from the resurrection of the dead as son of god [a derivative divine being] with power" (Rom 1:4).

I hope this evidence for the importance of burial in the first and second centuries A.D. as a means of attaining supernatural status, will help explain not only the text from which we started—where Paul, to explain the supernatural bodies of the resurrected dead, began with burial—but will also explain the more important texts in which Paul makes Christian baptism the symbol of Christ's burial. That symbolism was not a likely one. Baptism and burial are conspicuously different. Christ had been baptized, as well as buried, and his baptism had reportedly been followed by the declaration of his divinity, "This is my beloved son" (Matt 3:17, etc.). Accordingly it would have seemed appropriate to make Christian baptism a symbol of the baptism of Christ. Paul, however, wrote in Romans 6:3f., "Don't you know that all of us who have become (parts of) Christ by baptism⁴⁴ have become, by baptism, (participants of) his death? That is to say, we were buried with him in death by baptism, in order that, as Christ was raised from the dead ... thus we, too, should live a new life." I trust that the reason for Paul's strange symbolism, and the sort of thing he had in his conscious mind, will now be clear.⁴⁵ What he may have had in his subconscious mind is another question. Whether or not these rituals of death were devised to gratify the desire for it, whether or not the spiritual body expected in the resurrection was a projection of the desired body of our dreams, which we dream of attaining in the deeper sleep of death—these are questions to which history leads us, but to which only psychology may find the answers.

⁴⁴ Literally, "have been baptized into Christ," *Eis* has the sense of "into" in the English expression "drafted into the army".

⁴⁵ The image was an important one in Paul's thought. Notice the repetition (or imitation?) in Col 2:12.

CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE

SALVATION IN THE GOSPELS, PAUL, AND THE MAGICAL PAPYRI

[63] I wish I could begin this paper by asking for a show of hands. If you were making a list of things you must do or get in the coming week, how many of you would include “salvation”? My expectation is that not one hand would rise. Salvation is like the kingdom of God—something we all hope for, but in the far future. “Thy kingdom come, but not just now” is a familiar prayer. Consequently, in our mental shopping lists of *immediate* concerns, salvation rarely figures, though we should all claim to want it eventually. This is true of the shopping lists we take to the gods, no less than of those we take to the supermarkets. Therefore the supermarkets of the gods, religion and magic, though they always stock salvation, don’t sell much of it. The day-to-day, bread-and-butter business of the average priest, like that of the average magician, concerns the problems, big and little, of everyday life.

For religion, this was pointed out brilliantly by Versnel (1981: 1-68). He began by citing a book I have not been able to get my hands on and must therefore cite from him: Bonnet (1977), a collection of prayers from French churches and pilgrimage shrines. “Holy Virgin, your great grace and protection for my air trip to Hungary, April 15, leaving 11:50, and for son, daughter-in-law, and grandson April 27, 10 past 10, arriving 1:35; return May 14, 3:50 to 6:40. Heartfelt thanks of a mother.” Another was simpler, “Cure my goat.” Another showed more altruism: “For the conversion of our President and all our government.” (There is true faith; the belief that all things are possible to God!) From my own experience I can assure you that in this matter French and Americans are at one. The church to which I was attached during most of my service as a priest kept a box into which members of the congregation could drop requests that they wished to have made in the secret prayers at the consecration of the eucharist; so, day in and day out, I offered the blessed sacrifice “with special intention” for Mary’s relief from hay fever, the [64] reconciliation of Jack and Jill, the victory of the church team in next Saturday’s game, Susan’s passing her examinations, and so on and on. To the best of my recollection, nobody ever asked prayers for anybody’s salvation—except, of course, for that of the dead or deathly sick. Except when death is near or here, in the everyday life of ordinary people, salvation is not thought of as a pressing need.

Nevertheless, occasionally, many people can be persuaded that they need it now. This the success of its salesmen shows. Salesmen of patent medicine had similar spectacular successes, before their activities were limited by law. But besides the legal limits, there are natural ones. Rarely does a revivalist rise to the control of any sizable society (the outstanding exceptions occur in politics, rather than recognized religion—Hitler, for instance, and Robespierre). Nevertheless, in every generation a few religious revivalists do attract large followings and accumulate large fortunes, as tangible evidence of the sizable minority market for what they offer. Women begin to need salvation when they lose their looks and their fertility; men, when they come to suspect their own unimportance. The onset of old age is apt to produce a need for it; so do serious disease and death, mentioned above. Adolescents, in our society, often decide they need it when they are forced to leave the playpen in which we confine children, to look at the rest of their life as a whole and face the awful question, What do you want to be?

“Saved” is a short, easy answer, but it begs another question, What do you mean by salvation? The common answers to this can be classified in various ways, one being, for instance, by the way they relate salvation to time and space. Some promise it in the present; others, soon after death; others, at the end of the world. Various combinations are possible, but the antithesis between present and future types is so prevalent and important that it has been used, for instance, by Wilson (1973) as the basic criterion by which to classify many enthusiastic religions. (What he bluntly calls “magic” is more often politely termed “realized eschatology.”) [65]

Besides differing about time and place, notions of salvation differ in content over a range that runs from popular ideas of the goings on in Mohammed’s “garden” to the wheeling circles of stars in Dante’s *Paradiso*. The root word, *sōs*, originally meant “as ever, alive and well, undamaged,” and the verb, *sōizein* meant “to save from harm, keep a thing in its proper physical condition,” whence came the secondary meanings, “rescue, heal preserve,” etc. This is the range of meanings the verb usually has in its forty-odd uses in the synoptics,¹ where the word “salvation” (*sōtēria*) never occurs except in four verses of Luke, three of which imitate Old Testament references to the “salvation”—i.e. preservation—of Israel.² However, the thought of protection/preservation was soon carried over from the physical to the moral sphere, and so the gospels occasionally speak of saving from sins (Matt 1:21 *etc.*), and among circles that took a darker view of this present life

¹ In all but one of the thirteen instances in Matt (1:21, “save from sins”; 18:11 is spurious); in all thirteen instances in Mark (contrast 16:16, which is spurious); in all but four of the sixteen instances in Luke (exceptions: 8:12; 9:24; 13:23; 19:10; spurious, 9:56).

² Luke 1:69, 71, 77; the fourth is 19:19—“salvation came to this house.”

“save” came to refer not to preserving it, but to getting out of it and into a better. This meaning the verb seems to have in three exceptional verses of Luke, and three spurious verses of the synoptics,³ though in expressions so brief the precise sense is somewhat uncertain. The same meaning appears in John 5:34 and 10:9,⁴ and is common in Paul, who uses *sōtēria* (“salvation”) a dozen times, in all but one of which it refers not to preservation of this life, but to the attainment of a different one.⁵ As to whether the difference would be one of nature and qualities, of time and setting, or both, Paul did not choose to be clear, and so we shall not try to be. We shall put off the question, as he did, with the words: “Whether in the body or out of the body, I know not. God knows” (2 Cor 12:3).

In their use of *sōs* and its cognates the *NT* texts can well be compared with the magical papyri. The papyri turn out to side with the synoptics rather than Paul. This is understandable, since Jesus seems to have been a more typical magician than Paul, more concerned with individual cases—cures, exorcisms, and the like—less tangled in administrative efforts and theoretical disputes. Differences between the usage of the magical papyri and that of the synoptics are also understandable. The gospels tell stories of [66] one magician and his chosen practices; the papyri give formulae and directions that many magicians had produced for many purposes. The magicians of the papyri were more interested in divination, less in medical magic; thus the papyri’s use of *sōs* and its derivatives, which commonly refer to health, is, in proportion to their total text, considerably less frequent. However, they use the verb *sōizein* half a dozen times, five meaning “protect, preserve” and one, in the middle voice, “be saved,” i.e. recover from an illness.⁶ Of the first five, four speak of healing or protection procured by magic,⁷ two describe the god addressed as one who saves/rejoices in saving his own (worshippers),⁸ and one, in a prayer for exorcism addressed to the headless *daimon*, affords a parallel to the absolute use of *psychēn sōsai* in Mark 3:4 with the meaning “to cure a man.”⁹ Besides these, a magical list of salutations

³ Those specified above in note 1.

⁴ In John we also find the notion that the whole cosmos will be saved: 3:17 and 12:47.

⁵ The one (possible) exception is Phil 1:19. 2 Cor 6.2 quotes the word from Isaiah 49:8, but gives it Paul’s meaning.

⁶ *PGM* 30(c).3, a question to an oracle. The others are 3.215 (cf. vol. 2, pp. 241ff.); 4.121ff.; 5.140; 57.4; 70.19. Their dates range from the early second to the fourth centuries A.D. as do those of the early N.T. papyri.

⁷ In 57.4 it is the magician who promises to protect the god.

⁸ 3.215, cf. p. 241, 1.19; and 4.121ff.

⁹ 5.140. The petition does not prove that the possessed was thought to be in danger of death.

addresses one of its gods simply as “Saviour;”¹⁰ Artemis-Selene is once described as “saving from fear” (*PGM* 4.2288); and there are three petitions for “salvation,” in all of which it is closely linked with “health.”¹¹ Thus, in sum, the papyri generally speak of salvation as saving/preserving the present life, rescuing it from danger, preventing/repairing damages, occasionally improving it, but principally keeping things going. All this is, as we have seen, the synoptics’ common usage. So much for the evidence from the terms.

By contrast, when it comes to facts, the papyri and Paul are surprisingly similar. Here, however, I must face a preliminary problem. To describe the religion of Paul is, in Shakespearean terms, to take up arms against a sea of quibbles and expose oneself, on every side, to the slings and arrows of outrageous exegetes (cf. *Hamlet* 3.1.58f). Therefore I shall call on Paul and make him speak for himself. He says his gospel is “the power of God for salvation” (Rom 1:16), because “the kingdom of God is not a matter of words, but of power” (1 Cor 4:20). This power is “the power of the spirit” (Rom 15:19). “The spirit is the Lord” (Jesus Christ, 2 Cor 3:17 and “he who adheres to the Lord is one spirit” (with him, 1 Cor 6:17). Hence Paul can say, “I live no longer I, but Christ lives in me” (Gal [67] 2:20). “By the spirit one man is given wisdom in speaking, another ... knowledge ..., another faith ..., another (miraculous) gifts for healings ..., another the ability to distinguish (inferior) spirits. All these things one and the same spirit (i.e. the Lord) does” (1 Cor 12:8-10). This spirit—the list of whose works could be greatly extended—is “the part-payment made in advance” (*arrabōn*) of our full salvation (2 Cor 5:4f.), for “the life of Jesus should be manifest in our body” (2 Cor 4:10) as we also “carry about the death of Jesus in our body” (*ibid.*). “All who have been baptized into Christ Jesus have been baptized into his death; we have been buried with him by baptism into death in order that, as Christ was raised ..., thus we, too, may walk in newness of life” (Rom 6:3f.). Therefore “our outer man is destroyed, but our inner is renewed day by day. For the present light (burden) of our affliction secures for us, beyond all measure, an eternal weight of glory” (2 Cor 4:16f.). Therefore, too, union with Christ is, paradoxically, not yet full salvation; it is only the advance payment. We progress towards it; it “is now nearer than when we (first) believed” (Rom 13:11) and Paul still

¹⁰ 81.3. The other recognizable names in the list are Helios, Sarapis-Kneph (?), Abrasax, Elohim, Adon, and Cherubin (?).

¹¹ 3.577; 7.333; 13.803. In the first and last of these the similar lists of desiderata have different terms in different orders except for the pair *hygeian*, *sōterian*, which seems an almost synonymous unit. 3.577 is interesting because, as a *quid pro quo* for the gifts requested, it invites Lao to “come with joyful face to the bed you yourself desire.” Much has been written about magicians trying to compel the gods; that they also tried to make them has been strangely neglected.

has to “hold down his body and treat it like a slave” lest he should not reach the goal (1 Cor 9:27).

These quotations from Paul seem to me to fit together (roughly) and outline a recognizable account of salvation not *of* our present life, but *from* it. This account, however, raises some questions. First, how do we get the spirit? If immediately when we hear the gospel and believe (Gal 3:2), then, since the spirit is Christ, we should at once become participants in Christ’s death and resurrections and new life. How, then, can we account for Paul’s description of baptism as a magic rite by which one who has already believed is at last made to share the death and resurrection of the god (Rom 6:3f.)? Is not this otiose? Since the statement that the convert “received the spirit ... by the hearing of faith” (Gal 3:2) fits Paul’s general position, he should have recognized that baptism is open to the same objections that he brought against circumcision: “Having begun with the spirit, will you now be finally made perfect by the flesh?” (Gal 3:3). How can such inconsistency be [68] explained? Probably by the fact that he has combined two sources—his own and other missionaries’ experiences (those who hear the preacher are seized by the spirit)¹² and the tradition, ritual and teaching of the Jerusalem church which had perpetuated Jesus’ baptismal practice,¹³ but abbreviated it and interpreted it in the “light” of his death and its members’ resurrection experiences. (Note that their interpretation was no less magical than the original rite!) Jerusalem’s influence reached many churches, so the disagreement between the baptismal ritual and the missionaries’ experience affected others as well as Paul (cf. the Petrine traditions in Acts 10:47; 11:16f.). Yet other theories about the gift of the spirit were developed,¹⁴ and the question is even now disputed by those who still believe in spirits.

Another question raised by Paul’s account concerns the consequence of receiving the spirit. If the baptized believer adheres to the Lord so that the two become one and he thenceforth lives no longer as himself, but Christ lives in his body (1 Cor 6:17; Gal 2:20), then to whom is Paul talking when he urges his converts to side with the spirit against the flesh (Gal 5:16; Rom 7:14-25)? To a congregation of incarnate Jesus Christs? The exhortation would seem needless. Of course this difficulty can easily be solved by dismissing “I live no longer I” and similar expressions as mere rhetorical exaggerations. Admittedly, Paul is prone to rhetoric, but in such passages it seems more likely that he meant what he said. Perhaps, therefore the difficulty should not be “solved,” but recognized, because it reflects

¹² Gal 3:2; cp. Acts 10:44; 11:15.

¹³ On Jesus’ use of baptism see Smith, 1973: 209-54.

¹⁴ Acts 8:15-19; 19:1-6; evidence of developing episcopal discipline, not to say “power grabbing.”

the actual inconsistency in the experience of persons whose personalities are liable to drastic changes. Such inconsistency is well illustrated by many passages in the magical papyri which were written to induce “daimonic possession” and which anticipate its consequences.

Getting spirits is one of the major functions of the magic of the magical papyri. Without counting, I should guess that about 70% of the longer texts in *PGM* deal with ways of getting spirits and things one can hope to do with their help. In many of these rites the magician, to control an inferior spirit, declares, especially at the climax of a spell, [69] that he “is” a greater one: Iao, or the headless *daimon*, or Moses, or some other supernatural entity (*PGM* 5.110, 145, 147; *et passim*). These identifications are even more transient than Paul’s. No consequences are drawn from them save that for which they are asserted—to compel the obedience for the inferior power. They show us alteration of the personality—deliberate, probably auto-hypnotic, alteration—at its most transient, almost like that of the actor “possessed” by his part, or the conductor by his score, but they are first steps towards the more enduring, but still partial, possession of the sort claimed by Paul.

As we said, most of the magical papyri are concerned with salvation in the synoptic sense—attaining, improving, or perpetuating our good life in this world. Consequently, when they call up spirits it is usually for one or another particular task, most often prophecy. These are strictly “ministering spirits” which must be kept in their place and made to obey (*PGM* 1.80; 3.288; etc.), as Paul insists that “the spirits of (sc. called up by) the (Christian) prophets are to be subject to the prophets” (1 Cor 14:32). It was for dealing with such spirits that the gift of “discerning (i.e. distinguishing, knowing the nature of) spirits” was important in Paul’s churches (1 Cor 12:10; 14:29). Here, too, the spirits spoke through those who called them up—that is why they are called “the spirits of the prophets,” i.e. of those through whom they speak. The practice was evidently like that of modern “mediums” and represents another form of comparatively brief, auto-hypnotic “possession.”

A few rites, however, have as their object permanent deification or, at least, transformation of the magician’s nature so as to take him out of/save him from the world/life in which he has hitherto lived. Most significant as parallels to Paul are the very few in which this transformation and salvation are to be effected by union with a spirit. However, we may first look at one or two that only partially match the Pauline pattern.

One, the pretended letter of “Nephotes to Psammetichus” in *PGM* 4.153-221, is a rite for union with a god, the union to be effected, like

Paul's by a ritual funeral. Instead of [70] being buried in baptism, one lies down beneath the sun, dressed as a sacred mummy, and recites a prayer to Typhon, declaring oneself his soldier killed by the hostile cosmic powers, and asking his help. His power comes down, as Iao's did on Jesus, in the form of a bird. The initiate is then to rise from the dead, dress in white garments, as a victor, burn incense and say, "I have been united with your holy form (cf. 2 Cor 3:18). I have been empowered by your sacred name (cf. Acts 3:16). I have received the effluence of your goodness; Lord, God of gods, King, Daimon." A rubric concludes, "Having done these things, go down (from the roof) having attained a nature equal to the god's" (cf. John 5:18).

Since the spirits of the dead were an important species of *daimones* (the genus of supernatural beings to which even the gods belonged) dying might be one form of upward mobility. Vespasian's deathly sick joke, "I fear I am becoming a god" (Suetonius, *Vespasian* 23.4), referred not only to the Roman imperial cult, but also to common opinion. In Egypt sanctification was effected by drowning; even an animal or an insect could be "made an Osiris" by being properly drowned, mummified, and worshipped (*PGM* 1.5 [hawk]; 3.1 [cat]; etc.). This may be the background for the equation of baptism with Christ's death, burial, and resurrection—a problem generally neglected, but not negligible. Immersion in water does not resemble crucifixion at all, nor burial closely, so the probably pre-Pauline interpretation of *baptism* as a means of acquiring Jesus' spirit/nature through participation in Jesus' *death by crucifixion and burial*, is odd. The deification points to Egypt, and the earliest connection between Christianity and Egypt may be Rabbi Eliezer's report, about A.D. 80(?), that Jesus had gone to Egypt and learned magic there.¹⁵ I argued in *Jesus the Magician* (1978), p. 48, that this was supported by Matthew's legend of the flight into Egypt (made up to "explain" Jesus' having been there); it is also supported by the many Egyptian elements in Jesus' magic, particularly the eucharist, to which the closest parallel is in the *Demotic Magical Papyrus (DMP)*.¹⁶ Consequently it is not [71] implausible to suppose that Jesus took over baptism from the Baptist but, in the light of his own experience (Mark 1:9-11) and his knowledge of Egyptian magic, equated it with death by drowning, as a means of becoming what he had become after baptism, a son of God. This would have left his followers a baptismal rite already equated with dying and attaining Jesus' nature; to interpret it as participation in

¹⁵ *Tosefta Shabbat* 11.15 and the Talmuds, *Babli Shabbat* 104b, *Sanhedrin* 67a, *Yerushalmi Shabbat* 12.4(13d). Some censored editions may not contain some of these passages. See Smith, 1978: 47 and 178.

¹⁶ 15.1ff., on which see Smith, 1978: 122f.

Jesus' death (in spite of the latter's inappropriate form) could have been done, and apparently was done, before Paul was baptized.¹⁷

Another magical rite that resembles Paul's, but not wholly, is the famous immortalization (= deification) of the so-called "Mithras Liturgy" (*PGM* 4.475-820) where the change is effected by hallucinatory ascent into the heavens. This I pass over as familiar.¹⁸

A spell yet closer to Paul is found in the second half of the Leiden papyrus (*PGM* 13.783-806):

You, Lord of life, ruling the heavens and the earth and all things living in them, you whose justice is not turned aside, whose glorious name the Muses sing, whom the eight powers (the Egyptian Ogdoad) escort, who have truth without any lie, your name and your spirit are upon good men. Come into my mind and my intelligence for the whole time of my life, and accomplish for me all the wishes of my soul. For you are I and I am you.

This has a couple of parallels in *PGM* (12.238-57; 21[c]). The version just quoted concludes with words practically equivalent to Paul's, and they are followed by a list of expected gifts of the spirit, in which we find a good many of those listed by Paul. Admittedly, there are differences. The magicians of *PGM* do not seem to have formed organizations and so the administrative gifts are not asked for in such lists, but cures and exorcisms, discerning spirits, and so on, are often promised or requested. The most important element of Paulinism lacking in *PGM* 13 is the reference to life after death.

That, however, is found in two spells. The clearer is *The Familiar Spirit of Pnoutheos, the Temple Scribe* (*PGM* 1.43-196), a long description of how to get an "angel" (also called a "god"—the interchange of the terms is found already in Judges 13:21f.). Pnoutheos' angel will perform all [72] sorts of services and will "always remain with you" (165); this means "within your call," for just as Paul and Jesus, in spite of their possession of the holy spirit, repeatedly pray to their god and call on him, so do the magicians. Finally, Pnoutheos' spirit, "when you die, will wrap up the body as befits a god (i.e., as a mummy) while, carrying your spirit, he will bring it into the air with him. For you will not go into Hades, having been established by a powerful familiar as an aërial spirit; for to him all things are subject."

¹⁷ This contradicts my previous belief that equation of baptism with dying began after, and as a consequence of, Jesus' death (cf. Smith, 1973: 216f.). This will entail reconsideration of a number of gospel passages in which the equation appears.

¹⁸ On the role of a similar ascent into the heavens, in Jesus' baptismal rite, see Smith, 1973: 237-48; for the "Mithras Liturgy" see the translation by M. Meyer, Scholars Press, 1976 (*Society of Biblical Literature, Texts and Translation*, 10). The spell was originally for immortalization (= deification), but has been made over into one for divination; the redactional alteration are fairly clear. Another text for deification (without ascent) is the *Prayer of Jacob*, *PGM* 22(b).

Compare Paul: "At the trumpet of God ... those dead in Christ will rise first, then we, the living, will be caught up with them into the clouds to meet the Lord in the air" (1 Thess 4:16f.). Since the familiar of Pnouthos is identified as "the Lord of the air" (*PGM* 1.128f.), who was also known to the forger of Ephesians (2:2), we may expect something like a school reunion. Many magical gems show some god or *daimon*, half-running, carrying over his head a mummy. Often the victor's palm and/or wreath are in the field, as they are in the background of Christian rhetoric (Apoc 4:4; 7:9).

The other spell asking salvation of the Pauline sort is in the Mimaut Papyrus (*PGM* 3.550-90). It reads, in outline, as follows:

Come to me, creator of all, God of gods ... (etc., a creation hymn); come to me, Lord, who once brought forth light ...; hear me, Lord, me (so-and-so), mercifully and pleasantly and with good result ... for I call on your holy name ... Fill me with (your) spirit. Your name is ... Iao (and vowels, etc.). Come to me with joyful face, to the bed you yourself wish, giving me (so-and-so, masculine) life, health, salvation (*sōtēria*), wealth, good children, knowledge, good repute, good disposition, good counsel, glory, memory, favor, form, beauty in the eyes of all men who see me (etc., more magical names). I beseech you, King, accept my entreaty ... so that now you may enlighten my knowledge of the things you love, and after my physical body is well put away, I beseech, Lord, accept this my request ... that my spirit be taken up from my bier (?) and come to you, the Lord of all, that you may do all the things of my prayer, begetter of the gods.

Notice that the salvation here requested is a condition to be realized in this life, one of the many here-and-now benefits requested. It is therefore distinct from the [73] postmortal translation to the heavens which the magician also requests. This combination of partly realized present, and anticipated future, beatification is just what we find in Paul (e.g. 2 Cor 4:1-5:10). It shows that not all of Paul's inconsistencies need to be explained as consequences of his combination of different stands of magical and Christian tradition. Some of them were indigenous to pagan magic, as well as to Christianity which was magical to begin with.

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CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO

THE ACCOUNT OF SIMON MAGUS IN ACTS 8

[735] Professor Wolfson's lucid analysis of the intellectual make-up of gnosticism has cleared the way for a restudy of the historical traditions concerning the individual gnostics, of whom Simon Magus was often said to have been the earliest.¹ The first major element in the Christian tradition about Simon is the story in Acts 8:4ff., probably written about 80 A.D. In the Revised Standard Version it reads as follows:

Now those who were scattered (from Jerusalem by the persecution which arose after the death of Stephen) went about preaching the word. Philip went down to a city of Samaria and proclaimed to them the Christ. And the multitudes with one accord gave heed to what was said by Philip, when they heard him and saw the signs which he did. For unclean spirits came out of many who were possessed, crying with a loud voice; and many who were paralyzed or lame were healed. So there was much joy in that city. But there was a man named Simon who had previously practiced magic in the city and amazed the nation of Samaria, saying that he himself was somebody great. They all gave heed to him, from the least to the greatest, saying, 'This man is that power of God which is called Great.' And they gave heed to him, because for a long time he had amazed them with his magic. But when they believed Philip as he preached good news about the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized, both men and women. Even [736] Simon himself believed, and after being baptized he continued with Philip. And seeing signs and great miracles performed, he was amazed. Now when the apostles at Jerusalem heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent to them Peter and John, who came down and prayed for them that they might receive the Holy Spirit; for it had not yet fallen on any of them, but they had only been baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus. Then they laid their hands on them and they received the Holy Spirit. Now when Simon saw that the Spirit was given through the laying on of the apostles' hands, he offered them money, saying, 'Give me also this power, that

¹ H.A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Church Fathers* (Cambridge, 1956), I, 495ff., esp. 512ff. Simon appears as the first of heretics in Justin, I *Ap.* 26; Irenaeus 1.16ff. and many subsequent writers.

any one on whom I lay my hands may receive the Holy Spirit.' But Peter said to him, 'Your silver perish with you, because you thought you could obtain the gift of God with money! You have neither part nor lot in this matter, for your heart is not right before God. Repent therefore of this wickedness of yours, and pray to the Lord that, if possible, the intent of your heart may be forgiven you. For I see that you are in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity.' And Simon answered, 'Pray for me to the Lord, that nothing of what you have said may come upon me.'

This is a piece of Christian propaganda against the followers of Simon. Its primary object is to show that the cult of Simon is inferior to that of Jesus because Simon himself was converted to Christianity and baptized by a Christian. Moreover, it intends to show that Simon was inferior to the apostles, as well as to Jesus, because he never received the power to communicate the holy spirit to his followers, though he tried to buy it, and was publicly rebuked by the apostles and accepted their rebuke and asked them to pray for him. Just for good measure it adds that Simon had a shady past: He had previously been a magician and it was his magical prowess which had made his followers believe that he was the Great Power of God.

Of criticisms of the story to date, the most challenging has been one which takes as its point of departure the break in the middle.² [737] After Simon's baptism the narrative jumps to Jerusalem whence Peter and John are sent down to Samaria and by their prayers and laying on of hands bring down the holy spirit on those whom Philip had already baptized. Since there is a similar incident in Acts 19:1ff. where Paul by rebaptism and laying on of hands gives the spirit to a group of disciples in Ephesus (who had hitherto been baptized only into the baptism of John) critics have supposed the notion that only apostles could give the spirit was a special concern of the author of Acts, who remodeled the story of Simon to introduce it. Originally the story represented Simon as trying to buy from Philip the power to do miracles, and getting his rebuke for that.

But Acts sometimes³ represents the spirit as given without laying on of apostolic hands, so this theory of its motivation is dubious, and the internal evidence for remodeling is not conclusive. In particular, it is not likely that Simon the magician should be represented as bidding for the power to do miracles. Let us therefore turn from the question of the laying on of hands to the story of the baptism.

² Most effectively presented by A. Loisy, *Les Actes des Apôtres* (Paris, 1920), *ad loc.*

³ Acts 10:44 and 11:15.

We have another example of a first-century Palestinian figure who was baptized into one Jewish sect and then proceeded to set up his own in competition. This was Jesus. The story of Simon's baptism looks very much like a Christian's telling against the Simonians the sort of story which the followers of John the Baptist were telling against the Christians to prove Jesus' inferiority to John. That such a story was told by the followers of John can be inferred with confidence from the Christian attempts to answer it, for instance, the way Matt 3:13-15 develops the Marcan account of the baptism (Mark 1:9-11) by making John protest his inferiority and Jesus demand to be baptized anyhow, "for thus it becometh us to fulfill all righteousness."⁴ If Simon really was baptized by a Christian, the Simonians must have had their account of the matter, [738] explaining that it, too, was necessary "to fulfill all righteousness" (or something equally vague).

Thus considerations of polemic interest require us to question the report of the baptism and it is obvious that similar questions are raised by the report of the attempt to buy the power to confer the spirit. At most it may be evidence that the Simonians did not claim to confer the spirit by the laying on of hands and that Pauline Christians alleged this as proof of the inferiority of the Simonian sect and invented this story to rub in their allegation.⁵ Similar questions, too, are raised by the charge that Simon practiced magic. That charge is common ancient abuse, applied alike to all sorts of people: Jesus, Apollonius of Tyana, the philosopher Apuleius and the emperor Tiberius. Used of religious leaders like Simon and Jesus it probably means that their fame as miracle workers was so well established that their opponents could not deny it. This is not to say that they may not also have practiced magic. Common abuse is often true, that's why it is common. But just because it is common we cannot (without further evidence) be certain of its truth in any particular instance.

Here let us cast a preliminary balance. What now seems to emerge from the story in Acts? It would seem to indicate that about 80 A.D. the author of Luke-Acts knew a tradition—either written or oral, we need not try to decide—to the effect that one Philip, of the Jerusalem community, had gone to Samaria to preach the gospel, and had made many converts there. Luke dated this after the death of Stephen, probably in the late thirties. He also knew and was anxious to embarrass the followers of a certain Simon, whom he believed to have been active in Samaria about that time. Simon had a great reputation as a miracle worker, which Luke could not deny, but explained by

⁴ John's avoidance of the story of Jesus' baptism is no less informative in this respect than Matthew's apology for it.

⁵ For the basic importance of the gift of the spirit in Pauline circles, see Gal 3:2ff., a good commentary on Acts 19:1ff.

calling him a magician. To provide his fellow Christians with further ammunition against the Simonians he reported or elaborated or invented two stories, one, that Simon had been baptized by Philip, the other, [739] that he had tried to buy from Peter and John the power to confer the spirit and had been refused and humiliated.

Of these two stories we have seen that the account of the baptism had a striking parallel in the account of Jesus' baptism being circulated by the followers of John the Baptist. This alone might have given Luke the idea of transferring it to Simon, but the idea would have been more easily come by if Simon had actually been baptized.

That Simon was baptized by a Christian, however, is quite unlikely, because Christian tradition contains a number of hostile accounts of him which depend on sources other than Acts. Had he really been baptized by a follower of Jesus, they would not have failed to emphasize the fact as a demonstration of his inferiority, just as Acts does. Since they say nothing about it, the probability is that it never occurred.

But this does not exclude the possibility of Simon's having been baptized by some other group, whose rite would not have had the same value for Christian propaganda (particularly if it has also been administered to Jesus), but would have sufficed to suggest to Luke (or his source) the slander which now stands in his text. And as a matter of fact it is reported that Simon was originally a member of the sect of John the Baptist.⁶ Therefore it is not unlikely to suppose that he was at one time baptized by John or one of John's followers.

This supposition is confirmed by the details of the story in Acts, especially the facts that the baptism is in Samaria and that it is not accompanied, but followed, by the gift of the spirit. As remarked above, the other instance in Acts where a baptism is followed by a separate gift of the spirit is a case where the first baptism was Johannite. And in the fourth Gospel we have two contradictory traditions about the conversion of Samaria. On the one hand, this Gospel claims it was begun by Jesus;⁷ on the other, it reports a saying of Jesus', addressed to his disciples, that in Samaria "others labored and you have entered into their labors," others [740] sowed and you reaped, "that the sower and the reaper may rejoice together."⁸ This is very like another saying which the fourth Gospel puts in the mouth of the Baptist, making him declare himself the friend of the bridegroom who rejoices together with the bridegroom.⁹ If the sower in Samaria who rejoices with the reaper is John who rejoices with Jesus, then the

⁶ *Clementine Homilies* 2.23.

⁷ John 4:41.

⁸ John 4:36-8.

⁹ John 3:29.

conversion of Samaria and the baptism of the converts must have been begun by John or his followers. A likely explanation of the above facts would be that Simon was baptized by them and later started a sect of his own, claiming to be the Great Power of God, come down to earth. Yet later Philip came from Jerusalem and won over many of the Samaritans, including a good many of Simon's followers, to Christianity. This may have been facilitated by the fact that Philip belonged to a group of Jerusalem Christians, the so-called "hellenists" which had many similarities with the Qumran sect, and the Qumran sect, in turn, had important points of contact with the Johannites and with Samaria.¹⁰ If so, the story of the coming of Peter and John to Samaria and their introduction of the rite of giving the spirit by the laying on of hands, may reflect the yet later advent to the city of a Pauline type of Christianity, different in this and perhaps other respects from that of the "hellenists." But such speculations, though not inherently improbable, cannot be confirmed. The most we can say is that the story of Simon's baptism, in Acts, the report about Simon in the Clemen[741]tina, and the contradictory traditions in the fourth Gospel about the conversion of Samaria, all fit together if we suppose Simon to have been a disciple of John the Baptist.

Acts says Simon had been astonishing the Samaritans by his magic "for a long time" before Philip arrived, so his career would seem to have begun about the same time as that of Jesus. But, like Jesus, he did not remain a Johannite; he started a sect of his own. In Luke's time his enemies reported that he claimed to be "somebody great" and his followers said that he was "that Power of God which is called Great."

The claim to be "somebody great" was also attributed by Rabban Gamaliel, if the western text of Acts reports him correctly,¹¹ to an earlier troublemaker called Theudas. Josephus¹² tells us that Theudas was a magician (i.e. worked miracles) and said he was a prophet and persuaded the people to follow him to the Jordan, saying he would divide the river by his command and enable them to cross. His followers were cut to pieces by a troop of Roman horsemen and he

¹⁰ For the similarities of the hellenists to the Qumran sect see M. Simon, *St. Stephen and the Hellenists* (London, 1958 [Haskell Lectures, 1956]), pp. 90-91, and the earlier studies by Cullmann and Johnson, referred to there. For Qumran's connection with Samaria, J. Bowman, "Contact between Samaritan Sects and Qumran?," *Vetus Testamentum* 7 (1957), 184ff.; with John, W. Brownlee, "John the Baptist," in *The Scrolls and the NT*, ed. K. Stendahl (N.Y., 1957), p. 33ff.; S. McCasland, "The Way," *JBL* 77 (1958), 222ff., Cullmann's reconstruction, which refers the "others" of John 4:38 to the hellenists, is unconvincing because it supposes a greater separation between the hellenists and the twelve than that suggested by the account in Acts. Of course, the account in Acts is apologetic; nevertheless, as the evidence stands, it is better explained by taking the "others" to be the Johannites.

¹¹ Acts 5:36.

¹² *Antiquities* 20.97f.

was beheaded. This was one of those Palestinian risings of which Eisler long ago demonstrated the messianic character.¹³ We may take it, therefore, that the claim to be "somebody great" was a messianic claim and that by attributing it to Simon, Luke meant to stigmatize him as a messianic pretender like Theudas and—we may add, though Luke would have distinguished—like Jesus.

This is perfectly in accord with what is known about Samaritan history at this time. The Samaritans were no less agitated by messianic pretenders than were the Jewish sects. About 35 A.D., for instance, some unlucky leader persuaded many of them to assemble at their holy mountain, Gerizim, where he promised to reveal to them the holy vessels which were supposed to have been hidden there, and of which, it was believed, the revelation would mark the end of foreign rule and the beginning of the kingdom of God. [742] Pilate used troops to break up this gathering and a number of the participants were killed.¹⁴ So it is no less likely that Simon claimed to be the Messiah than that Jesus did so.

But Simon's followers, like those of Jesus, conceived their Messiah as a supernatural being. Simon's are said to have identified him as "that Power of God which is called Great." So Acts reports, and the report is perfectly credible. The concept of "powers" as properties of objects is one of the most widespread and influential in Hellenistic thought, and the personification of "powers" as supernatural beings was common.¹⁵ Such personification is not found in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, but it appears in the Greek translations, beginning with the LXX. Here the Hebrew expression "the Lord of Hosts" is regularly translated "the Lord of the Powers," and the Powers of the Lord are urged to praise him.¹⁶ This usage was taken over and developed by the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha,¹⁷ Philo,¹⁸ and the New Testament,¹⁹ and is continued in the later Samaritan liturgy.²⁰ Moreover, it was certainly believed well before Simon's time that these powers occasionally came down and appeared on earth. Appearances of angels on earth were frequently reported by the Old Testament and

¹³ R. Eisler, *The Messiah Jesus and John the Baptist*, tr. A. Krappe (London, 1931), p. 253ff.

¹⁴ Josephus, *Ant.* 18.85-87. On the revelation of the sacred vessels as one of the functions of the Messiah, A. Merx, *Der Messias oder Ta'eb der Samaritaner* (Giessen, 1909), ZAW Beiheft 17, pp. 28 and 39ff.

¹⁵ M. Nilsson, *Greek Piety*, (Oxford, 1948), pp. 103-10.

¹⁶ 2 Sam 6:2, 18 etc.; Pss 102:21; 148:2; Dan 3:61.

¹⁷ 2 Macc 3:28; 4 Macc 5:13; Enoch 61:10; T. Levi 3:33; T. Judah 25:2; T. Abr. 14; 3 Bar. 1:8; 2 Enoch 29:4; Ascen. Is. 1:3; 2:4; 4:2; 5:9 etc.; T. Sol. 2:4; 6:8(P) etc.

¹⁸ *De fuga* 101; *de mut. nom.* 29; *de conf. ling.* 30.

¹⁹ Matt 24:29; Acts 10:38(?); Rom 8:38; 1 Cor 1:24; 15:24; Eph 1:21; 1 Pet 3:22.

²⁰ A. Cowley, *The Samaritan Liturgy*, (Oxford, 1909), II, LVI, s.v. *hyl*.

(as Prof. Wolfson has shown)²¹ angels were identified by Philo as those divine powers which God sent into the world for the care of mankind. From the Old Testament reports it was of course common belief that when the angelic powers [743] appeared in this world they did so in human forms and spoke and acted like men.

The notion that a particular historical human being was actually the appearance or incarnation of a particular supernatural power seems also to have been common in Palestine during the first century A.D. No less than five Palestinian teachers of this century—Dositheus, John, Jesus, Simon and Menander—were believed by their followers to have been such supernatural beings.²² In the second century the pagan philosopher, Celsus, said that the wandering prophets of the Palestinian coast regularly made such claims, and his Christian opponent, Origen, did not deny this.²³

Celsus' statement is confirmed by the frequency with which first-century Christian and Jewish literature either advances or attacks such claims to supernatural character. The claims made for Jesus are, of course, familiar; we need remark only that for Paul, our earliest witness, Jesus the Messiah was "the Power of God,"²⁴ as Simon the Messiah was for the Simonians. Moreover, Paul himself claimed to be an incarnation of the Messiah. "I live," he wrote, "no longer I, but the Messiah lives in me."²⁵ Some similar concept may have accounted for the claim of Menander, Simon's disciple, to supernatural status.²⁶

The case of Menander, for lack of evidence, we cannot decide, and that of Paul, for variety of evidence, is so complex that we cannot discuss it here.²⁷ As far as our present purpose goes, it is enough to point out that Paul's conception of the indwelling of the Spirit of the Messiah in himself and in all believers is concrete [744] in the extreme. For instance, when believers do not know what to say in prayer, the Spirit dwelling in them, using their voices, makes supplication on their behalf with inarticulate groanings.²⁸ This is the same belief which we meet in the Gospels, where Jesus questions the demons dwelling in a man and they answer him, using the man's voice.²⁹

²¹ H.A. Wolfson, *Philo*, (Cambridge, 1947), I, 372ff.

²² Dositheus, Origen, *Against Celsus*, 6.11; John, *Clementine Recognitions* 1.54; Vigilius of Thapsis, *Contra Arium* 20; Ephraem Syrus, *Commentaire de l'Evangile concordante, version armenienne*, tr. L. Leloir (Louvain, 1954), CSCO Armeniaci 2, 249; Menander, Justin Martyr, I *Apol.* 26; Epiphanius *Panarion*, XXII.

²³ Origen, *Against Celsus*, 7.9.

²⁴ 1 Cor 1:24.

²⁵ Gal 2:20.

²⁶ See above, note 22.

²⁷ See H. Windisch, *Paulus und Christus*, (Leipzig, 1934) and the discussion which it occasioned.

²⁸ Rom 8:26.

²⁹ Mark 5:9.

A neglected corollary of this notion of the indwelling of the Messiah in the Christian is the notion of the indwelling of Belial in the unbeliever. Thus Paul argues that, since the Messiah and Belial cannot dwell together, there can be no marriage between a believer, who is a temple in which God dwells, and an unbeliever, who is an idol inhabited by a demon.³⁰ As by eating the Christian Eucharist the believer shares in the body and blood of the Messiah, so by eating things sacrificed to demons the unbeliever shares in the life of the demons.³¹ As the ministry of Paul, the man of God,³² reveals the incarnation of the Messiah “according to his working which works in me in power,”³³ so there is an anti-Paul, a man of Belial, who also claims to be an incarnation of God, but whose ministry is a revelation “according to the working of Satan in all power and signs and false miracles.”³⁴

Paul’s further description of his opponent’s claims echoes Daniel 11:36, which reflects the claim of Antiochus Epiphanes to be a manifest god.³⁵ Since Antiochus’ time that claim had been made by many. Therefore it is not surprising that the synoptic Gospels make Jesus prophesy the coming of “false Messiahs and false prophets who will give signs and do wonders so as to lead [745] astray, if possible, the elect”³⁶—a prophecy which early Christian commentators understood as referring to Simon Magus.³⁷ The letters of John were written, probably between 90 and 100, to Christians who believed such prophecies; the author assures them that anyone who denies that Jesus is the Messiah, or that he came in the flesh, is an antichrist, since in him dwells the spirit of the antichrist.³⁸ (The denial that Jesus came in the flesh appears later as one of the standard charges against the followers of Simon.)³⁹ Probably from about the same time, the *Didache* declares that “In the latter days (by which it means the time when it was written) false prophets will be multiplied...and then the deceiver of the world will be revealed as son of God and will do signs and wonders and the earth will be given over into his hands and he will

³⁰ 2 Cor 6:14ff.; cp. Rom. 7:17.

³¹ 1 Cor 10:16ff.

³² 1 Tim. 6:11; 2 Tim. 4:17.

³³ Col 1:29; cp. Rom 15:18.

³⁴ 2 Thess 2:3-9. The Greek “man of lawlessness” almost certainly renders the Hebrew “man of Belial”; see the evidence diligently collected and misunderstood by B. Rigaux, *Les Épiures aux Thessaloniens* (Paris, 1956), pp. 656-7.

³⁵ J. Montgomery, *A Critical... Commentary on... Daniel* (N.Y., 1927), p. 461.

³⁶ Mark 13:22, cf. 13:6; Matt 24:5, 24; cf. Luke 21:8.

³⁷ Origen, *On Matt* 33 and 41; *On Jer.* 5:3; *On John* 1:33(38); Hilary of Poitiers, *On Matt* 24:5; Apollonaris of Laodicea, *On Matt* 24:5; Jerome, *On Matt* 4:24; Macarius Magnes, *Apocrit.* 4.15; *Opus imperfectum in Matt*, on 24:5.

³⁸ 1 John 2:18, 22; 4:3; 2 John 7.

³⁹ So the *Epistula apostolorum*, Irenaeus, Pseudo-Tertullian, etc.

do unlawful things which had never been done before.”⁴⁰ (The Simonians were charged with all manner of unlawful practices.)⁴¹ Similarly, the author of the Apocalypse saw “a beast from the sea” who had been given power by the devil to blaspheme God (in terms again recalling Daniel 11:36), make war against and defeat the saints, and be worshipped by all the rest of mankind; moreover, he had a false prophet, “a beast... from the land,” who looked like a lamb but spoke like the devil, and who acted with the demonic power of the first beast and made all the inhabitants of the earth worship him and did great miracles, calling fire down from heaven and vivifying the image of the first beast so as to make it breathe and speak.⁴² [746]

It is generally conceded that such passages reflect ancient apocalyptic motifs, but the fact that they do so does not exclude the possibility that they refer also to contemporary persons and events.⁴³ Indeed, apocalyptic literature generally—the Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament and the works of the Qumran sect, no less than Christian works—is precisely the product of that vision which sees in contemporary events and persons the fulfillment of ancient prophecies and the manifestations of *primaeval* supernatural powers. The imaginative fusion and confusion of ancient motifs with modern figures is not merely the characteristic, but the essential content of these works. To produce it, both the ancient and the modern elements are deliberately distorted, in the effort to prove that the one prophesied the other. We cannot look to such literature for accurate pictures of contemporary individuals or events, but we can expect it to reflect in caricature the major concerns of the men who wrote it.

Therefore in estimating the significance of the above passages we must keep in mind the great success of Simon’s church during the late first and the early second century. In the mid-second-century Justin Martyr declares plainly that Simon had had a great success in Rome and that “almost all Samaritans, and a few, even, among other peoples, confessing him to be the first God, do him worship.”⁴⁴ Even at the end of the second century Irenaeus still considers Simon as the founder and father of all heresy.

That in the first century Simon was identified as the Antichrist is the most likely interpretation of Sibylline Oracles 3.63ff. “From the

⁴⁰ Didache 16:3, for the date see J.-P. Audet, *La Didache*, (Paris, 1958), and my review in *Anglican Theol. Rev.*, 1961.

⁴¹ Celsus in Origen, A.C. 6.6; Irenaeus 1,16ff.; Clement of Alex. *Stromateis* 7,17,107; etc.

⁴² Apoc 13; *exousia* is *miraculous power*, not merely *authority*, cp. 19:20 and see the remarks in W. Bauer, *Worterbuch zum NT* (Berlin, 1952), s.v.

⁴³ See the wise remarks of W. Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, tr. A. Keane (London, 1896), pp. 11-12 (neglected by E. Lohmeyer, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 2 ed., Tübingen, 1953, HNT 16, p. 113f.).

⁴⁴ Justin, I *Apol.* 26.

men of Sebaste (Samaria) Beliar shall come hereafter, and will shake the height of the mountains, shall make the sea stand still, shall stop the great, fiery sun and the shining moon, and shall raise the dead and do many signs for men. But he shall have no power to fulfill (the prophecies, for which his signs gain credit). But, indeed, he deceives men. He shall deceive many believing [747] and elect Hebrews and other, lawless, men who have not yet heard the word of God. But as soon as the threats of the great God draw near, then a fiery Power will come through the swelling sea to the land and will burn up Beliar and all overweening men such as put their trust in him.” (And then the world shall be ruled by a woman, men shall throw their gold and silver into the sea, and God shall roll up the heavens like a book and all shall revert to fire). That this was written while Simon was alive is suggested by the fact that it expects him to be destroyed by a spectacular miracle which did not happen, and his destruction to be followed almost immediately by the end of the world. (That the world should be ruled by a woman is not a reference to Cleopatra, it is a thing as unlikely as that men should throw their gold and silver into the sea.)⁴⁵ Other passages in the Sibylline Oracles, notably 2.166f., may also refer to Simon, but are so vague that the reference is uncertain; his figure was evidently fused in apocalyptic imagination with that of Nero *redivivus*, whose coming was also expected to herald the end of the world, and in later passages we find Nero credited with miracles—raising the dead, flying through the air—which are undoubtedly parts of the Simon legend.⁴⁶

A similar association of Nero and Simon (the Samaritan false prophet) appears in the *Ascension of Isaiah*, where both, again, are manifestations of Beliar.⁴⁷ Their association is the work of an early second century editor, who took older material, in which the individual figures had different references, and put it together as an expression of the concerns of his own time.⁴⁸ To investigate [748] the details of his reinterpretation—particularly his application to Jesus of the probably Simonian myth of the Messiah’s descent through the heavens in disguise—would take us too far from our present concern, which is merely to demonstrate the frequency, in the first century, of the notion

⁴⁵ The interpretation proposed here is that of Geffcken, accepted most recently by A. Kurfess, *Sybillinische Weissagungen* (Tusculum, 1951), *ad loc.* W. Bousset’s supposition (*The Antichrist Legend*, p. 96, followed by R. Charles and others) that *Sebastenon* means of the imperial race, is to the best of my knowledge, not supported by ancient usage of the term in that sense, cf. B. Rigaux, *L’Antéchrist* (Gembloux, 1932), p. 200.

⁴⁶ Sibylline Oracles 5.217 and 370; see the note by H. Lanchester to 5.216 in R. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* (Oxford, 1913), p. 401.

⁴⁷ *Ascension of Isaiah* 4:2; 5:9.

⁴⁸ R. Charles, *The Ascension of Isaiah* (London, 1900), pp. xiff.; E. Tisserant, *Ascension d’Isaïe* (Paris, 1909), p. 56ff.

that a particular historical individual is a supernatural being, whether “appearing” or “embodied” or “indwelling,” at all events, in one way or another, effectively present. (We cannot expect of first century thought an accurate awareness of the problems of fifth-century Christology.) We have seen this belief adopted by the followers of a number of first-century Palestinians (Dositheus, John, Jesus, Simon, Menander) and peculiarly developed by Paul. We have seen also that it accounts for the widespread expectation of a supernatural Antichrist. We may now, in conclusion, mention a number of miscellaneous instances.

The Prayer of Joseph, a work probably of the first century, represents the patriarch Jacob as an incarnation of an archangel called Israel.⁴⁹ Incidentally, the *Prayer of Joseph* was also part of that apocalyptic literary tradition—*Jubilees*, *Enoch*, etc.—which Christianity had in common with the Qumran sect. We know of it chiefly because Origen quoted it to defend his own opinion that John the Baptist may have been a supernatural Power appearing on earth as a man.⁵⁰ This opinion, we have seen, was held by John’s followers and also (according to the Gospels) by Herod Antipas⁵¹ and by many others in Palestine who thought Jesus was a reappearance of John,⁵² as Simon was later thought (and may have claimed) to be a reappearance of Jesus, i.e. of the Power which had appeared as Jesus.⁵³ The existence of some similar belief about Jacob is evidenced also by the occurrence of his name in lists of names of supernatural beings in the magical papyri (for [749] instance, in the *Sword of Dardanus*, in the Paris Magical Papyrus, he is linked with Eros, Adonai and Iao.)⁵⁴ The same beliefs were held about Jesus in his own lifetime by persons who were not his followers, but who used his name, as the name of a supernatural being, to cast out demons.⁵⁵ And the same beliefs were held about Paul, too (if we can believe Acts), by the sons of a Jewish “high priest” who used his name, along with the name of Jesus, for the same purpose. Their opinion was confirmed by the demon’s acknowledgment.⁵⁶

In sum, then, the belief that a particular individual might be a supernatural Power come down to earth and appearing as a man, was

⁴⁹ M. James, *The Lost Apocrypha of the OT*, (London, 1920), pp. 21ff. The work was known by the editor of the *Ascension of Isaiah*, 4:22.

⁵⁰ On John 2:31.

⁵¹ Mark 6:14.

⁵² Mark 8:28.

⁵³ Irenaeus 1,16 and many subsequent authors.

⁵⁴ *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, ed. K. Preisendanz, I (Berlin, 1928), 126 (Pap. IV, lines 1730ff.)

⁵⁵ Mark 9:28.

⁵⁶ Acts 19:15.

reasonably common in first century Palestine. There is no cause whatever to doubt Acts' statement that the followers of Simon, in his own lifetime, believed him to be such a supernatural being. Whether or not Simon made the claim for himself, Acts does not say. He may well have done so.

CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE

PLUTARCH, DE SUPERSTITIONE (MORALIA 164E-171F)¹

[1] The tractate Περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας (hereafter ΠΔ) is found in the thirteenth-century Planudean corpus of Plutarch's *Moralia*² and the title appears in the "Lamprias Catalogue" of Plutarch's works.³ The author twice refers to himself as "Plutarch" (170A). Accordingly the work has generally been accepted as Plutarch's,⁴ but the evidence is not strong. The Planudean corpus is a late collection and the catalogue, though its beginnings may have been early, was always liable to expansion.⁵ The self-identification is so atypical⁶ that it rather requires defense than affords proof of authenticity; it might be explained as a clumsy attempt to pass the work off as Plutarch's.⁷ [2]

The style has many parallels with Plutarch's other works, but the content is not what one would expect of Plutarch. The tractate is not merely "About δεισιδαιμονία," but, "About δεισιδαιμονία, that it is worse than atheism," and the argument goes as follows: Ignorance of the gods produces, in the tough-minded, atheism, in the soft-headed, fear (δεισιδαιμονία). Of these two, atheism is the less harmful because: 1. Atheism is mere error, while δεισιδαιμονία involves both error and πάθος (emotional disturbance). Moreover this πάθος, fear (φόβος), is particularly bad. It inhibits action and so prevents escape, it affects all aspects of life, there is no relief from it in sleep nor in waking, nor by

¹ This article was read by Prof. H. D. Betz and Miss Ruth Dannemann; Miss Dannemann also verified the references of the first draft. To both of them I am indebted for many corrections.

² As no. 21. F. Babbitt et al., ed., *Plutarch's Moralia* (London, 1927ff.), vol. I, p. xxii. References to the *Moralia* throughout this article are to this edition, unless otherwise specified. References to the *Lives* are to B. Perrin, ed., *Plutarch's Lives* (London, 1914-26), 11 vols. (again, unless otherwise specified).

³ As no. 155. *Moralia* XV, p. 22; K. Ziegler, "Plutarchos von Chaironeia," *PW* XXI/1, 1951, 636ff. (henceforth cited as "Ziegler, *PW*"), col. 700. Here the title is followed by the words πρὸς Ἐπίκουρον either an erroneous addition, or an indication that the title referred to some other—now lost—tractate, or itself a title of another—now lost—work.

⁴ So by Ziegler, *PW* 825f and by the more recent monograph of H. Moellering, *Plutarch on Superstition*, revised ed. (Boston, 1963) (henceforth "Moellering"). Moellering mentions, as having denied the work to Plutarch, only J. Hartmann, *De Plutarcho Scriptore et Philosopho* (Leiden, 1916).

⁵ On the date of the catalogue see F. Sandbach in *Moralia* XV, pp. 6ff.

⁶ Cf. Ziegler, *PW*, 826 *infra*.

⁷ This attempt might have been made by a forger who composed the whole work after Plutarch's time, or by an editor who revised the work and wished to pass off his revision as Plutarch's, or by a mere interpolator who inserted Plutarch's name in 170A, either because he thought Plutarch the author, or because he wished others to think so. (The opinion might have increased the acceptability of the work, or its monetary value.)

flight nor by change of masters, nor in asyla nor even in death. 2. Although atheism is blindness to the gods, blindness is preferable to misapprehension, and fear of the gods rests on misapprehension. 3. In misfortune fear of the gods is worse than atheism because it adds to the actual misfortune the fear of further evils from the gods, and it inhibits preventative and curative measures, as resistance to the gods; it inspires disgraceful apotropaic rites, and finally it produces despair which sometimes makes even minor misfortunes fatal. 4. In good fortune, too, fear of the gods is worse than atheism; especially in religious festivals the atheist merely mocks, the man who fears the gods is in terror. 5. Fear of the gods is worse impiety than atheism, for it is less impious to deny the existence of the gods than to think them evil—as mythology and popular religion represent them. 6. Fear of the gods makes for atheism, since those who fear the gods must hate them, and those who hate them must wish they did not exist and wish to disbelieve in them, without daring to do so. 7. Fear of the gods is the cause of atheism, for nothing in the order of the physical world, but only the absurd rites of those who fear the gods, lead men to deny them. 8. The cultic consequences of fear of the gods are worse than those of atheism, as shown by numerous examples. Conclusion: Flee, therefore, the fear of the gods, but do not fall into atheism. Piety lies between them.

From this outline it is clear that Babbitt's title for the tract, "Superstition," is a mistranslation. The tractate touches only occasionally and incidentally on what are commonly called superstitious practices; they are among the evil consequences of the fear of the gods, but are not even the major consequences, let alone the fear itself. "Scrupulosity" would be better, but its reference is limited to self-examination and the performance of obligations, [3] whereas δεισδαιμονία includes fear of the gods as dangerous objects, without reference to any individual's offences. The best translation seems therefore "fear of supernatural beings," since the treatise pays no attention to the distinction between gods and demons, but lumps all together.⁸ However, "supernatural beings" is a cumbersome expression, so we shall translate simply "fear of the gods."

The argument of the work depends wholly on the supposition that the gods are not to be feared *at all*. They are purely benevolent and devoid of wrath (167D); the notion that they can do harm is the result of ignorance and a fundamental error (165C); the notions that they are

⁸ This is the meaning δεισδαιμονέστερος has in Acts 17:22. In Acts 25:19 the δεισδαιμονία of the Jews is approximately equivalent to *religio*, the complex of practices both official and private, resulting from fear of the gods, a meaning it does not have in ΠΔ but may have in some passages of Plutarch, e.g., *Camillus* 19; *Numa* 10. See below, n. 26.

capable of anger, hate evil, and are grieved by blasphemy, are errors proved false by the impunity of the myth-makers (170C); consequently *no* fear of them is justified, and one of the good things to be said for atheism is that it does get rid of this fear (165B). In this life the atheist suffers by his neglect of them only as a blind or deaf man suffers by his inability to perceive beautiful things (165B-C, 167A-D). As “human life ends with death” (166F), after that there is nothing to fear. Threatening dreams are to be laughed at (165F); stories of Hades and the like are mere fantasies of δεισιδαιμονία (167A). The same argument applies without distinction to demons and gods alike (168A-D, 171C), though generally the gods alone are mentioned, as the more important group. There is no suggestion of the existence of evil or dangerous demons who might have to be placated or driven off. The myths telling of divine punishments are impious (170B-D) and there is no hint that they should be explained allegorically. The myths of Apollo are mentioned as disgraceful (170B); so are the religious ceremonies of the Egyptians (171E).

All these characteristics are antithetical to those of Plutarch, who elsewhere defines the proper attitude towards the gods as εὐλάβεια⁹—“handle with care”—prefers the fear of the gods and even superstition to atheism,¹⁰ describes at length the divine punishment of the wicked in the afterlife,¹¹ is full of divine warnings [4] given in dreams,¹² distinguishes gods from demons, and assigns an important role to evil demons who have to be placated even by human sacrifice.¹³ Moreover Plutarch regularly allegorizes embarrassing myths and is particularly concerned to defend Apollo and the Egyptian cults.¹⁴

These discrepancies have often been recognized more or less clearly¹⁵ and have been explained by the supposition that ΠΔ was [5]

⁹ *Camillus* 6 end; *Coriolanus* 25.

¹⁰ *Non posse suaviter* 21; *Adversus Colotem* 30f.

¹¹ *De sera numinis vindicta*.

¹² *Septem sapientium convivium* 15 end; *Quaestiones convivales* 8.10; *Caesar* 63; *Cimon* 18; etc.

¹³ Moellering, 128ff.

¹⁴ Moellering, 96ff.

¹⁵ Moellering, 96-147, discusses at length a number of the major points and reviews earlier “explanations.” One requiring special attention is that of H. Erbse, “Plutarchs Schrift Περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας,” *Hermes* 80, 1952, 296ff (hereafter, “Erbse”), an attempt to defend Plutarch from the charge of superstition. Erbse finds it “eindeutig klar” (p. 298) that in ΠΔ δεισιδαιμονία can refer only to “false fear of gods” as opposed to demons. (But there is no opposition between gods and demons in the text, and the author seems to equate them in 166A-B where the ἐνυπνιον φάντασμα is presumably demonic, 168A-D, and 171C. Nor is there any distinction in the text between “true” and “false”—read “proper” and “improper”—fear of the gods; the author never says anything about any “proper” fear of the gods, and he repeatedly bases his argument on the supposition that the gods are wholly and solely beneficent and that any fear of them is therefore unjustified. P. Koets, *Δεισιδαιμονία*, Purmerend, 1929, 102, finds that Christian authors were the first to use the term for fear of demons as opposed to gods.) Neglecting these

an early work¹⁶ and the fact that it was a rhetorical one. It is said that Plutarch, when he set himself the task of abusing fear of the gods, was prepared to represent it as worse than atheism; when he was abusing atheism, he would tip the scales to the other side. In either case he would say nothing about modifying considerations, the more so because his purpose was always moral as well as rhetorical; he wished not only to display his skill but to dissuade his readers from whichever evil he was attacking.¹⁷ Accordingly the contradictions between ΠΔ and his supposedly later works show a considerable change of attitude and emphasis, but not a radical conversion (of which there is no evidence in his many references to his own life, nor in the reports about him).

This explanation is less than completely convincing. It is supplemented, however, by the supposition that in ΠΔ Plutarch was using a source—a diatribe by the cynic Bion of Borysthenes, whom he quotes for one detail (168E)¹⁸—and appropriated this source by slight changes, mainly those representing true piety as a mean between the extremes of superstition and atheism. In favor of attribution of the revised work to Plutarch is the fact that the notion of piety as a mean,

facts, Erbse goes on to argue that since Plutarch later held that rejection of belief in the afterlife undermined morality, his rejection of it in ΠΔ must not be taken at face value (p. 302). When Plutarch later reports prodigies and the like, he is merely repeating his sources and his occasional expressions of scepticism about some indicate that he held a rationalistic attitude towards all (p. 302-303). Of course Plutarch had an elaborate demonology—in fact, he had at least two inconsistent demonologies, but he should not therefore be thought uncritical (p. 304), and when the passages exemplifying gross superstition are removed from consideration, because exceptional, there are no passages that exemplify gross superstition (p. 305 and n. 2). Moreover, all this has nothing to do with δεισιδαιμονία as discussed in ΠΔ, because that by Erbse's definition, refers only to fear of gods. Admittedly, Plutarch often does use θεός and τὸ θεῖον in the sense of δαίμων and vice versa, but all such instances are to be explained as copied from his sources (pp. 306-7). All improper opinions about the gods can thus be taken as referring to demons; therefore Plutarch's opinions about the gods were of the purest philosophical rationality (pp. 307, 309). As for his demonology, that does, indeed, by modern standards, look like superstition, but since it can be seen as the expression of a philosophical system (except when it doesn't fit that system) and since Plutarch thought that some men by virtue could escape the power of the demons, he cannot be called superstitious (pp. 313-314). Q.E.D. Contrast the recognition by H. Braun, *Plutarch's Critique of Superstition in the Light of the NT*, Claremont, N.D. (Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, *Occasional Papers* 5) p. 4, that the gods of ΠΔ are wholly benevolent. This destroys the basis for Erbse's notion of a "proper" fear of them.

¹⁶ So Ziegler, *PW*, 826, though he admits that the rhetorical development is not the work of a student, but of an experienced rhetorician.

¹⁷ J. Oakesmith, *The Religion of Plutarch* (London, 1902), 185ff.

¹⁸ So especially G. Abernethy, *De Plutarchi qui fertur de superstitione libello* (Konigsberg, 1911), who thought he could distinguish Plutarch's additions from the original Cynic material. Ziegler, *PW*, 826 *infra*, thinks the attribution to Bion too definite—there must have been many intermediaries between his work and Plutarch's. The attempt to distinguish Plutarch's additions, he thinks naive.

and some of the general statements about atheism, piety, and δεισιδαιμονία, are strikingly paralleled in Plutarch's undoubted works.¹⁹ However, it remains difficult to explain why Plutarch should have appropriated a work which contradicted not only a number of his particular beliefs—in divine admonitions, rewards and punishments, the allegorical significance of myths, and so on—but also his general attitude of superstitious piety. He was—*pace* Erbse—a regular reporter of omens and prodigies and instances of divine favor and resentment and cases of nemesis and so on, and he sometimes goes out of his way to find reasons why such causes may have been active and to cast doubt on [6] rationalistic explanations of the events he reports.²⁰ By contrast, the piety of ΠΔ is Epicurean—the gods exist, and men should believe in them, but they are indifferent to human opinion and harm no one, so the unbeliever is afflicted only by his own blindness.²¹ This basically Epicurean attitude—which certainly did not come from Plutarch—does something to discredit the notion of general dependence on a Cynic source.

Further discussion of the reliability of the attribution of ΠΔ to Plutarch would not be germane to the purpose of this article. What has been said is sufficient to indicate that some caution should be observed in citing material from ΠΔ as evidence of Plutarch's usage. The tractate presents us with a problem of authenticity comparable to those presented by Ephesians, Colossians, and the Pastorals. One more factor of this problem may be mentioned. ΠΔ is remarkable because it takes its subject so seriously. By contrast, Theophrastus' treatment is comic and reduces δεισιδαιμονία to "superstition."²² Theophrastus was followed by Menander, the cynics, and Lucian.²³ ΠΔ, on the other hand, though it uses the peripatetic definition of piety as

¹⁹ *De Iside* 71 end; *Alexander* 75; *Camillus* 6 end; more in Erbse, 300f.

²⁰ Omens and prodigies, *Romulus* 24, 27f.; *Numa* 2, *Poplicola* 13; *Camillus* 3, 14, 30; *Fabius* 2f; *Coriolanus* 37; *Timoleon* 8, 12 end; *Paulus* 24f; *Pelopidas* 31; *Marcellus* 4, 28f.; etc. Divine favor/resentment, *Marcellus* 30; *Sulla* 6; *Phocion* 30; *Romulus* 28; *Dion* 2; etc. Nemesis, *Theseus* 2; *Camillus* 13; *Paulus* 22 end, 36 end; *Philopoemen* 18; etc. Reasons for belief, or for doubting rationalistic explanations, *Brutus* 37, 48; *Dion* 2; *Pericles* 6; *Coriolanus* 38; *Paulus* 25; *Sulla* 7, etc.

²¹ Gods exist, ΠΔ 165B, 167B, D; etc. H. Usener, *Epicurea* (Leipzig, 1887), 60. Men should believe in them, ΠΔ locc. cit. and 171E-F; Usener 60. They are indifferent to human opinion, ΠΔ 170C; Usener 71. They harm no one, ΠΔ 166D-E, 167D; Usener pp. XXf. Thus the unbeliever suffers only from his own blindness, ΠΔ 165C, 167A-B, D; Usener p. XXI. Other traits, too, are borrowed from Epicureanism, see A. Festugiere, *Epicure et ses dieux*, 2 ed. (Paris, 1968), 78 and n. 1.

²² Contrast P. Steinmetz' commentary in his edition of Theophrastus, *Charaktere*, vol. II (Munich, 1962) (*Das Wort der Antike* VII), 186. But Steinmetz is concerned with the abstract definition of δεισιδαιμονία rather than the question of its practical meaning, which includes that of the attitude towards it.

²³ P. Koets, *Deisidaimonia* (Purmerend, 1929), 34-41.

the mean between atheism and fear of the gods,²⁴ stands closest to Lucretius in its extended, systematic attack on all forms of the fear of the gods, including fear of retribution after death. This resemblance has been concealed by the [7] fact that the object of Lucretius' attack is *religio*,²⁵ but *religio* may be Lucretius' translation of δεισιδαιμονία, the word he probably found in his Greek sources.²⁶ Any careful study of the authenticity of ΠΔ will have to seek the source of this serious concern about the fear of the gods as a major factor in human unhappiness.

The fact that the work is a diatribe leads to another line of investigation we shall not follow here. As a diatribe, the NT works which stand closest to it in literary form are Hebrews (apart from its pseudoepistolary ending) and James. Bultmann described in his doctoral thesis²⁷ the many respects in which the diatribe has influenced NT writings, especially Paul's, so examination of the parallels in literary form between the NT books and ΠΔ qua diatribe would at best add more details to a large body of evidence for an already familiar relation.

It seems therefore more important to discuss the parallels of content between ΠΔ and the NT, especially because these are more complex than might be supposed. Christianity, like Judaism, was attacked by the pagans not only as δεισιδαιμονία, but also as atheism,²⁸ and it returned both compliments. An important side of Christian propaganda was its rationalistic attack on pagan myths and practices,²⁹ an attack which carried on the traditions—and probably did much to save the texts—of Greek philosophy.³⁰ Consequently, the NT yields two sets of content-parallels to ΠΔ, one set exemplifying the Christians' fear of their own god and its [8] issuance in the sorts of

²⁴ Koets, 43f; Erbse, 299. The peripatetic notion appears mainly at the beginning and the end of ΠΔ and has little to do with the main course of the argument. It is most likely an editorial addition.

²⁵ Consequently Lucretius' work is not considered by Koets.

²⁶ For δεισιδαιμονία as a translation of *religio* see Polybius 6.56.6; Strabo 1.2.8; Josephus, *Antiquities* 14.228, 232, 237, 240; more in H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus graecae linguae*, edd. C. Hase and G. and L. Dindorf (repr. Graz, 1954), s.v. δεισιδαιμονία. The Latin parallels to Polybius 6.56 collected by W. Otto, "Religio und Superstitio," *ARW* 12, 1909, 542 are striking evidence of the equivalence of the two terms (which Otto overlooks).

²⁷ R. Bultmann, *Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt und die kynisch-stoische Diatribe* (Göttingen, 1910).

²⁸ Δεισιδαιμονία (= *superstitio*) used of Judaism, Agatharchides of Cnidus in Josephus, *Ant.* 12.5; *C. Apion.* 1.208; Diogn. 1; of Christianity, Tacitus, *Annals* 5.44.4 "Atheism" used of Judaism, Josephus, *C. Apion.* 2.14; of Christianity, MPol 3.1; 9.2; Lucian, *Alexander* 25; etc.

²⁹ Pagans accused of atheism, MPol locc. citt.; of δεισιδαιμονία, passages collected by Koets, 89ff; these contain also many charges of atheism. The two accusations—ignorance of the true god and worship of false ones—are closely connected.

³⁰ See the classical study by Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, 4 ed. (Leipzig, 1924), Book II, Ch. VI, "Die Religion ... der Vernunft," pp. 239ff.

practices that ΠΔ attacks, another set exemplifying Christian attacks on fear of the pagan gods and on similar pagan practices. Having to deal with these two sets, we shall limit ourselves to matters of content which are substantial elements in the argument of ΠΔ. Other parallels, to incidental remarks, words, etc., will be mostly passed over.

We begin with those passages exemplifying the Christians' fear of god. (Both the notion and the experience were commonly expressed in antiquity and particularly in the OT, see the passages in TWNT s.v. φοβέω. Ps 2:11, which commands, "Serve Yahweh with fear and rejoice with trembling," presents a remarkable parallel to ΠΔ 169E—the man who fears the gods "when he wears a wreath (in a religious festival) turns pale, he sacrifices and is terrified, he prays with a quavering voice and puts incense on the fire with trembling hands.")

164E IGNORANCE OF THE GODS PRODUCES, IN THE TOUGH-
165B MINDED, ATHEISM, IN THE SOFT-HEADED, FEAR. OF
THESE TWO, ATHEISM IS THE LESS HARMFUL, BECAUSE
ATHEISM IS MERE ERROR, WHILE ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ
INVOLVES BOTH ERROR AND ΠΑΘΟΣ. (EXAMPLES
INCLUDE AN ATTACK ON THE LOVE OF MONEY AS A
PASSION WHICH DESTROYS ALIKE PEACE OF MIND AND
FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION—ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ).

Ignorance of god is, for the NT too, a basic cause of evil and a condition from which men must be saved, cf. Bultmann, TWNT 1, s.v. ἄγνοια. This ignorance is said in 1 Cor 1:20f.; 2 Thess 2:10ff. to be caused by the Christian god. Even some Christians still suffer from ignorance of god, at least to some degree, 1 Cor 15:34. It is also caused by one of the lower gods—the god of this world, 2 Cor 4:4. As for ΠΔ so for Paul, it leads to enslavement, Gal 4:8—for Paul the observance of the Law given by the angelic-cosmic powers, for ΠΔ 166D scrupulous observance of the requirements of pagan belief. (Unlike ΠΔ, Paul thought it would lead its victims to eternal destruction, 2 Thess 2:11f.) Paul and ΠΔ agree that knowledge of god brings release from servitude—Gal 4:9; ΠΔ 167D-E—but in Paul this is servitude to false gods, in ΠΔ, unreasonable concern about true ones. Also Paul thinks knowledge (of god) may be dangerous as a cause of arrogance (1 Cor 8:2); ΠΔ has no such fear—it is, in fact, a good example of the sort of argument Paul would have attacked as arrogant. For 2 Peter knowledge of god is the source of [9] all good gifts and especially, as for ΠΔ, the basis of true piety (εὐσέβεια), 1:3ff. The same notion is found in 1 John 2:3. Competing Christian groups also claim knowledge of god, that is to say, of the depths, perhaps of Satan—it is hard to decide whether or not the specification comes from the author of Rev 2:24.

The tough-minded are atheists, the soft-headed, believers. Acts 7:51; 19:9; Rom 2:5; 9:18; Heb 3:8, 13, 15; 4:7 (showing the OT background of the antithesis).

The notion that atheism is less harmful than fear of the gods is unparalleled in the NT.

Fear of the gods: The Christian material is ambivalent. It divides supernatural beings into five classes: the high god or Father, his son Jesus, the holy spirit, angels, and evil spirits. The boundaries of these classes are not always sharp—Jesus is said to be the (holy) spirit, 2 Cor 3:17. Satan has his angels, who are presumably evil spirits, Rev 12:7; 20:2; 2 Cor 12:7; and in which group of angels we should locate the cosmic powers through whom the Law was given, is not clear.

Of these groups, the evil spirits (including Satan, the devil, etc.) are to be feared, 1 Cor 7:5; 10:20; 11:10; 2 Cor 2:11, 10:3ff.; 11:14f.; Eph 2:2; 4:27; 6:11ff.; cf. Matt 6:13; 1 Thess 2:18; 3:5; 2 Thess 2:8f.; 1 Tim 3:6f.; 4:1; 5:14; 1 Pet 5:8; 1 John 3:8ff.; 4:1ff.; 5:18ff.; Rev 2:10, 13; 3:9; 6ff. *passim*. These many passages, together with the exorcism stories in the Gospels, show that the early Christians thought they lived in a world full of δαιμόνια who threatened them constantly with everything from assault to seduction. Fear of δαιμόνια therefore seemed to them necessary and normal. But the δαιμόνια can also be used by god or by Christians to punish the wicked—Paul gave over to Satan the man who practiced incest, 1 Cor 5:5; cf. 2 Cor 12:7; 1 Tim 1:20; Rev 9:3ff.; etc. Moreover, with the help of Jesus and the spirit the Christian can resist or escape them successfully—this is shown by the apostles' exorcisms, further Rom 8:38f.; 16:20; Gal 1:4; Eph 6:11-16; Jas 4:7; 1 Pet 5:9; Rev *passim*. Jesus came into the world to defeat the devil, did so, and has thereby liberated those who through fear of death were in lifelong slavery, Heb 2:14f.; cf. 1 John 3:8f.; 1 Cor 15:57. So the fear of these δαιμόνια should engender, in the Christian, proper caution rather than the sorts of servitude attacked by ΠΔ and by Paul.

As in the public press, so in the NT, the bad guys get more attention than the good, demons have a much more conspicuous [10] role than angels. But angels, too, are dangerous and occasionally objects of fear, Matt 28:4; Luke 1:12; Acts 10:4; 12:23; Rev 6ff.; and *passim*. Some Christians are even accused of worshipping them (that seems, at least, to be the more likely interpretation of Col 2:18),³¹ and such worship may have been fairly common in Judaism: the *Sepher ha-Razim* (ed. M. Margolioth, Jerusalem, 1966) gives us adequate examples, the angel of the Apocalypse warns John not to worship him, 19:10; 22:8f., and there are a number of other references. But for the NT in general, fear

³¹ I am not persuaded by attempts to explain this verse as referring to the angels' worship.

of good angels is not a major concern; nor is any affection shown them, though they occasionally appear as divine messengers to help the heroes (Luke 22:43; Acts 12:11; Rev 6ff.; and *passim*).

A more important class of divine messengers who are and should be objects of fear are the apostles. They are dangerous—Peter kills Ananias and Sapphira, Acts 5:5ff., and not only is the church terrified, but also the fear of the apostles in the church is reflected by the fear of the Christians in the surrounding world, and the author of Acts obviously thinks this is a good thing (5:13). Paul blinds Elymas, Acts 13:10, and makes sinners over to Satan, 1 Cor 5:1-5, and warns the Corinthians of the power he has over them, the clear implication being that they had better fear, 2 Cor 13:1-10. He himself was afraid of the Jerusalem apostles, Gal 2:2. The consequence of apostolic power was awe, if not fear: Acts 10:25; 14:11ff.; 28:6; Gal 4:14; etc. and the apostles are represented as prohibiting men to worship them. (Perhaps these prohibitions were intended to be exemplary; Simon Magus and perhaps some other gnostics did not prohibit worship.)

The power of the apostles is commonly represented as the work of the holy spirit, but the spirit itself is not (never?) an object of fear.³² It directs the apostles' actions and can prevent them from doing as they want, Acts 13:2f.; 15:28; 16:6f.; 20:22; etc., but its guidance is sometimes rejected, Acts 21:4f., 10-14, and Paul directs that the spirits of the Christian prophets should be subject to the prophets, 1 Cor 14:32. (Which spirits were these, if not the holy [11] spirit? Were any Christians still prophesying by Apollo, like the girl in Acts 16:17?)

Jesus is an object of fear mainly in two respects, because of his miracles, and because of his destined role as judge in the last judgment. While his miracles were commonly beneficial (though he did blast the fig tree, Mark 11:12ff., and the revelation of him struck Saul blind, Acts 9:8; 22:11, and made John drop as if dead, Rev 1:17) they commonly produced fear—as do NT miracles generally, Matt 8:33f.; 9:8; 14:16; 17:6; 24:48; 27:54; Mark 4:41; 5:15, 33; 6:49; Luke 1:12, 65; 2:9; 5:8f., 26; 7:16; 8:25, 35ff.; 9:34, 45; 24:37; John 6:19; Acts 5:1-13; 19:17-19; etc. These passages adequately indicate what the early Christians thought to be the primary and proper reaction to the supernatural, cf. John 19:8. Jesus' activity has not ended with his death—he is still dangerous. He hates the works of the Nicolaitans, and the church of Ephesus does well to do likewise, Rev 2:6; he threatens to kill Jezebel's followers, Rev 2:22f. But his coming role in the end is a particular cause of fear. It is mainly conceived as that of

³² That blasphemy against it was thought by some an unforgivable sin (Mark 3:28f. and parallels) need not indicate fear of it; the spirit does not seem to be the active authority either in determining the offense or in imposing the penalty. There is no mention of fear, for instance, in the account of the epiphany of the spirit in Acts 2.

judgment, Matt 24:30; John 9:39(?); Acts 10:42; 17:31; Phil 1:10; 2 Thess 1:8f.; etc. But 2 Thess and Rev present the no less frightening picture of the leader of the angelic army sent to defeat the evil, Rev 19:11ff., and subsequently to preside over their torture, Rev 6:16f.; 14:10. This material is countered to some extent by a number of passages in which Jesus tells his followers not to fear him, Matt 14:27; 28:10; Mark 6:50; Rev 1:17. The notion of final judgment evidently gave some trouble in John's circle. John 3:17ff contradicts it and reduces the judgment to presentation of a revelation which must be accepted or rejected, but this is an eccentricity of the Johannine material. And for John as for the rest of the NT fear is an important and proper element in the attitude toward Jesus.

Finally, fear of the Father: This is not only a major motif in the literature, but a major structural factor in the religion which the literature presents. It is motivated by the Father's nature—he is a devouring fire, Heb 12:28f., and it is a fearful thing to fall into his hands, Heb 10:31. He is liable to wrath, even to fury, and these will be major factors in his coming destruction both of the wicked and (sometimes) of the whole world, John 3:36; Rom 1:18; 2:5, 8; 3:5; 5:9; 9:22; Eph 5:6; Col 3:6; 1 Thess 1:10; 2:16; Rev 11:18; 14:10, 19; 15:17; 16:19; 19:15; Heb 12:25-27. Eschatological threats recur frequently throughout all the books of the NT and form not merely the back-[12]ground, but an essential element in the explanation of the whole course of events, Matt 5:19; 7:23, 25ff.; 8:12; 10:15, 23; 9:22ff.; 12:36f., 42ff.; 13:30; 24-25; Mark 8:36ff.; 9:42-49; 13:26-37; Luke 6:24ff., 49; 12:47f.; 13:3, 5, 9; 14:24; 17:26-30; 19:27; 21:25ff.; 23:28-31; Rom 2:2f., 5ff., 16; 14:10ff.; 1 Cor 3:13ff., 17; 7:29; 10:11f.; 11:32; 2 Cor 5:10; 1 Thess 5:2f.; 2 Thess 1:8f.; Heb 6:4-8; 10:26ff.; 13:4; 1 Pet 3:12; 4: 5; 2 Pet 2:9, 12, 17; 3:10-13; 1 John 2:17; Rev 1:1 and *passim*. (Note the emphasis on the proximity of the End, its sudden and unexpected coming, etc. Most such passages contain an element of threat.)

Besides planning to destroy the world, the Father also destroys individuals. The prayer, "Lead us not into temptation," Matt 6:13; Luke 11:4, indicates a fear that he may do so, a notion Paul accepted in 2 Thess 2:9-12; 1 Cor 10:13—God creates temptations—and James found it necessary to contradict in 1:13. He made the Israelites worship the cosmic powers, Acts 7:42 (cf. above, on the ignorance of god) and he was the cause of their rejection of Jesus, Rom 11:8; John 12:40 (cf. Matt 13:14; Acts 28:26f.). Indeed Paul thought that God deliberately creates some men as "instruments of (his) wrath," that is, for the sake of destroying them, Rom 9:22. In this matter his choice is absolutely arbitrary and is not affected by any consideration of human merits, Rom 9:16f.; nor is even his arbitrary choice irreversible, therefore Paul says, he is particularly to be feared, Rom 11:21. He makes foolishness

of the wisdom of this world, and rejects all human virtues, 1 Cor 1:19ff., 27ff.; 3:19ff.; 2 Cor 1:12. But even those whom he arbitrarily chooses are not safe. He tests and punishes those he loves, Rev 3:19; Heb 12:17, so that Christians, too, are in danger of falling and should therefore fear, Rev 2:5, 10, 25; 3:3, 11, 15ff.; 2 Pet 3:17; 2 John 8; 1 Cor 10:21; 11:32; Paul himself does not feel quite safe, 1 Cor 9:27. And Jesus is credited with the saying “I’ll show you whom to fear. Fear him who, after killing, has the power to cast into Gehenna. Yes, I tell you, fear him,” Luke 12:5; Matt 10:9. The command to fear God is repeated in Phil 2:12; Rev 14:7. The righteous are those “who fear him,” Rev 19:5; Acts 10:2 (= εὐσεβής); 10:22 (= δίκαιος); Luke 1:50; but even a murderer may be expected to feel this fear (Luke 23:40). Any man who does not fear God is absolutely wicked, Luke 18:2. Good Christian behaviour is to live in fear, 1 Pet 3:2; Heb 12:28f.; Phil 2:12; Acts 2:43; 9:31. Piety is εὐλάβεια—timidity, Acts 2:5 (so it is for Plutarch generally, in contrast to ΠΑ). And a good presentation of the gospel produces fear, Acts 24:25, (but contrast 1 Tim 1:5). [13]

It must be made clear, first, that all this is only one side of Christian teaching. There is another, that of grace, peace, confidence, and joy, which is equally well-attested—beginning with the word εὐαγγέλιον, “good news.” Christianity made large use of fear and threats, but its primary instrument seems to have been hope and it seems to have spread as a promise of a salvation which was often conceived as spiritual tranquillity. Galatians as a whole is an example of this, and to a lesser degree the other Pauline letters. See also Matt 11:29; John 14:27; 16:33; Acts 10:36; Eph 6:15. Notice the frequent recurrence of the command, “Fear not,” with reference to religious fear: Matt 1:20; 14:27; 17:7; 28:5, 10; Mark 6:50; Luke 1:13, 30; 2:10; 5:10; 12:32; John 6:20; 14:1; etc., and also the recurrence of “grace” and “peace” in the greetings of almost all the epistles. 2 Tim 1:7 declares “God has not given us a spirit of timidity, but of peace and love and self-control.” And 1 John 4:18 even looks forward to the complete elimination of fear, declaring, “There is no fear in love, but perfect love casts out fear, because fear entails punishment and he who fears is not perfected in love.”

In the second place, the role of fear in the NT is a continuation of its role, already mentioned, in the OT and intertestamental Judaism. Christian threats and promises alike seem to have been especially effective with those groups in the synagogues known as “the god-fearing,” Acts 13:16, 26, etc. This suggests that scrupulosity—a painful psychological condition to which adherents of legalistic religions are particularly exposed—played a considerable part in the success of Christianity. This suggestion is supported by a number of NT texts which attack the Law as “a yoke neither we nor our fathers were able

to bear,” Acts 15:10; Gal 3:10, cf. Matt 11:30, and which promise Jewish hearers “remission ... from all those (sins) from which you could not by the law of Moses be justified,” Acts 13:38; cf. 5:31; 10:43; Heb 9:9; 10:1ff.; Gal 2:16; etc. Such a background would explain the unusually acute contrasts of the NT texts, which combine the most outspokenly terrifying apocalyptic framework with a constantly reiterated and perhaps slightly nervous insistence on grace, mercy, love, peace, confidence, and joy.

Avarice: It is typical of the philosophical and moral fashion of the time that ΠΔ 164F should choose the notion “that wealth is good” as its first example of an error combined with passion that destroys the soul. NT attacks on avarice reflect not only current Greco-[14]Roman fashion, but also an OT tradition already fully expressed in Psalms; thus Luke 12:15; 16:14; 1 Cor 5:10f.; 6:10; Eph 5:3; Col 3:5; Heb 13:5. These are merely passing references which reflect the common convention of abuse; 1 Tim 6:9f has a brief development which follows the same line as that in ΠΔ: the desire for wealth is wicked not because it leads to injustice to the poor (the OT line) but because it destroys the peace and threatens the spiritual development of those who indulge in it—the Stoic commonplace.

Boldness (παρρησία) is a Cynic virtue. ΠΔ 165 warns that the desire for wealth destroys it, and this warning is the end and climax of its attack. In the NT παρρησία plays a large role not only in Paul, but also in John’s portrait of Jesus, and in Acts’ of the apostles. It is also prominent in Hebrews and 1 John as a virtue which the writers exhort their readers to enjoy or display, cf. TWNT (TDNT), s.v. In the NT this is not only a reflection of Cynic influence—it has no (?) OT root (but cf. Jer 15:20; 20:11; Exod 4:11)—but also an element of the confidence-complex discussed at the end of the note on fear, above (and see also πεποιθήσις, and καύχημα). That the NT authors in their use of the term meant just what Plutarch meant is unlikely, but their appropriation of it is significant as an example of the way in which Christianity was taking over the terms of approval and laying claim to the virtues of pagan society.

165D OF THE ΠΑΘΗ, FEAR IS PARTICULARLY BAD BECAUSE: A. IT INHIBITS ACTION AND PREVENTS ATTEMPTS TO ESCAPE. B. FEAR OF THE GODS AFFECTS ALL ASPECTS OF LIFE (EARTH, SEA, AIR, HEAVEN, DARKNESS, LIGHT, SOUNDS, SILENCE, DREAMS).

Πάθος: That the πάθη are bad is a Stoic commonplace, probably not reflected in Rom 1:26 where the construction suggests a Hebrew construct state (cf. M. Pohlenz, “Paulus und die Stoa”, ZNW 42, 1949,

82). The other NT usages (Col 3:5; 1 Thess 4:5) are also unfavorable, but otherwise nondescript.

Φόβος as a πάθος: Discussed in the NT only in 1 John 4:18: There is no fear in love, etc. quoted above. Even such a brief psychological comment is surprising in the NT and an unexpected contact with the ΠΔ.

Fear of earth, sea, air, etc. The man who fears the gods fears all of these not only because they may be instruments of divine punishment, but even more because they are the means by which the gods give *omens*, therefore their least details may portend [15] disaster. In the NT *earth* and *darkness* are represented as sources of omens by the earthquake and darkness at the crucifixion, Matt 27:45, 51; Mark 15:33; Luke 23:44f.; the earthquake at the resurrection, Matt 28:2; other earthquakes, Rev 6:12; 8:5; 11:13; 19; 16:8. Light is a sign of the supernatural in the transfiguration story, Matt 17:2; Mark 9:3; Luke 9:29; the appearances of the angels at the resurrection, Matt 28:2ff.; Luke 24:4f.; and at the deliverance of Peter, Acts 12:7; Jesus' appearance to Paul, Acts 9:3; 22:6; 26:13; etc.; *sounds*, the voices at the baptism, Matt 3:17; Mark 1:11; Luke 3:22; the transfiguration, Matt 17:5; Mark 9:7; Luke 9:35; 2 Pet 1:17; the voice from heaven in John 12:28 (thought to be thunder, 12:29); in the Apocalypse these become almost a conversation; *silence*, Rev 8:1; *dreams*, see the following section. This makes no pretense of being a complete list.

165E C. THERE IS NO ESCAPING FEAR OF THE GODS BY SLEEP
 165F — IT MAKES SLEEP A TERROR — NOR BY WAKING — IT
 166A DRIVES MEN TO ABSURD APOTROPAIC RITES
 [IMMERSION IN THE SEA, SITTING ON THE GROUND,
 SMEARING WITH MUD, WALLOWING IN MUD,
 IMMERSIONS, FALLING ON THE FACE, SITTING BEFORE
 166B (THE GODS?), ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΣΙΣ, THE USE OF FOREIGN
 166C NAMES AND BARBAROUS WORDS] AND CUTS THEM OFF
 FROM THE COMMON WORLD .

Sleep and dreams: Sleep in the NT is treated matter-of-factly (except for one metaphorical usage, of moral negligence, in Rom 13:11). Dreams play a surprisingly small part except in Matthew's birth stories (Matt 1:20; 2:12, 13, 19, 22). Luke uses "visions in the night," Acts 16:9; 27:23, which he probably did not think of as dreams. The only properly frightening dream—a god-sent admonition—is that of Pilate's wife, Matt 27:19—also a Matthaean addition. Cornelius, in Acts 10:4, was frightened when the angel appeared—the normal reaction to angels, see above—but this was a "vision," not a dream, and the content was reassuring.

Apotropaic rites: Immersions. Baptisms for remission of sins begin with John in Matt iii. As to Jesus' practice we have the contradictory testimony of John 3:22; 4:1f. They resume with Acts 2:38 and are thenceforth frequent. With Acts (ib.) appears the connection between the gift of the spirit and baptism; with Rom 6:3ff the interpretation of baptism as participation in Christ's death and resurrec[16]tion. 1 Pet 3:21 insists that baptism is not efficacious qua washing; i.e. not its natural but its magical effect is what matters—it is precisely the sort of rite attacked by ΠΔ. Heb 9:10; 13:9 is parallel to ΠΔ in its contempt for the διάφοροι βαπτισμοί, prescribed by Jewish law; it dismisses them as ineffectual. In 10:22 it refers obscurely to the cleansing of the body by water. Other purifications by ablution appear in John's footwashing, 13:5ff—here again with the insistence that its efficacy is not merely physical, 13:10—and in Pilate's handwashing, Matt 27:24, which Matthew probably understood as effective: Matthew wanted to put the blood-guilt on the Jews, 27:25.

Sitting on the ground is not directly paralleled in the NT, [but in the OT see 2 Sam 12:16-20; 13:31; Job 2:13]. Another manifestation of the same basic belief may appear in the command to go barefoot on holy ground, an OT fossil in Acts 7:33. *Smearing with mud and wallowing in the mud.* The latter does not appear in the NT; the former (or something like it) is prohibited in Matt 6:16. [In the OT, putting dust and ashes on the head is a sign of mourning; Job 2:12; Ezekiel 27:30]. (Jesus' use of mud in healings, John 9:6, is probably not relevant here; it belongs to a different branch of magic, medical rather than apotropaic.) *Fallings on the face—as distinct from προσκύνησις—and sitting before (the gods?) as religious practices* have no NT parallels: [in the OT see Job 1:20]. Προσκύνησις occurs often—see the concordance—and is occasionally prohibited when addressed to men or angels (Acts 10:26; Rev 19:10; 22:8f.) but is the approved way of approaching a deity. H. Bolkestein, *Theophrastos' Charakter der Deisidaimonia*, Giessen, 1929 (RGVV xxi.2), 38ff., has tried to show it was common and respectable in Greece by Theophrastus' time. It certainly was so by the time of ΠΔ—Roman imperial—and the complaint about it is perhaps a bit of archaism, softened by the obscure ἀλλόκοτος. *The use of foreign names and barbarous words* may be prohibited in Matt 6:7f (μὴ βατταλογήσατε). Belief in the efficacy of such words may account for the preservation of some phrases of Jesus' Aramaic in healing formulae, Mark 5:41; 7:34; and in the words from the cross, Matt 27:46; Mark 15:34 par.; and of Paul's μαρναθα 1 Cor 16:22. Μαμωνας may have been saved in part by the belief that it was a demon's name (Matt 6:24; see, however, Luke 16:9-13), like Beelzeboul. Rom 8:26 and the Pauline references to speaking with tongues show the use, not of "foreign names and barbarous words,"

but of inarticulate (ἀλάλητοι) sounds, which, however, were believed to belong to some foreign language. The two categories were not sharply distinguished. [17]

166D-F NOT BY FLIGHT, NOR BY CHANGE OF MASTERS—THOSE WHO FEAR THE GODS ARE SLAVES WITHOUT HOPE OF ESCAPE—NOR IN ASYLA, NOR IN DEATH.

Flight: Ps 139:7-9 is so striking a parallel that it must be quoted: “Whither shall I flee from your presence? If I go up into the heavens, you are there, if I make my bed in Sheol, there you are; if I take the wings of the dawn and dwell at the end of the sea, there too your hand will lie upon me... If I say, surely darkness will cover me, the night is like light.” The story of Jonah comes also to mind. There are no NT parallels. The attempt of H. Hommel, “Der allgegenwärtige Himmels-gott,” *ARW* 23, 1925, 193-206, to prove a common Indo-European source for ΠΔ, Ps 139, Jer 23:23, and Atharvaveda 4:16 1-5, fails.

Change of masters: Paul plays on this idea in Rom 6:15-23, and his thought has another parallel in John 8:31-36, but in the latter case the notion is of liberation. Romans thinks of exchange of masters—first sin, then righteousness—and in that respect is closer to ΠΔ, but not so close as to call for further comment.

Slaves of the gods: This the NT authors regularly style themselves (see the concordance, s.v. δοῦλος), but they make no attempt to escape. The only parallel for that (after Jonah) is Paul’s disobedience before he realized his enslavement, and the comment of Jesus, Acts 26:14.

For all men the end of life is death (166F). This appears in Demosthenes, *De corona* 97, but was perhaps proverbial already in his time. Plutarch quotes it again in *Moralia* 333C (on which see Babbitt’s note); “Lucian” in *Demosthenis encomium* 5; Clement of Alexandria in *Stromateis* 6:22 5. In ΠΔ another proverb is used in 167F: “To fail in some things is common to all men.” Parallels are collected by Wytttenbach³³ on *Moralia* 103B. Appeal to proverbs is a common phenomenon of popular literature, represented in the NT by Matt 11:17; Mark 9:18; Luke 4:23; 7:32; 1 Cor 15:32f.; Tit 1:12; 2 Pet 2:22; etc. Pronouncements about “all men” are likely to be Greek in background; for the same purpose Hebrew prefers “the children of men” (frequent in rabbinic literature, in NT only Mark 3:28; Eph 3:5) or the singular, either anarthrous or with the definite article in the sense of the English indefinite (“a/any man”): Matt 4:4; [18] 12:35, 43; 15:11, 18; 19:10; Mark 7:15, 18, 20, 23; 10:7; Luke 4:45; 6:45; 9:25; John

³³ D. Wytttenbach, ed. *Plutarchi-Chaeronensis Moralia* (Oxford, 1795-1829) 8 vols. in 16.

3:27; Rom 3:28; 7:1; 1 Cor 11:28; Gal 1:12; 2:6, 16; 3:15; 6:7; Eph 5:31; Jas 1:23; etc. NT sayings with the plural and πάντες do occur (Luke 6:26; Acts 17:30; 22:15; Rom 5:12, 18; 12:17; 1 Cor 7:7; 2 Cor 3:2; Phil 4:5; 1 Thess 2:15; 1 Tim 2:1, 4; 4:10; Tit 2:11), but the more common form of generalization in the NT is simply the plural with or without the article (Matt 12:31; 19:26; Mark 7:21; 10:27; Luke 6:22; 16:15; 18:27; John 1:4; 3:19; 5:41; 6:10; 12:43; 17:6; Acts 4:12; 5:29, 38; Rom 2:16, 29; 1 Cor 1:25; Gal 1:10; Heb 6:16; 1 Pet 2:4; Rev 14:4; 16:8). Πᾶς without ἄνθρωπος for generalizations occurs in the NT (e.g. Matt 7:21; Luke 12:8, 10) but is comparatively rare; Paul has a number of quite anomalous forms (ὁ ἄνθρωπε πᾶς Rom 2:1; 9:20; πᾶσα ψυχή/συνείδησις ἀνθρώπων Rom 2:9; 2 Cor 4:2). It is remarkable that almost all these sayings refer to all men only indirectly—"when all men praise you," or "the light of men," or the like. Statements that "all men do" this or that, with the interest in the general rule about all men, like the proverb in ΠΔ, are very rare. Examples are John 2:10; Heb 6:16; cf. Jas 3:8. One is tempted to say that Greek literature is interested in general rules about human behaviour, the NT in divine actions by which men are affected.

In ΠΔ the proverbial saying, "Death is the end of life," is given an unusual interpretation; instead of being a sigh of resignation, it is taken by the Epicurean tradition as an assurance of safety. The notion appears once in the NT, but only to be denied: In the End men shall seek death, but shall not find it (Rev 9:6). The NT passages that welcome death as a means to eternal life (so Christ's death, Rom 5:10; 6:3ff.; Phil 3:10; Col 1:22; Heb 2:9, 14; 9:15; but also the believer's death, 2 Cor 5:8; Phil 1:21, 23) reflect a quite different world view—one that even the NT does not consistently sustain; many passages absentmindedly reflect the common dislike of death (Matt 4:16; 10:21; 15:4; 16:28; 20:18; 26:38, 66; Mark 7:10; 9:1; etc.) Other NT notions of death (a demon, Rev 6:8; 20:13; 1 Cor 15:26, 54ff.; etc.) do not here concern us. That all men are mortal is explicitly denied in Heb 11:5 (Enoch did not die), contrast Rom 5:12ff (death passed to all men as a result of Adam's sin); Paul was interested in developing his general argument and did not want to be bothered with awkward details.

167A FEAR OF THE GODS ADDS TERRORS TO DEATH BY IMAGINING HADES AND ITS HORRORS. ATHEISM IS IMMUNE FROM THESE. [19]

The horrors imagined are:

(1) *The gates of Hades.* These appear in Matt 16:18, their keys in Rev 1:18. NT writers freely refer to Hades (see the concordance), apparently the original reference to a pagan deity has been forgotten. That it becomes a demon in the Apocalypse (6:8; 20:13) is probably

not a reflection of the old mythology, but a beginning of the new one. Death, too, is made a demon in the Apocalypse, see above.

(2) *Rivers of fire*. The future fire that will consume or eternally torment the wicked is one of the fundamental elements of NT faith, see the concordance and TWNT (TDNT), s.v. πῦρ. The localization of the fire in a river or rivers is a classical trait not found in the NT.

(3) *The Styx*. Not in the NT.

(4) *Darkness*. In the NT this present world is most often the realm of darkness: Matt 4:16; Luke 1:79; 22:53; John 1:5; 12:46; Rom 2:19; Eph 6:12; Col 1:13; 1 Thess 5:5; 1 Pet 2:9; 1 John 2:9, 11. References to darkness in the after-life or the End are most conspicuous in Matt (8:12; 22:13; 25:30—all of the “outer” darkness into which the wicked will be cast). Also in Acts 2:20; 2 Pet 2:17 = Jude 13; cf. 2 Pet 2:4. All these are in eschatological contexts. In the Apocalypse the luminaries are repeatedly darkened and darkness appears among the plagues of the End (16:10, reflecting the plague of Egypt, Exod 10:21). It is typical of their different world views that the NT should be interested in general eschatology, ΠΔ in the individual after-life; but the NT’s interest in the End should not be understood as a denial of an immediate after-life, which Luke certainly expected (23:43, etc.)

(5) *Demons*. The god-fearing man of ΠΔ conceives them as ugly, wailing, judges, and torturers. The NT, like the OT and the Rabbinic material, is not usually sensitive to *ugliness* and never specifies it as an attribute of the demons. The monsters of the Apocalypse are terrible and unnatural but not specifically ugly; contrast the Greek feeling of ΠΔ. *Mourning*, like darkness, is most prominent in Matt, where the two go together—in the darkness there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth (8:12; 13:42, 50; 22:13; 24:51; 25:30; Luke 13:28). In ΠΔ the god-fearing conceive the *judgment* after death as a trial in a Greek court with indefinitely plural and hostile δικασταί, for the NT it is a trial before a single κριτής, Jesus (Acts 10:42; 2 Tim 4:8; Jas 5:9; etc.) who is commonly conceived as a king (Matt 25:34ff.; etc.) and who will condemn the wicked, but reward the righteous (loc. cit.). Nevertheless, for Christians too [20] the final judgment is an occasion of fear, and the terms δίκη and κρίμα may be used by themselves for “damnation” (2 Thess 1:9; Jude 7; Luke 20:47; Rom 2:2f.; 3:8; Heb 6:2; etc.) The only NT passage that seems to refer to a demonic judge, 1 Tim 3:6, is ambiguous; it may refer to a judgment imposed on the devil; the best review of the discussion and evidence is that of C. Spicq, *Les Épitres Pastorales*, Paris, 1947, ad loc. By contrast, *torturers*, presumably demonic, are plentiful: Matt 5:25; 18:34; Luke 12:58; 1 Tim 3:6; Rev 14:10; cf. 2 Pet 2:9; Matt 25:46; Rev 20:10 (eternal torture).

(6) *Chasms*. A great chasm separates Dives from Lazarus after death, though conversation can be carried on across it (Luke 16:26).

The Apocalypse refers to an abyss from which demons emerge and into which they will eventually be cast (9:1; 20:3; etc.)

None of these horrors of hell confronts the atheist. (The punctuation in the Loeb edition is misleading. This is the concluding clause of the preceding discussion. The new paragraph should begin with 'Ἄλλ' ἢ μὲν which introduces an imagined objection to the trend of the argument. Such use, without explanation, of imaginary objections, is a regular feature of diatribe style, and therefore frequent in Paul, e.g., Rom 3:1-9, 27-31; 6:1, 15; 7:7, 13; etc.). Eph 2:12 gives us the converse of this; the gentiles have no hope, since they are ἄθεοι. But here ἄθεοι means rather “without any divine protector” than “without belief in gods.”

167A-B BUT IGNORANCE IS ALWAYS BAD, AND ATHEISM, BEING IGNORANCE OF THE GODS, IS A GREAT MISFORTUNE—THE BLINDNESS OF THE SOUL'S BEST EYE.

Ignorance. This reflects the Stoic usage of ἄγνοια, also reflected in Acts 17:30; Eph 4:18; 1 Pet 1:14; cf. Bultmann, TWNT (TDNT) s.v. ἄγνοέω.

The eye of the soul, already metaphorical, none the less reflects the peculiar belief that souls are anthropomorphic. Similar reflection appears in Luke 12:19 where the rich fool says to his soul, “Relax, eat, drink, enjoy yourself”; and probably in the story of Lazarus and Dives, 16:26. Similarly the souls John saw in Rev 6:9; 7:9; 20:4; etc., would certainly have been in human form.

Νόησις does not appear in the NT, which uses γνῶσις for knowledge of God. For the idea see Bultmann, TWNT (TDNT), on ἄγνοέω and γινώσκω. [21]

167B-D (BUT FEAR OF THE GODS ALSO RESULTS FROM IGNORANCE, AND IGNORANCE COMPLICATED BY FALSE OPINION) TO WHICH DISTURBING PASSIONS ARE ATTACHED. PLATO EXPLAINS THE USE OF MUSIC TO HARMONIZE THE SOUL, BUT PINDAR SAYS EVIL BEINGS FLEE MUSIC AND IT DRIVES TIGERS TO SUICIDE. FOR THEM, DEAFNESS WOULD BE PREFERABLE, AS IGNORANCE WOULD HAVE BEEN FOR TIRESIAS, ATHAMAS, AGAVE, AND HERACLES.

All this is completely alien to the NT, which never uses δόξα to mean “opinion” (TWNT [TDNT], s.v. δόξα), never refers to “music” as such,³⁴ never refers to Plato, let alone Pindar, never uses the word ἄρμονία (the notion of salvation as restoration of harmony, with its psychotherapeutic possibilities, is completely absent), has none of the

³⁴ Μουσικός in Rev 18:22 probably means “singers,” by contrast to the named instrumentalists.

pseudo-learned zoology that circulated in the upper classes, uses examples from Israelite, not Greek, mythology, and does not even declare *explicitly* that those who hear the gospel and reject it, or those who are converted and then relapse, would have been better off had they remained in ignorance. This conclusion is fairly clear, however, in Matt 11:20ff.; Luke 10:13ff.; John 9:41; 15:22, 24; Rom 7:9f etc.; Heb 6:4ff.; 10:26ff.; and is latent in other passages. It was soon drawn by later Christians, and underlies, for instance, Constantine's delay of baptism to the threshold of death, and Basilides' conception of the salvation of most of the world as restoration of its ignorance of God. (Miss Dannemann remarks that the NT has only two groups, those who know and the ignorant, while Plutarch has three, those who know, the merely ignorant, and those who hold false opinions, which are worse than mere ignorance.) Therefore the NT implies that ignorance may sometimes be preferable to knowledge (if those to whom the knowledge has been made available reject it) whereas Plutarch argues that mere ignorance is always preferable to false opinion.

167D-E THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ATHEISTS AND THE GOD-FEARING IS THAT ATHEISTS DO NOT PERCEIVE THE GODS AT ALL BUT THE GOD-FEARING THINK THEM EVIL AND ARE PERSUADED BY ARTISANS THAT THEY ARE ANTHROPOMORPHIC. CONSEQUENTLY THE GOD-FEARING WORSHIP IDOLS. MOREOVER THEY ARE CONTEMPTUOUS OF PHILOSOPHERS AND STATES-[22]MEN WHO REPRESENT THE GODS AS WHOLLY BENEVOLENT. THUS ATHEISTS ARE INSENSITIVE, BUT THE GOD-FEARING SUFFER FEAR AND DISTURBANCE, AND ARE AMBIVALENT TOWARDS THE GODS.

The structure of this passage is remarkably similar to that of Rom 1:18-32 where misapprehension of the divine nature also leads to idolatry, folly, and moral corruption. The differences between the passages are equally remarkable. ΠΔ says nothing of the causes of ignorance of the gods and their nature, but Paul begins by insisting that the essential facts of his god's existence and power can be inferred from creation, and that consequently misapprehension is due to man's wickedness. Therefore he cannot distinguish between misapprehension and mere ignorance, as ΠΔ does. For Paul the bad consequences are divinely inflicted punishments that fall on all the ignorant alike; for ΠΔ they are the natural results of misapprehension and therefore do not affect the merely ignorant. (Acts 14:15ff and 17:24ff show the same conception as Paul's, though less clearly.)

Of the divine attributes, εὐμενές, πατρικόν, κηδεμονικόν, and ἀμήνιτον, only πατρικόν has a closely cognate term in the NT (at Eph

3:15, where the Father is he from whom every πατριά—family—in the heavens and on earth derives its name).

Of the attributes falsely predicated of the deity by the god-fearing, φοβερὸν, τυραννικόν, βλαβερόν, ἄγριον, and θηριῶδες, only φοβερὸν has, in the NT, any connection with divinity. Hebrews says it is φοβερὸν to fall into the hands of the living god (10:31) and describes his epiphany at Sinai as φοβερὸν (12:21—even Moses was scared).

All these attributes are in the neuter in ΠΔ because they refer to τὸ θεῖον (understood here, expressed in 167E etc.) which occurs only once in the NT, significantly in Acts' mission speech in Athens (17:29), an attempt to argue for Christianity from pagan concepts.

Idolatry instituted by artisans: This theory is not propounded in the NT; Isa 44:9-20 comes close to it (though the artisan's persuasion of others is not made clear). Artisans defend idolatry in Acts 19:23-40.

The attack on idolatry does not make clear whether its basic objection is, (1) that the gods are not actually similar in form to the images; or, (2) that the images are not the gods and therefore should not be worshipped; or, (3) both of these. Likewise most references to [23] idolatry in the NT are simply contemptuous, without alleging their reasons (see the concordance under εἰδωλολάτρης, εἰδωλολατρία, εἴδωλον). This probably happens because both the Epicureans and the Christians did think the gods human in form—Jesus certainly was; the Father probably was conceived thus (Acts 7:55; Rev 4:3ff.); the Epicureans thought men's visions of the gods were produced by effluence from the divine forms and revealed their true shapes (Aetius 1.7.34 = H. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, Berlin, 1879, 306f.; W. Cronert, *Kolotes und Menedemos*, Leipzig, 1906, 112; the importance of Epicurean ideas in ΠΔ has already been noticed). In the NT, passages like Rom 1:23 and Acts 17:29 that deny any resemblance between the deity and the images are exceptional polemic, and, in the case of Romans, weasel—worded; cf. 1 Cor 15:47f.; Phil 2:6; Col 1:15.

Προσκύνησις, *to images* is attacked particularly in Rev 9:20. The meaning is uncertain; with Bolkestein, cited above on 166B, cf. E. Bickermann, "A Propos d'un passage de Chares de Mytilène," *La Parola del Passato* 91, 1963, 241-255.

The contempt of the god-fearing for philosophers and prominent men is exemplified in the NT, but indirectly. Acts 17:18, the only mention of philosophers in the NT, is not explicitly contemptuous; 1 Cor 1:18-31; Matt 11:25f. // Luke 10:21f. (I thank thee, Father) are contemptuous, but do not refer explicitly to philosophers; Col 2:8 thinks philosophy a danger. Contempt of rulers is mainly directed at the Jewish rulers (Luke 23:35; 24:20; John 7:48; cf. 12:42; Acts 3:17; 4:5, 26; 13:27; 23:3f.); to other municipal or imperial authorities the attitude of the NT varies with the various books, from hostile (Rev 6:15; 17-18)

to respectful (Rom 13:1-8). They are never represented as teaching theological principles, which is their role in ΠΔ. (“The rulers of this age” of 1 Cor 2:6 are probably demonic.)

Of the divine attributes inculcated by the philosophers and rulers, σεμνότης, χρηστότης, μεγαλοφροσύνη, εὐμενεία, κηδεμονία (and, by implication, ἀγαθότης), four are not used of God in the NT, but χρηστότης is frequent there as a divine attribute (Rom 2:4; 11:22; Eph 2:7; Tit 3:4; χρηστός Luke 6:35; Rom 2:4; 1 Pet 2:3) and ἀγαθός is a divine attribute in Mark 10:18 and parallels.

The παραχή of the god-fearing appears in the synoptics as the response of its heroes to the supernatural (Matt 14:26; Mark 6:50; Luke 1:12; 24:38, all forms of the cognate παράσσομαι) but in each [24] case is followed by a command, from the supernatural being concerned, not to be terrified. Thus the NT agrees with ΠΔ in thinking terror a common but improper attitude toward the supernatural; they differ in the reasons for their disapproval, ΠΔ thinking the supernatural always beneficent, the NT limiting its beneficence to the elect. (On fear of the gods in general, see above on 164E-165B.)

The ambivalence of the god-fearing—they both fear and flee to, flatter and abuse, pray to and blame the gods. *Fear in approaching* the gods is illustrated especially by Heb 12:12-29 (note δέους in the climax, 28); Paul thought it the proper attitude of the believer (Rom 11:20). *Flattery* of a perfect deity is impossible, but praise of the Father and Jesus in the NT is of course common (see the doxologies in the epistles, e.g. Rom 16:25ff.) and the acclamations of the heavenly court in Rev 4:11; 5:9, 12, 13, etc. resemble, both as a procedure and in general tone, those of the Roman senate in the *acta* prefixed to the Theodosian code (sec. 5). *Abuse and blame* of the gods appears in Rev 16:9 as a reaction of the wicked to the plagues of the End; it was not uncommon in antiquity: Odyssey 20.201f.; Herodotus 3.40; 7.46; etc.; Appian, *Punic* (Libyan) *Wars* 56, 92; *Macedonian Affairs* 19; see the abusive epithets in C. Bruchmann’s *Epitheta deorum*, Leipzig, 1893 (= W. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der ... Mythologie, Supplement*).

167F TO FAIL IN SOME THINGS IS COMMON TO ALL MEN;
ONLY THE GODS ARE BEYOND MISFORTUNE.

On the use of proverbs, see above, 166F. *For this proverb* the NT has no parallel; not only διευτυχεῖν, but even εὐτυχεῖν and δυστυχεῖν, and τύχη itself are not in its vocabulary.

A quotation from Pindar “proves” the commonplace about the unique felicity of the gods. ΠΔ uses the classics, as the NT the OT, as a mine of proof texts for its own opinions, but does not find classical stories typologically fulfilled in current history.

The attributes of the gods adduced from Pindar are freedom from sickness, old age, troubles, and death. The first two the NT never considers. *Freedom from age* is strikingly contradicted by Dan 7:13, 22 where the deity is “ancient of days.” Was it more advantageous to be old in Jewish society than in Greek? ἀπειροὶ πόνων has a verbal resemblance to ἀπειραστός κακῶν in James 1:13, but the content is [25] reversed: in James he is not tempted to do evil things. *Immortality* appears as a divine attribute in 1 Tim 6:16; 1 John 5:20.

167F-168C THE ATHEIST REACTS TO MISFORTUNE, AT BEST SENSIBLY, AT WORST WITH COMPLAINTS OF THE WORLD’S INJUSTICE; THE GOD-FEARING MAN TAKES MISFORTUNE AS A SIGN OF DIVINE DISPLEASURE, HENCE FEARS, LAMENTATIONS, AND NEGLECT OF THE ACTUAL CAUSES. THIS DIFFERENCE IS ILLUSTRATED BY THEIR REACTIONS TO SICKNESS, FINANCIAL LOSSES, LOSS OF THEIR CHILDREN, AND POLITICAL FAILURES, WHICH THE GOD-FEARING MAN SEES AS DIVINE BLOWS AND DEMONIC ATTACKS.

The picture of the sensible man is unparalleled in the NT, where the adjective μέτριος, so important for classical morality, never occurs.

The world’s injustice is a common theme in the epistles (Gal 1:4; 1 John 5:19; etc.) and is particularly important in John (1:5; 16:33; 17:14, 25; etc.) but ΠΔ by its praise of the man who takes practical measures to meet misfortune and does not worry about divine displeasure, implies that any injustice is due to lack of supernatural control; in the NT it is due to the rule of the demons (John 12:31; 1 Cor 2:8; Eph 6:12; etc.). It is interesting that πρόνοια is never used in the NT for divine governance of the world.

That misfortunes are signs of divine displeasure is commonly stated or supposed in the NT, most often with reference to particular cases (1 Cor 10:6-11; 11:30; Heb 12:4-11; 1 Pet 4:17-19; Luke 13:2-4; John 9:2f.; Rev *passim*). Of the examples mentioned by ΠΔ, *sickness* is specified as a result of unworthy communion in 1 Cor 11:30; *financial loss* does not appear as an affliction in the NT; *the death of children* is to be part of God’s punishment of Jezebel of Thyatira in Rev 2:23 (cf. Luke 19:44; 23:28; Matt 27:25; the classical case is 2 Sam 12:13-23; cf. 1 Sam 2:31-34).

“Divine blows” and *“demonic attacks”* are tautologous for ΠΔ. In the NT πληγαὶ θεοῦ appear, e.g., in Rev 8-22 *passim* (most are administered by angels; cf. 2 Cor 12:7: God (?) sent an angel of Satan to humiliate Paul); these are distinct from misfortunes caused by the devil or Satan, presumably *motu proprio* (Luke 13:16; Acts 10:38; 1

Tim 3:6f.; Heb 2:14f.; Rev 2:10). In 1 Cor 5:5 and 1 Tim 1:20 Paul and his imitator make individuals over to Satan for punishment.

- 168C CONSEQUENTLY THE GOD-FEARING MAN DOES NOT DARE TRY [26] TO RELIEVE OR RESIST HIS MISFORTUNE, LEST HE SHOULD RESIST THE GODS. HE REFUSES ADVICE AND CONSOLATION, SAYING "LET ME, HATED BY THE GODS, PAY THE JUST PENALTY".

The parody of an opponent's imagined speech is a literary device used occasionally in the NT, the most famous example being the Pharisee's prayer, Luke 18:11f.

The language and concepts of this passage are frequently paralleled in the NT, but *the essential notion*, that because misfortunes are sent by the gods nothing may be done to relieve them (cf. 168E), does not appear. (βοηθέω in appeals for help: Matt 15:25; Mark 9:22, 24; Acts 16:9; θεραπεύω, constantly used of Jesus and the apostles: 15 instances in Matt, 5 in Mark, 12 in Luke, 1 in John, 4 in Ac). *Resistance to supernatural beings* is advocated, but the being to be resisted is the devil (and the verb is not ἀντιτάσσομαι but ἀνθίστημι: Jas 4:7; in 4:6 God ὑπερῷον ἀντιτάσσεται; the classical passage is Eph 6:10-18). The essential difference is that for paganism the supernatural world was not well organized, therefore supposedly supernatural afflictions were not seen as part of a larger pattern; for Christianity the supernatural world is organized in two opposing parties and the evils emanating from it are therefore to be distinguished—those which come from the enemy are to be resisted, those which come from the high command of one's own party are to be understood as punishments or trials or necessary hardships, and born with submission and patience, 1 Pet 1:6; 5:5f.; Rom 5:3ff.; 2 Cor 12:9. It is of course permissible to ask for relief from them, Mark 14:35f. is the *locus classicus*, cf. 2 Cor 12:8.

Κολάζω of divine punishment of the wicked, 2 Pet 2:9; cf. above, on 167A, item 5. θεομαχεῖν, verb, is not in the NT, but Gamaliel warns the Pharisees in Acts 5:39 that they may be θεομάχοι if they oppose Christianity. δίκη meaning "divine punishment" is not "given" in the NT, but "paid," 2 Thess 1:9, and "endured," Jude 7; again see above, on 167A, item 5. ἀσεβείας is freely used for opponents of the Christians (10 instances), but not of Christians. ἐπάρατος is used only by the high priests and Pharisees, of the crowd ignorant of the law, John 7:49 (κατάρατος, Gal 3:10 = Dt 27:26, LXX ἐπικατάρατος). μισέω of the Father, Rom 9:13 (Esau); of Jesus, Rev 2:6 (the Nicolaitans).

- 168D AN ATHEIST AFTER MISFORTUNE MAY WIPE AWAY HIS TEARS, [27] SHAVE HIS HEAD AND CHANGE HIS CLOTHING, BUT THE GOD-FEARING INDULGES IN ABSURD PENITENTIAL AND APOTROPAIC PRACTICES .

Wiping away tears, Rev 7:17; 21:4; in the NT the afflicted do not wipe away their own tears, but wait for the deity to do it. *Shaving the head*, Acts 18:18, for a prayer or vow (εὐχή) of unknown nature (E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Philadelphia 1971, and H. Conzelmann, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, Tübingen 1963, recognize the obscurity); *changing clothing*, not in the NT as a reaction to misfortune.

Of the god-fearing man's behaviour ΠΔ specifies: *sitting in sackings and dirty clothes*, indicated as a penitential practice by Matt 11:21 // Luke 10:13 (for the cities of Galilee; Luke adds καθήμενοι, cf. Rev 11:3); *rolling naked in the mud*, not done in the NT; *confessing* (ἐξαγορεύειν) *sins and failings*, the NT uses ἐξομολογοῦμαι for confession of sins, which in the Gospels, is practiced only by the clients of the Baptist, never by Jesus' followers; it is recommended by Jas 5:16 and 1 John 1:9, but may perhaps be attacked by Rom 4:7, "Blessed are they... whose sins are covered."

The sins that the god-fearing man will confess are specified as *eating and drinking* (prohibited) *things* and "walking a road the δαίμων did not permit." As to the former the range of NT opinions about food laws is known to run the gamut from the flat declaration of Jesus in Mark 7:15 "There is nothing that, going into a man from outside, can make him impure," through the casuistry of Paul ("All things are permitted, but not all things are beneficial," 1 Cor 10:23; see chs. 8-10 entire and cognate passages) and the prudential prohibition of Acts 15:29; 21:25; to the attitude of the Apocalypse, which equates fornication and eating things sacrificed to idols (2:14, 20)—the attitude held by much of the early church (Justin, *Dialogue* 34.8f.; Irenaeus, 1. 6.3 (ed. Stieren); Tertullian, *De idolatria* 13; Novatian, *De cibis iudaicis* 7; Origen, *Contra Celsum* 8.30f.; Cyprian, *De lapsis, passim*). *Roads forbidden by a supernatural being* are implied by the NT references to the limitation of travel on the sabbath (Matt 24:20; Acts 1:12—evidently this taboo was observed by some early Christian communities); see also Matt 2:12; 10:5; Acts 16:6f.; Rom 1:13. The metaphorical use of "walk in a way" for "practice a sort of behaviour" ("walk in the way of Yahweh," etc.) is probably here irrelevant. [28]

Either in expiation of these offenses or to prevent further misfortunes the god-fearing may stay at home, call in a witch, and have himself *fumigated* and *wiped off* and *hung with amulets*, practices unknown to the NT except for the scornful reference to *tefillin* as φυλακτήρια in Matt 23:5.

168E THESE GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ARE CONFIRMED BY THE EXAMPLE OF TIRIBAZOS.

Examples from classical history in ΠΔ are replaced by examples from Israelite history in the NT. Have you not read what David did? (Mark 2:25; etc.).

168E-F WHILE OTHERS RESIST MISFORTUNES, THE GOD-FEARING MAN TELLS HIMSELF THAT HE SUFFERS AT THE COMMAND OF A GOD AND THEREWITH GIVES OVER HOPE AND EFFORT, AND REJECTS HELP.

At the command of a god sufferings are sent, in the NT, both on individuals and on the world (2 Cor 12:7, Paul's thorn in the flesh; Rev *passim*; see above on 168C). That some of these must be borne without resistance because sent by God is implied in 2 Cor 12:9 ("My grace is enough for you."); cf. Acts 5:39; 26:14 (kicking against the prick).

Rejection of help: The most famous case in the NT is that of Jesus at his arrest. In Matt 26:52ff and John 18:2 he commands his followers not to fight, and in Matt he also rejects the assistance of more than twelve legions of angels (72,000), his reason being, as the preceding prayers have made clear, and as John makes him say explicitly, that he must bear the suffering to which the Father has destined him. Matt also adds to the scene a reminiscence of the Lord's prayer (26:42, "Thy will be done"), but neither this petition nor the corresponding commandments μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ, etc. (Matt 5:39ff.; Luke 6:29f.) seem to have done much to inhibit defensive action by Christians, so the refusal of assistance by Jesus remains isolated in the NT.

168F-169B MODERATE MISFORTUNES MAY BE MADE FATAL BY FEAR OF THE GODS WHICH CAUSES DESPAIR. THE EXAMPLES OF MIDAS, WHO COMMITTED SUICIDE BECAUSE OF DREAMS, ARISTODEMUS, BECAUSE OF PORTENTS AND PROPHETS, AND NICIAS, FRIGHTENED BY AN ECLIPSE. [29]

Dreams, see above, 165F.

Portents accompany the Markan crucifixion (15:33, 38, the sun darkened, the veil of the temple split) and are greatly increased in the Matthaean version (27:51ff., earthquake, resurrection, etc.). They frighten the centurion and his companions. Others are promised for the End by Mark 13:8, 24f. and parallels (wars, earthquakes, famines; eclipses of sun and moon, shooting stars, etc.). Luke 21:25f. adds that these will cause general helplessness and terror. But nobody in the NT is paralyzed by a private portent (cf. above 165 D).

Prophets were plentiful in early Christianity, but in Acts 21:4, 11ff., Paul carried out his plans regardless of them. On other occasions, when their prophecies were taken seriously, Christians took practical

measures to counter the predicted events, Acts 11:27ff. (for a full collection of references see TWNT s.v. προφήτης).

Eclipses taken as signs of divine displeasure and impending doom Mark 13:24 and parallels; 15:33 and parallels; Acts 2:20; Rev 6:12; 8:12; 9:2. They are a standard class of portents.

169B-C EXAMPLES FROM ARCHILOCHUS, HESIOD AND HOMER TO SHOW THAT PRAYER SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY SELF-HELP, CONCLUDING WITH THE PRINCIPLE, GOD IS THE HOPE OF VIRTUE, NOT THE EXCUSE OF COWARDICE. CONTRAST THE JEWS, WHO LOST THEIR CITY BECAUSE THEY FEARED TO DEFEND IT ON A SABBATH.

Θεοὺς ἐπικαλεῖται σωτήρας. No one in the NT is directly addressed as σωτήρ, but both the Father and Jesus are often described as such (24 instances, see concordance; bibliography in TWNT (TDNT), s.v. σῶζω).

εὔχεσθαι κελεύειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς θεοῖς. Requesting the prayers of others is a NT practice: 1 Thess 5:25; 2 Thess 3:1; Col 4:3; Heb 13:18; so is prayer for others, Matt 5:44; 19:33; Luke 6:28; Acts 6:6; 8:15; 14:23; 28:8; Phil 1:9; Col 1:3, 9; 2 Thess 1:11; 1 Tim 2:8; Jas 5:14ff.; etc.

ἀρετῆς γὰρ ἐλπίς ὁ Θεός ἐστιν, οὐ δειλίας πρόφασις. In Acts 27:21-36 Paul has been told by an angel that they will be saved, but takes practical measures to make the prophecy come true. The most important application of the principle is Paul's struggle against the idle in the churches, who presumably relied on the Lord for their support, appealing to sayings like those collected in Matt 6:19-34 (μὴ θησαυρίζετε...μὴ...μεριμνήσητε εἰς τὴν αὔριον, [30] κτ.λ.); against these Paul argues in 2 Thess 3:6-12; cf. 1 Thess 4:11; cf. Eph 4:28.

ἀρετή in the NT is rather moral than practical virtue (Phil 4:8; 2 Pet 1:5); elsewhere "miracle" or "supernatural power" (1 Pet 2:9; 2 Pet 1:3). These are all the instances of its use. The discussion by Bauernfeind is, as usual in TWNT, distorted by the imposition of modern theology on ancient thought.

ἐλπίς ὁ Θεός, in the NT, for the resurrection, Acts 24:15; Rom 15:13; 1 Pet 1:21. Χριστὸς ἡ ἐλπίς 1 Tim 1:1; Col 1:27 (τῆς δόξης).

δειλία: 2 Tim 1:7 οὐ γὰρ ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ Θεός πνεῦμα δειλίας, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει καὶ ἀγάπῃ καὶ σωφρονισμοῦ. This is the only NT use.

ἀλλ' Ἰουδαῖοι: *The story* was famous; variants appear in Dio Cassius 37:16; 49.22.4; Josephus *Ant.* 12.6; 14:63f.; *Apion* 1.205ff.

Christian attacks on sabbath observance: Jesus, Mark 2:23-28 and parallels; 3:1-4 and parallels; Luke 13:10-16; 14:1-5; John 5:1-16; 7:22f.; 9; Paul, Rom 14:5; Gal 4:10; Col 2:16. Evidence for early *Christian*

observance of the sabbath, Luke 23:56; Acts 1:12; Rom 14:5; Gal 4:10; Col 2:16. Heb 4:1-13 conceives of salvation as a sabbath. *Jewish δεισδαιμονία* was proverbial, Josephus, *C. Apion.* 1.205ff., etc.; Acts 17:22 puts a reference to it into the mouth of a pagan (probably irony); it begins its career as a Christian cliché in Diogn. 1.1.

169D-E BAD IN MISFORTUNES, THE FEAR OF THE GODS IS EQUALLY BAD IN HAPPY OCCASIONS. THE GOD-FEARING ARE TERRIFIED IN RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS AND APPROACH THE TEMPLES OF THE GODS AS IF THEY WERE LAIRS OF MONSTERS.

ἥδιστα δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἑορταί. Heb 12:22f., salvation compared to the approach to Jerusalem in a festival; cf. 4:1-13, salvation a sabbath. Are these unique in the NT? It often mentions religious festivals, but never (?) elsewhere as occasions of rejoicing.

The god-fearing man θύει καὶ φοβεῖται ... χερσὶν ἐπιθυμῶν τρεμούσαις. Ps 2:11, serve Yahweh with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Heb 12:18-21, the fear of the Israelites and Moses at Sinai.

ὥσπερ ἄρκτων φωλεοῖς ... τοῖς τῶν θεῶν μεγάροις ... προσιόντες. In Mark 11:17 and parallels, the Jerusalem temple is compared to a robbers' cave, but the reason for the comparison is the priesthood, not the deity. [31]

169F-170D IT IS LESS IMPIOUS TO DENY THE EXISTENCE OF THE GODS THAN TO SAY OF THEM WHAT THE MYTHS SAY.

This and the following section (170B-D) are examples of the *application to the gods of human moral standards*. The process has two forms. One, the attribution to the gods of human virtues (justice, mercy, etc.) is so common as to need no illustration; the other is the criticism of the gods, exemplified in this passage. Here, as often, it is based on mythology; elsewhere it arises when the god is made responsible for the cosmos, the facts of human life (notably, death), or unpleasant social practices, especially cultic. Examples of this latter type are frequent in gnosticism. Both types are common in Greek literature. In the NT see Rom 3:3f., 5; 9:14, 19; Jas 1:13; Rev 16:5. The passages from Romans show the influence of the style of the diatribe in which false conclusions were often attributed to imaginary opponents in order to provide opportunities for refutation.

ἀβέλαιος, εὐμετάβολος, εὐχερὴς πρὸς ὀργήν, ... τιμωρητικός, μικρόλυπος. Such lists of vices are prominent in the NT, e.g. Rom 1:28-32; Gal 5:19-21; Eph 4:31; 5:3ff.; Col 3:5, 8; 1 Tim 1:9; 6:4; 2 Tim 3:2-4; Tit 3:3; 1 Pet 4:3; Rev 9:21; 21:8; 22:15; see S. Wibbing, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im NT*, Berlin, 1959 (ZNW Beihefte 25). The NT lists are mainly concerned with serious vices, sins, and crimes—murder, adultery, theft, drunkenness, etc.—ΠΔ lists the moral failings

of a would-be philosophic gentleman; of the five terms given, only one, *εὐχερὴς πρὸς ὀργήν*, is paralleled in the NT (Tit 1:7; Col 3:8; 1 Tim 2:8; Jas 1:19; Matt 5:22). Since the ΠΔ list is a catalogue of the failings of pagan gods, it is interesting to see how those of the NT come off by these standards: *μικρόλυπος*: τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ θεοῦ is grieved by evil speaking, Eph 4:30. *ἀβέβαιος*: ἀλήθεια and ἀληθής are often specified as attributes of the Father or of Jesus, John 1:17; 3:33 and *passim*; Rom 1:25; 3:4, 7; 5:8; etc. Heb 6:18, however, reports that when the Father wished to prove his unchangeable determination about one matter he swore by two things ἐν οἷς ἀδύνατον ψεύσασθαι θεόν (for the various interpretations see C. Spicq, *L'Épître aux Hébreux*, Paris, 1952-3, 2 vols., *ad loc.*). *εὐμετάβολος*: Jas 1:17 denies any τροπὴς ἀποσκίασμα in God. *εὐχερὴς πρὸς ὀργήν*: ὀργή is a prominent attribute of the Father; “the coming wrath” is one of the main motive factors of the religion, Rom 1:18; Eph 5:6; Col 3:6; 1 Thess 1:10; Rev 19:15; etc. Anger is attributed to [32] Jesus in Mark 1:43 and 3:5. *τιμωρητικός*: the Father is the source of τιμωρία in Heb 10:29. The ΠΔ list recurs with variations in 170E, see there.

Punishment sent by the gods for neglect of their cults: They (1) eat men, not in the NT; (2) kill their children—the general principle that children are punished for their parents’ sins is stated in the ten commandments, Exod 20:5; Deut 5:9; denied in Ezek 18; cf. John 9:2; (3) send wild beasts to destroy their property, Lev 26:22; Exod 14:15. None of this appears in the NT, except perhaps in Paul’s notion of the consequences of Adam’s sin, Rom 5:12. αἶτε καὶ νεκρῶ παροῦσα ἀμπεφυρμένα ἐσπῆλθες. Isa 63:1-6: “Who is this that comes from Edom, with crimson garments from Bozrah? ... I ... who am mighty to save ... Why is your clothing red? ... I have trodden the winepress alone ... I stamped them down in my anger, and their blood is sprinkled on my garments, and I have polluted all my clothes.” This is echoed in Rev 14:14-20; 19:11-16; but the pollution of the deity is not specifically mentioned. The criticism of the old religious text, explicit in ΠΔ, is tacit in the NT.

τρέμουσι καὶ δεδοίκασι (οἱ δεισιδαίμονες τοὺς θεούς): 1 Pet 2:10, the wicked δόξας οὐ τρέμουσιν βλασφημοῦντες. Heb 12:28, the worship pleasing to the Father is that μετ’ εὐλαβείας καὶ δέους. δαίδω is too classical for the NT.

Divine penalties for trifling offenses are disproportionately severe. The NT conceives of both reward and punishment as eternal (Matt 19:16, 29; 25:41, 46; Rev 20:10; etc.). Consequently some passages contrast the brevity of human action with the eternity of consequences (usually brief suffering with eternal reward): John 12:25; 2 Cor 4:17; Phlm 15; Heb 5:7ff.; 9:12. There is no question of the justice of the system. The contrast was to play a large role in Christian homiletics.

Attributes implicitly denied the gods: χολήν εἶχε, cf. Acts 8:23 (not clear). μισοπόνηρος ἦν, for μισέω see above, 168C, end. Leto ἤλγει κακῶς ἀκούουσα, no verbal parallels in the NT; for the idea see the concordance, s.v. βλασφημέω and βλασφημία (that against the spirit is unforgivable, Mark 3:29 and parallels). μὴ κατέγελα τῆς ἀθροπίνης ἀμαθίας. Yahweh laughs at the wicked, i.e. the gentiles, Ps 2:4; 59:9; but this does not imply that he will let their sins go unpunished—quite the contrary; he laughs because he intends to punish them. The NT never uses γελᾶω or γέλως of the Father or Jesus. ἀλλ’ ἡγανάκτει, Mark 10:14 uses the verb of Jesus; never of the Father. [33]

Sickness sent by the gods: Lev 26:16; Deut 28:21ff.; Ezek 14:8ff.; often in the OT, especially in apocalyptic; Luke 21:11; Rev 6:8; 16:2, 8ff.

170D-F IT IS THOUGHT, NOT UTTERANCE, THAT CONSTITUTES BLASPHEMY. SINCE THE GOD-FEARING THINK THE GODS EVIL THEY MUST HATE THEM, BE THEIR ENEMIES, AND SERVE THEM ONLY AS MEN SERVE TYRANTS; THEY WOULD BE ATHEISTS IF THEY DARED.

It is thought, not action, that constitutes a sin: Matt 5:21f., 28; 1 John 3:15.

ἐμπληκτοί, ἄπιστοι, εὐμετάβολοι, τιμωρητικοί, ὠμοί, μικρόλυποι—attributes of the gods as conceived by the god-fearing. For lists of vices, and for τιμωρητικοί and μικρόλυποι, see above, 170A. None of the other vices in the list is mentioned in the NT. A further list in 171B adds ὑβρισταί and μικρολόγοι; the NT uses ὑβριστής only of men, Rom 1:30; 1 Tim 1:13; and never uses μικρολόγος.

Enmity to the gods. H. Braun (op. cit. sup. n. 15, end) compares Rom 8:7 τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς ἔχθρα εἰς θεόν. In Paul the hatred results in all men from a conflict of wills, in Plutarch it is merely the consequence in some men of their misconception of the gods' nature.

The god-fearing man κ' ἂν δεδοίκη, προσκυνεῖ γε καὶ θύει καὶ κάθηται πρὸς ἱεροῖς. Fear of the gods, above 164E; προσκύνησις, 166A; κάθηται πρὸς ἱεροῖς only of a beggar, Acts 3:2, 10. *Unwilling worship*, in the NT, not by men, but by demons, Mark 1:24; 3:11; 5:7; etc.; Phil 2:10f.

πιστεύει δ' ἄκων, Jas 2:19 καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια πιστεύουσιν καὶ φρίσσουν

ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων τῇ προαιρέσει ἄθεος ὢν ἀσθενέστερός ἐστιν ἢ ὥστε δοξάζειν περὶ θεῶν ὃ βούλεται. This reverses Mark 9:24, πιστεύω, βοήθει μου τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ. ἀσθενής and cognates are used of faith in Rom 4:19; 14:1f., 21 v.l.; 15:1; 1 Cor 8:7-12; 9:22; 1 Thess 5:14. From the NT this would seem a peculiarly Pauline usage, to find it in

ΠΔ is therefore a warning against reliance on NT evidence alone. As in Paul, too, the opposite of the ἀσθενής is the ἐλεύθερος.

171A-B ATHEISM DOES NOT CAUSE FEAR OF THE GODS, BUT FEAR OF THE GODS CAUSES ATHEISM BY INSPIRING RIDICULOUS RITES AND PASSIONS AND BY REPRESENTING THE GODS AS EVIL. [34]

οὐ γὰρ ἐν οὐρανῷ τι μεμπτὸν οὐδ' ἐν ἄστροις (κ.τ.λ.) ... οὕτως ἀθεότητα τοῦ παντός κατέγνωσαν, ἀλλὰ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἔργα καὶ πάθη καταγέλαστα. Rom 1:18-32 is stronger: the cosmic order not merely gives no occasion for atheism, but proclaims the existence and nature of the deity; the ridiculous practice of idolatry is not the cause of atheism but the result of men's turning from the creator to the creature. In Paul, however, as in ΠΔ, the reprehensible rites are the cause of moral evils in the worshipers, though the πάθη of Rom 1:26ff are mainly sexual and moral offenses, those of ΠΔ are primarily philosophical failings—fear, emotional disturbance, etc. The general notion that wickedness causes disbelief is expressed in the NT by the Hebraic use of σκάνδαλον, σκανδαλίζω, for which see the concordances. The types of wickedness are different: for the NT, Jesus' crucifixion, the persecution of Christianity, teachings of which the writers disapprove, behaviour that violates common rules, especially in regard to purity and sex; for ΠΔ, ritual practices. Contemptuous references to rival rites are found in the NT (Mark 7:3f.; Eph 5:11f.; Col 2:18; Heb 9:9f.; Rev 2:21, 24; etc.) but they are not attacked as causes of disbelief.

γοητεῖται καὶ μαγεῖται ... ἀκάθαρτοι μὲν καθαρμοὶ ῥυπαραὶ δ' ἀγνεῖται. In these the author would probably have classed baptism and the eucharist, had he thought of them, but nothing indicates that he did.

ὑβιστάς, ... μικρολόγους καὶ μικρολύπους, of the gods. See above, 170E.

171B-E WORST OF THESE RITES OF THE GOD-FEARING IS HUMAN SACRIFICE, AS SHOWN BY EXAMPLES: THE GAULS, SCYTHIANS, CARTHAGINIANS, AND AMESTRIS.

Human sacrifice is often attacked in the OT, Lev 18:21; 20:2ff.; 2 Kings 23:10; Jer 32:35; etc. In the NT its rejection is taken for granted, except for that of Jesus (Heb 9:11-10:22; John 1:29, 36; 19:36; Acts 8:32; 1 Cor 5:7; 11:24f. and parallels; 1 Pet 1:19; Rev 5:6, 9f., 12) and the living self-sacrifice of the faithful (Rom 12:1; 15:16; Heb 13:15; 1 Pet 2:5; etc.).

ἄρνας ἢ νεοσσούς: common sacrificial animals, classical forms of the nouns. The NT uses ἀρνῶν only once (Luke 10:3), ἀρνίον commonly (sacrificial in Rev 5ff.); for νεοσσός; it has νοσσός (Luke 2:24).

φιλάνθρωπον ... καὶ σοφὸν καὶ πλούσιον, attributes of Hades. φιλάνθρωπος is not in the NT, but Tit 3:4 speaks of ἡ [35] φιλανθρωπία ... τοῦ ... θεοῦ. σοφός, Rom 16:27 μόνῳ σοφῷ θεῷ, cf. 1 Cor 1:25; πλούσιος, 2 Cor 8:9, Jesus δι' ὑμᾶς ἐπτώχευσεν πλούσιος ὢν. (Eph 2:4 shows a metaphorical usage, here irrelevant.)

171E MOURNING FOR THE GODS IS ALSO RIDICULOUS, AS REMARKED BY XENOPHANES.

εἰ μὲν θεοὶ εἰσι, μὴ θρηνεῖτε αὐτούς· εἰ δ' ἄνθρωποι, μὴ θύετε αὐτοῖς. This antithesis is part of the background of 1 Cor 1:23: Χριστὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, Ἰουδαίοις μὲν σκάνδαλον, ἔθνεσιν δὲ μωρίαν; cf. Gal 5:11.

171E-F FLEE, THEREFORE, THE FEAR OF THE GODS, BUT DO NOT FALL INTO ATHEISM. PIETY LIES BETWEEN THEM.

νόσημα, of an opinion, cf. 1 Tim 6:4: νοσῶν περὶ ζητήσεις καὶ λογομαχίας.

φευκτέον, of sins, errors, etc., 1 Cor 6:18; 10:14; 1 Tim 6:11; 2 Tim 2:22. In the NT there is only one instance of this classical use of a verbal adjective in -τέος, and even that one (in Luke 5:38) produced textual variants. (Mark 2:28 was corrupted from Luke.)

εὐσέβεια is also an ideal in the NT, where it is characteristic of the deutero-Pauline material (one usage in Acts, eight in 1 Tim, one in 2 Tim, one in Tit, four in the framework of 2 Pet). It is thus an evidence of the influence of the Greco-Roman environment.

CHAPTER THIRTY-FOUR

THE HISTORY OF THE TERM GNOSTIKOS

[796] This article continues a discussion with Prof. Bianchi which began with my review of the papers of the Messina conference,¹ when I pointed out, *inter alia*:

1. That the “working hypothesis” proposed by the “final document” of the conference would not work—the “coherent series of characteristics” it tried to find in second-century gnosticism was not coherent; each of its elements was absent from one or more of what are commonly called “the gnostic systems,” and some of them contradicted major points of major systems.

2. That Prof. Jonas’s attempt, in his paper at the Messina conference, to describe an “ideal type” of gnosticism, was a failure—the resultant miscarriage had few traits that were common to all systems and itself corresponded to none.

3. That none of the conference’s speakers who had attempted to define gnosticism had thought of asking which groups actually called themselves “gnostics” or were called so by their neighbors.

To these objections Prof. Bianchi replied in his paper at the Stockholm conference.² First he mixed up my criticisms of Jonas’s paper with my remarks on the conference’s document, and took me to task for accusing the conference of trying to establish an “ideal type” of gnosticism³ (which I had not done), then he reiterated his notion of trying “d’établir une série cohérente (d’une cohérence objective) de traits qui soit indubitablement gnostique” (*ibid.*) this in spite of the [797] fact that not only I but also Prof. Drijvers had pointed out that the elements of his “coherent series” did not cohere, but were found in different “systems” most of which lacked or even contradicted one or more of them.⁴

¹ In *JBL* 89 (1970) 82ff.

² U. Bianchi, “A propos de quelques discussions récentes sur la terminologie, la définition et la méthode de l’étude du gnosticisme,” *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Gnosticism, Stockholm, Aug. 20-25, 1973* (G. Widengren and D. Hellholm, eds.; Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens, *Handlingar*, Filol.-Filos. Ser. 17; Stockholm, 1977) 16ff.

³ *Ibid.*, 18. Jonas, whose paper I had criticized for this attempt, not only made it, but dogmatically declared “the ‘ideal type’ construct” a thing “which the historian, at least for heuristic purposes, cannot do without”—an interesting specimen of unusually pure poppycock: H. Jonas, “Delimitation of the Gnostic Phenomenon—Typological and Historical,” in *The Origins of Gnosticism, Colloquium of Messina* (ed. U. Bianchi; Leiden, 1967) 90.

⁴ Drijvers’s criticisms are cited by Bianchi, “Quelques discussions,” 21.

To meet these criticisms he fell back on the claim that if even one of his proposed traits—for example, the creation of the world as the consequence of a divine *crise*—was found “dans les contextes respectifs” (by which I suppose he means, “in several systems commonly called ‘gnostic’”) it would necessarily be “une idée typiquement gnostique.”⁵ Hence, I suppose, he thought we could collect a set of the typical ideas of “gnosticism.”

However, this notion overlooks the problem indicated by my third objection, that none of the writers of the Messina conference had considered the question, “Which groups in antiquity did call themselves ‘gnostics’ or were so called by their neighbors?” Here I may have led Prof. Bianchi into error. I pointed out that if ancient usage had been considered, “Someone might have noticed that the most insistently self-styled ‘gnostic’ whose works have come down to us is Clement of Alexandria. As things were, orthodox Christian gnosticism was wholly ignored.”⁶ By “orthodox Christian gnosticism” I meant, of course, that gnosticism which eventually, thanks to the victory of the “catholic” Christians, came to be thought “orthodox.” But Prof. Bianchi commented, “Il nous semble que cette phrase contienne la source de confusions remarquables, car elle juxtapose dans une même proposition herméneutique [whatever that means] les groupes qui s’appelaient ‘gnostiques’, comme dénomination d’une ‘secte’, et l’appellation de ‘gnostique’, voire de ‘vrai gnostique’ que Clément s’attribue dans le contexte d’une école, mieux dans le contexte de la révéndication des profondeurs (et de l’orthodoxie) d’une théologie.”⁷

For my part, I think Prof. Bianchi’s comment not the source, but the result of profound misunderstandings, viz., the notions: (1) that the gnostic groups considered themselves “sects” (in the modern sense, viz., as opposed to the Church, which I take to be the sense Prof. Bianchi had in mind); (2) that none of the gnostic groups could have thought themselves schools within the Church; and (3) that their use of [798] *gnostikos* did not indicate the claim to a profound and orthodox theology. Yet worse is (4) the notion that words must have had in antiquity, as *distinct* meanings, the different senses assigned to them by modern dictionaries. (Sometimes they did, but more often they had one meaning which the ancients perceived as appropriate for matters we feel it necessary to describe by various terms.) Worst of all is (5) the notion that to investigate the ancient usage of a word will be a “source of remarkable confusions” if it reveals that the usage does not

⁵ Ibid., 18.

⁶ *JBL* 89 (1970) 83

⁷ “Quelques discussions,” 20f.

accord with modern terminology. Here the problem, for Prof. Bianchi, becomes acute because he is trying to find the “*idées typiquement gnostiques*” of “*les systèmes du II^e siècle que tout le monde s’accorde à dénommer gnostiques.*”⁸ But which world? Not, it seems, the ancient world of the gnostics themselves, but rather the *beau monde* of contemporary scholarship. To paraphrase Louis XIV, “Le monde, c’est nous.” By our academic prerogative, without considering ancient usage, we recognize certain schools as “gnostic”; hence the ideas held by those schools become “typically gnostic”; hence “gnosticism” will be defined; and the resultant definition of “gnosticism” will prove the “gnostic” character of these schools. Since Plato said “the most perfect of forms” was that most completely circular (*Ti.* 33b), we may describe this research program as Platonically perfect.

I propose, however, to break the magic circle and descend from the neatly constructed pleroma of Platonic ideas into the chaos of material, historical facts. Like Sophia, I want to know:

1. What was the original meaning of *gnostikos*, and how did it develop, down to early Christian times?
2. What Christians, individually or in groups, claimed to be *gnostikoi*, and when, and why?
3. What, if any, non-Christians made the same claim, and when, and why?
4. What Christians and non-Christians came to use the word as a term of abuse, and when, and why, and for whom?

In proposing these questions I do not have the answers up my sleeves. All will require long research; for some, no doubt, the lack of evidence will prevent us from reaching answers better than conjectural. However, I have made some preliminary investigations with the indices verborum available to me, and the results have surprised me. They are as follows.

Gnostikos was not a common word. Perhaps it was coined by Plato. [799] At all events, in preserved material it seems to have been first used by Plato⁹ in the *Politicus* 258e-267a, where the *gnostike technē*—the art of knowing—is opposed to the *praktike*, and where the ideal politician is defined as the master of the gnostic art; if such a being were to appear he would be a god come down to rule mankind. From Plato’s time to the second century A.D. I have found *gnostikos* used

⁸ *Ibid.*, 18f.

⁹ Its appearance in Psellus’s description of Anaxagoras’s teachings (*De omnifaria doctrina*, ed. Westerink, 46, end) is probably due to Psellus’s rephrasing. This seems to have been the opinion of Diels, who put the description in the *testimonia*, not in the *fragmenta*: *Vorsokr.*, 7th ed., 2. 30 (101a).

only by Aristotle,¹⁰ the Aristotelian Strato of Lampsacus,¹¹ a series of “Pythagoreans” (Archytas,¹² Clinias,¹³ Ocellus Lucanus,¹⁴ and perhaps Ecphantus¹⁵), Philo Judaeus,¹⁶ Plutarch (only in the *Moralia*),¹⁷ and Pseudo-Plutarch.¹⁸ The meanings are, roughly, “leading to knowledge, [800] resulting in knowledge, capable of knowing, cognizant of.” The term describes types of study, powers or elements of the personality, and thence, if Delatte’s conjecture for Ecphantus’s text is correct, an individual possessed of such powers. As in Plato (and the coincidence strengthens Delatte’s case) this individual would be the ideal king, the only man capable of knowing God, who would therefore act as the mediator between God and man; he would be, in effect, the *nous* of his subjects, in whom he would restore their lost contact with the heavenly world from which he came.¹⁹

This picture of the usage is derived from incomplete indices verborum; it will have to be tested by the *Thesaurus*. If it prove correct, some conclusions will follow.

¹⁰ A.Po., end (100a11): general concepts, being *hexeis* (states/conditions), arise from experience, not from other, more “gnostic” *hexeis*. Ross translates “more cognitive.”

¹¹ On the origin of dreams: they arise in the irrational element of the mind, which becomes more capable of sensation in sleep and is therefore moved by the “gnostic” (cognitive) element. Quoted as Strato’s by Pseudo-Plutarch, *De placitis philosophorum* (*Moralia* 904, end). Diels, *Doxographi Graeci* 416, thinks this drawn from Aëtius, *Placita philosophorum*, of the first or second century A.D.

¹² *Peri nou*, Stobaeus, *Anth.* 1.48.6, end (Wachsmuth-Hense. p. 317) = Iamblichus, *Comm. Math.* 8 (Festa, p. 36): like is always “gnostic” (capable of the knowledge) of like, etc. *Peri andros agathou*, Stobaeus, *Anth.* 3.3.65 (Wachs.-He., 218): prudence arises from two practices, one, that to acquire a scientific and “gnostic” *hexis*, the other, to see much and have much practical experience. *On the Categories*, ed. Thesleff, *Pythagorean Texts*, p. 32: science, beginning with finite matters, becomes “gnostic” (capable of knowing) infinite ones.

¹³ Stobaeus, *Anth.* 3.1.75 (Wachs.-He., 31): those who have the noetic and “gnostic” element of *arete* are called subtle (*deinoi*) and intelligent.

¹⁴ *De universi natura* 25, end (ed. Harder, p. 17 = Thesleff, p. 131): touch is “gnostic” and “critical” (that by which we know and judge) of the distinguishing qualities of physical objects (heat, cold, etc.).

¹⁵ L. Delatte, *Les traités de la royauté d’Ecphante, Diotogène et Sténidas* (*Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie ... de l’U. de Liège* 97; Liège, 1942) 183f., on Ecphantus, *Peri basileias*, in Stobaeus, *Anth.* 4.7.64 (Wachs.-He., 272, 15), where the text is corrupt. Many conjectures have been proposed. Delatte suggested *gnostikon* in his notes (*loc. cit.*), but printed *ennoetikon* in his text (p. 28).

¹⁶ *Op.* 154, end, according to all MSS except M (Laurentianus plut. X cod. 20), which reads *horistikou*. Wendland needlessly conjectured *gnoristikou*, but *gnostikou* makes perfect sense: “By ‘the <power> capable of knowing good and evil <things>’ Genesis refers to > prudence.”

¹⁷ *Gryllus* 7 (990a): taste occurs in the tongue when the juices of food are mingled with the “gnostic” (organ, i.e., that capable of discerning them). *An. proc.* 23 (1023e): the souls of mortals have a power “gnostic” (capable of the knowledge) of what is sensibly perceptible.

¹⁸ For *De placitis* (904f.) see above, note 11, on Strato. Again in *De musica* 33 (1142f): each science studies some special object, thus harmonics is “gnostic” (takes cognizance) of the relations of sounds.

¹⁹ Delatte, *Traité*s, 183f., where the similarity of this doctrine to “gnosticism” is noticed.

First: the claim to be a *gnostikos* must be a claim to be a figure defined by the Platonic-Pythagorean philosophic tradition. The term is not Stoic; the only uses in *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* occur in passages cited from Clement of Alexandria; Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius did not use it.²⁰ I have not found it in Greco-Roman religious texts or inscriptions, nor in texts marginal to the official religion (Orphica, Hermetica,²¹ magical texts). It was not common in Judaism: it is not in the Septuagint, the Greek pseudepigrapha to which I have indices,²² the *Corpus Papyrorum Iudaicarum*,²³ or Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum* 1; the one (dubious) usage in Philo (above, n. 16) is probably Platonic. Its rarity in Greek literature is surpassed by its apparently total absence from Greek popular usage.²⁴ Consequently I think we may conclude that the *gnostikoi* probably got their claim to be *gnostikoi* from the Platonic-Pythagorean tradition. This does not settle the question whence they got their doctrines, but it does [801] establish a strong presumption in favor of Platonic and Pythagorean origins.

Second: the claim to be a *gnostikos* was rather to be *capable of knowing* than to possess particular items of information. The second meaning is not excluded, but, if the word were used in its customary sense, it would be at best subordinate. Thus being gnostic would seem to have been the essential claim, and having gnosis merely a consequence. However, if gnosis was the means and sine qua non for salvation, its importance in the thought of a group pursuing salvation may have become so great as to cause a shift in the meaning of *gnostikos*.

So much for the term; now when, how, and why did Christians come to use it? It is not in the New Testament, Apostolic Fathers, or second-century Apologists. As far as I know, the first record of Christian usage is the report of Celsus that among the many different sorts of Christians there are some who call themselves "gnostics."²⁵ These Celsus distinguishes from the Catholics and also from the Sibyllistai,

²⁰ At least, it was not one of those words in Marcus's text that Farquharson saw fit to index.

²¹ The reference in the index graecitatis of Scott's *Hermetica* (4.156) is to an attack on heretics attributed to Anthimus of Nicomedia, about 300 A.D.

²² *Greek Enoch, Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Joseph and Asenath, Testament of Solomon, Prophetarum Vitae, Greek Apocalypse of Baruch, Sibylline Oracles III, Letter of Aristaeas*. It does not occur in any of the brief indices made by James for the texts he published.

²³ The relevant indices are headed "Technical Terms," but are fairly full.

²⁴ It is not in the indices to *Inscriptiones Graecae, Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, Robert's *Bulletin Epigraphique*, the dictionaries of the papyri by Preisigke and Kiessling, the *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*.

²⁵ Origen, *Cels* 5.61f.

Simonians, Marcellians who follow Marcellina, Harpocratians who follow Salome, others who follow Mariamme, others Martha, others Marcion, and yet other groups whom Origen identifies, on the basis of characteristics given by Celsus, as Valentinians and Ebionites. Clearly if one group can be distinguished as “those who call themselves ‘gnostics’” from all these others, then none of the other groups called itself, as a group, “gnostics,” and their members did not, as individuals, make the claim in such a striking fashion that their groups could be distinguished by this trait. However, some individuals in these other groups may have claimed to be gnostics; Clement, a Catholic, did. Against Prof. Bianchi, I see no reason to suppose that the claim made by a group or all its members must have been essentially different from that made by an isolated individual. Finally, Celsus may have been misinformed, confused, dishonest, or all three, and may have reported different characteristics of Christians in such a way as to suggest that each one defined a different group; his objective, after all, was to show up Christian divisions and self-contradictions. Some of the characteristics he listed may have been shared by several groups; etc. Granting such possibilities, we must also grant that Celsus’s report does seem, in the main, probably true. We should expect that by his time some Christian groups were beginning to have philosophic pretensions, and one may have distinguished itself [802] by claiming to be *the gnostikoi*—the group of those able to know the things that mattered.

In fact our next evidence from Alexandria shows approximately this state of affairs. Clement himself claims to be a gnostic and his account of the meaning of the term is our fullest explanation of why an early Christian should have claimed it. To this one of my questions the answer is therefore so extensive that I pass over it, with the hope that much of the answer will appear in the paper by Prof. Mehat (published in volume 1 of these proceedings). Besides Clement, other Christians claimed the term for other reasons and understood it to have other meanings. Clement knows some of these who seem to be members of his own church.²⁶ He is also given to attacking all “self-loving and notoriety-loving heresies” as “not having learned or received tradition correctly, but having acquired a false opinion of <their own> knowledge (*gnosis*)”—GCS 3.64.21ff. Such attacks do not indicate that all these heretics were, or claimed to be, “gnostics” (2.35.5-15; 138.15ff.). He does know one group, the followers of Prodicus, whom he stigmatizes as “falsely calling themselves gnostics” (2.209.30; cf. 3.31.2ff.), and he distinguishes them clearly from other groups, such as

²⁶ Clemens Alexandrinus, ed. O. Stählin and L. Früchtel (3 vols.; 2d-3d eds.; GCS; Leipzig, 1936-70). I cite GCS vol., page, and line. Here 1.104.23ff.; 2.298.23ff. (perhaps).

the Antitactites, who apparently made no such claim (2.208-211). In his many attacks on the Carpocratians he never calls them “gnostics” nor says directly that they claimed to be so, but he comes very near it when he says that Epiphanes, the son of Carpocrates, “was taught by his father the <subjects proper to a> liberal education and also the <teachings> of Plato, and himself was the first to teach the monadic gnosis, and from him <comes> the heresy of the Carpocratians” (2.197.25ff.). At the end of book 3 of the *Stromateis*, in which Clement reviewed the whole range of heresies (many certainly not “gnostic”) and particularly the libertine sects, he concluded with a general denunciation of those “who teach others to give up self-restraint for dissolute living” and “choose for themselves, under the false name of knowledge [*gnosis*], the road into outer darkness” (2.246.26ff.). It is hard to decide here whether to write “knowledge” or “gnosis,” but probably “knowledge” is right, since I know of no other passage in which Clement even seems to refer to all the libertine groups as “gnostics,” and I cannot believe he would have passed over the claim in silence if most of them had made it. His specification of the followers of Prodicus, and [803] perhaps of the Carpocratians, would be surprising if the claim were general.

The specification of Prodicus only is found also in Tertullian. In his *Scorpiace* he begins with the observation that, as scorpions come out in summer, so when faith grows fervid “tunc Gnostici erumpunt, tunc Valentiniani proserpunt” (1.5). This looks like a distinction of Gnostics from Valentinians; it is proved to be so by the end of the tractate, where he comes back to the antithesis, but makes the contrast between Prodicus and Valentinus (15.6). So the “Gnostici” of the beginning are presumably the followers of Prodicus, as Clement said they were. Elsewhere Tertullian says little of them. In *De praescriptione haereticorum* he attacks Hermogenes, Phygelus, Philetus, Hymenaeus, Apelles, Valentinus, Marcion, Ebion (whom he thinks a heresiarch), Simon, Nigidius (“nescio qui”), the Nicolaitans and the Cainites, but never mentions gnostics. Similarly Hippolytus refers to only a few groups as “calling themselves gnostics”—the Naassenes/Ophites and their subspecies, the followers of Justin.²⁷ The presumption, again, is that if these groups could be distinguished by the fact that they claimed to be gnostics, the other groups, at least as groups, did not

²⁷ *Haer.* 5.2; 5.6.4; 5.8.1.29; 5.11.1; 5.23.3. His statement in 7.36.2ff. that the different sorts of gnostics were (all?) misled by the Nicholas of Rev 2:6 is presumably false. N. was a notorious libertine, so this is a reference of libertine sects to a common ancestor. However, it does indicate that the “gnostics” were seen as a single set of heretics, distinguished sharply from the many others. Hippolytus accuses Theodotus of Byzantium (7.35; 10.23) and Elchasai (9.4) of borrowing ideas from the gnostics, but not of being gnostics themselves, still less of claiming to be so.

make this claim. Accordingly Lampe's *Patristic Greek Lexicon* (the first Greek lexicon I know to give even a roughly correct account of the Christian use of *gnostikos*) states that "modern use of the term for a variety of second-century dualistic heresies is probably of eighteenth-century origin." (Here "dualistic" shows the continuing influence of Jonas's early errors; contrast Clement's reference to "the monadic gnosis," cited above. As an authority on gnosticism, Clement has one great advantage over Jonas—he knew what he was talking about.)

Not all the blame, however, can be put on eighteenth-century scholars. They were following Irenaeus, in whose works we find a change of terminology. He says Valentinus "was the first who from the so-called gnostic heresy reshaped the principles into a teaching of his own with a peculiar character."²⁸ This seems an attempt to suggest that the Valentinians were gnostics, without quite saying so. [804] A little later (1.5.3) he mentions other Valentinians who claim that there are powers prior to Bythos and Sige, and pretend to know them, "in order that they may seem more fully initiated than the full initiates and more gnostic than the gnostics." Again the implication that the Valentinians are gnostics, even when he distinguishes them from the gnostics! Similar hints abound in his description of Marcus's doctrines (1.7.5f.; 8.13; 14.3f.; [note especially 1.7.1 which suggests that Marcus used the term "gnostic"]). Next he says Simon Magus' followers were the source of "pseudonymous gnosis" [*sicut ex ipsis assertionibus eorum adest discere* (1.16.3)—which comes close to saying that they called themselves "gnostics"]. The role of knowledge and knowing is heavily emphasized in the account of Basilides' teaching (1.19.2ff.). It is bluntly said that the Carpocratians "call themselves gnostics" (1.20.4), although it is also said that they teach, "We are saved by faith and love, all else is indifferent" (20.3)—an odd teaching for gnostics. Next "all who in whatever way adulterate the truth and harm the image of the Church are disciples and successors of Simon the Samaritan magician, *although they do not admit the name of their teacher*" (1.25.2, my italics; cf. 1.15, end). Here the polemic nature of these charges is clear. We go on to learn that the Barbelognostics, too, arose from Simon (1.27.1ff.). The Cainites say only Judas, of all the disciples, had the true gnosis (1.28.9). Finally Irenaeus explains, "It has been necessary to prove clearly that those who come from Valentinus <are derived> from such mothers, fathers, and ancestors [i.e., from Simon, the Carpocratians and the Barbelognostics] as their own teachings and rules show them <to be>" (1.29). Clear polemic supported by inferential argument, presumably to contradict denials by the parties attacked. More of the same recurs at the beginning of book 2: we have

²⁸ Ed. Harvey, 1.5.1; I follow the Greek here, as Harvey advises.

exposed Simon and “the multitude of those gnostics who descended from him” (including the Valentinians and the Marcosians) and “have demonstrated that all heretics deriving their origin from Simon have introduced impious and irreligious teachings.”

To understand such stuff we should imagine what the history of our own time would look like, fifteen hundred years from now, if the Communists should win their present struggle for control of the world. The surviving documents would then report that, in spite of the outcome of the Second World War, western Europe and the Americas, except for Cuba, continued to be ruled by “Fascists” and “Nazis” throughout the rest of the twentieth century. Scholars of the fourth millennium would be divided between those who held that “Fascists” and “Nazis” were identical, and those who tried in various ways to distinguish them. Both sides would search the surviving works [805] of the holy Fathers of the Party for evidence from which they could construct an “ideal type” of Fascism, or put together a set of “typical Nazi ideas” from the fragments quoted by Communist writers from Hitler, Mussolini, Churchill, Truman, de Gaulle, Nixon, Golda Meir, and other figures “que tout le monde s’accorde à dénommer” Nazi.

By analogy, I think it fairly easy to see what Saint Irenaeus did. With characteristic concern for veracity, he picked a few outstandingly unpopular heretics—Simon Magus and the notoriously libertine “gnostics” and Carpocratians—and he set out to represent all other heretics as descendants and secret followers of these loathsome ancestors. Since he had to argue by inference and innuendo, we can be fairly sure his arguments were false. However, they were popular, and he was a bishop and became a martyr and a hero of the party that ultimately won. Later Christian usage is shaped by his polemic, though not entirely. In the East, for instance, the influence of Clement continued to be felt and “gnostic” remained a term of praise to which writers of the victorious “catholic” party continued to lay claim. In polemics against the sects attacked by Irenaeus, however, his usage was followed. We may conjecture that it was particularly successful at Rome, where he had worked.

Perhaps its success there decided Porphyry, when editing Plotinus’s tractates, to make up the title, “Against the Gnostics” for one that had been written to refute some schismatic Platonists. On the other hand, it is possible and not unlikely that these groups may have called themselves “gnostics.” As we have seen, the term comes from the Platonic tradition and some small schools claiming it had been active in Alexandria for half a century. That Roman Platonists should imitate Alexandrian ones after such an interval is not surprising. Porphyry describes Plotinus’s opponents as “members of the sects derived from the old philosophy, the followers of Adelphius and Aquilinus, who had

got hold of many works of Alexander the Libyan and Philocomus and Demonstratus and Lydus and, trotting out apocalypses of Zoroaster and Zostrianus and Nicotheus and Allogenes and Messus and suchlike others, were deceiving many and themselves deceived, <pretending> that Plato had not penetrated into the depth of noetic being.”²⁹ These Porphyry distinguishes from the “many Christians of many sorts” who also buzzed about Plotinus. Whether Plotinus’s [806] refutation (*Enn.* 2.9) was intended to refute the Christians, too, is not clear, either from its text or from Porphyry’s report. Two books with titles Porphyry mentions—*Zostrianos* (perhaps subtitled “Zoroaster”), and *Allogenes* (to Messus) have turned up at Nag Hammadi (VIII,1 and XI,3). Neither contains any Christian trait, and of course appearance at Nag Hammadi does not prove them Christian. Portions of Plato’s *Republic* and the Hermetic *Asclepius* were also included in the Nag Hammadi library. Nor does the use of these books by Porphyry’s groups prove that those groups wrote them; in fact, Porphyry speaks as if they had “got hold of” them from others. Thus even if Porphyry’s groups called themselves “gnostics” it would not be certain that the authors of these books did so; on the other hand, if the books were known to be gnostic, the groups’ use of them may have led Porphyry to extend the term to the users. Of such various possible relations we simply do not know which actually pertained.

At least it is not improbable that we should add the followers of Adelphius and Aquilinus to those of Prodicus and Carpocrates and the Naassenes/Ophites in the list of those ancients who actually claimed to be “gnostics.” They show us that the claim was not limited to Christians, and they confirm our conclusion that it was primarily a phenomenon of later Platonism. It seems to have been made by a few small circles characterized by wild proliferation of Platonic mythology; also those mentioned by the Christian heresiologists had practices so scandalous that Irenaeus chose to make them and Simon Magus the spiritual ancestors of the many Christian schools he wished to discredit. (The opponents of Plotinus, too, practiced magic—2.9.14.) This is not to say that the true gnostics may not have had many traits in common with the victims of Irenaeus’s attack. True Nazis, Fascists and Communists held many opinions also held by persons to whom those terms are unjustly applied, but in talking of them most educated people know enough to distinguish between ideas generally current and those peculiar to these particular parties. In talking of gnostics we should try to achieve similar precision. When lack of information makes precision impossible, we should at least try not to know too much.

²⁹ *Plot.* 16.

I am sure that this recommendation will not be widely followed. Not only is it psychologically repulsive, but it neglects a much neglected subject—the influence of modern economics on ancient history. The term “gnosticism” has become in effect a brand name with a secure market. “Gnosticism” is salable, therefore it will continue to be [807] produced. Indeed, our lack of information about true, ancient gnosticism will probably prove a great advantage to manufacturers of the modern, synthetic substitute. They need no longer be distracted by consideration of ancient data, since those prove to be mostly unreliable. Now they can turn without restraint to the important question, the philosophic definition of the concept. As gnostics themselves, they can follow the gnostic saviour, escape from the lower world of historical facts, and ascend to the pleroma of perfect words that emanate forever from the primaeval void.

CHAPTER THIRTY-FIVE

ON THE HISTORY OF ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΠΤΩ AND ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ

[9] As a first step towards discussing “the apocalyptic movement” in antiquity it seems necessary to find out who then used the terms “apocalyptic” and “apocalypse,” and what they used them for.

1. ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΠΤΙΚΟΣ

So far as I know, ἀποκαλυπτικός never occurs in classical Greek. Lampe’s *Patristic Greek Lexicon*¹ cites it first from Clement of Alexandria (*Paedagogus* 1.1) as meaning “revealing”; the divine Word, Clement says, when engaged in intellectual teaching—as in his former work, the *Protreptic*—is “clarifying and revealing” (δηλωτικός καὶ ἀποκαλυπτικός), whereas in his present work its concern will be moral reformation. Here the adjective has nothing to do with what we should call apocalypses. From Lampe’s brief entry, I suppose it never did. It seems to have been a comparatively rare word even in the Christian vocabulary. Christians of the patristic period were undoubtedly aware of “the apocalypse” as a literary form; they used the noun to describe many works; but apparently they never used this adjective for that purpose.

2. ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΠΤΩ and ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ

2.1. From the adjective, therefore, we turn to the noun and the verb, both of which were masterfully mishandled by Oepke in his *ThWNT* article on καλύπτω κτλ.²

2.1.1. Oepke did, however, correctly observe that ἀποκαλύπτω is a comparatively rare word, and for ἀποκάλυψις he appositely cited Jerome: *proprie scripturarum est ... a nullo sapientium saeculi apud Graecos usurpatum* (*Ad Galatas* 1:11f.).³ Jerome went on to argue from this that the translators of the Septuagint, to indicate that the true, Israelite revelation was like [10] nothing in the pagan world, had created peculiar terms to describe it, *nova novis rebus verba fingentes*. Oepke happily followed this lead. Having collected a few late examples of ἀποκαλύπτω and ἀποκάλυψις used with reference to things divine, he concluded from no substantial evidence that they were not native to Greek but imported from the east and probably from the

¹ Lampe 1968, 194, s.v.

² Oepke 1938, esp. 565-597.

³ *Ibid.*, 573; ed. Vallarsi, VII, 1, 387.

Septuagint. Hence he took off in a eulogy of the unique character of Old Testament revelation. When he finally came down to the data (pp. 579f.) he had to recognize that the Septuagint never uses ἀποκάλυψις of matters divine,⁴ and more often than not uses ἀποκαλύπτω of matters human. In fact, there are about a dozen uses in equivalents of the idiom “uncover the shame,” half a dozen of the idiom “uncover the ear,” and more than two dozen of miscellaneous uses for human matters, against only two dozen in which God is explicitly the subject of the verb. Moreover, even when God is the subject, there is commonly no apocalyptic implication. When he “uncovers the ear” of Samuel or “uncovers the backside” of the wicked city (Jer 13:26; Nah 3:5 LXX), the act is no doubt revelatory, but so is that of a strip-tease artist, and a revelation does not become “apocalyptic” (in the modern sense) whenever it is described by a common verb meaning “uncover.”

2.1.2. (Another slip that may be mentioned in passing is Oepke's statement, p. 579, that when ἀποκαλύπτω is used of God's giving knowledge it refers not to factual information, but to “intuitive contact with that which is yet hidden in the Transcendent.” To the contrary we have 1 Sam 9:15f.:

“And Yahweh uncovered the ear of Samuel one day before Saul came, saying, ‘About this time tomorrow I shall send you a man from the territory of Benjamin, and you are to anoint him to be the leader of my people Israel.’”

These are specific facts).

2.2. The main points to be noted, however, are that the Septuagint does not use ἀποκάλυψις to refer to what we should call “an apocalypse” nor, in fact, to any sort of divine revelation; it does not use ἀποκαλύπτω *in the main* for divine revelations, and when it does so use the verb, the revelations referred to are never of what we should call the apocalyptic sort. Consequently the use of these terms for what are commonly called apocalyptic works cannot be derived directly from the Septuagint. It is rather a development of common usage, of which usage the Septuagint is the richest example—richest in large part because it had to translate literally the common Hebrew idioms mentioned above.

2.3. When we look in pagan authors for other evidence of the common usage we find the literal sense of ἀποκαλύπτω “uncover,” already in [11] Herodotus (1.119), the figurative, for uncovering one's opinion or abilities, in Plato.⁵

⁴ Oepke's list of the instances omits 1 Kings 20:30.

⁵ *Protagoras* 352a; *Gorgias* 455d.

Ἀποκάλυψις, the noun, is almost as rare as Jerome thought, but it does appear at last in Philodemus⁶ with reference to uncovering the head; thereafter come other non-religious uses, both literal and figurative. Both words are rare, and surprisingly so in the papyri,⁷ which suggests that their survival was probably due to lower class Greek usage rather than near-eastern influence. On the other hand, the question of subject matter is important in evaluating the evidence of such documents. We know from literary evidence that ἀποκαλύπτω/ἀποκάλυψις were important in Greek speaking Jewish and Christian circles, but they do not appear in the *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*⁸ and I have not found either in the collection of Jewish inscriptions appended to *CPJ* nor in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*.⁹ Neither appears in the volume of Greek inscriptions from Beth She‘arim, nor in Naldini’s collection of Christian letters on papyri.¹⁰ In the Cairo Museum’s great collection of Byzantine papyri ἀποκαλύπτω appears only once—in a promise that evidence will be revealed to a court, and this promise was written by a literary man.¹¹ Admittedly these collections are far from being sufficient for a complete search, but I think they do suffice to show that matters of considerable importance in the religious life of a community may leave little or no trace in its public and private documents, as distinct from its literary works. Hence the rarity of ἀποκαλύπτω/ἀποκάλυψις in pagan inscriptions and papyri may not justify the conclusion that there were no apocalypses in the pagan literature now lost.

2.3.1. In all such efforts to trace rare words we are terribly at the mercy of the accidents of preservation, not to mention the catastrophes of inadequate indexing. The *Thesaurus*, when readily accessible, should begin a new era for studies of this sort. While awaiting that dayspring from on high, in the darkness of the present dispensation (made doubly dark by the loss of so much hellenistic material) the report of what a fairly thorough search has yielded may prove misleading. For better or worse, however, by searching most of the indexed literary works and the major papyrological and epigraphic collections covering the hellenistic and early Roman [12] periods, I have found only very few instances of ἀποκαλύπτω and none of ἀποκάλυψις in the hellenistic period prior to Philodemus, who used

⁶ *Peri kakion* 22.15.

⁷ Except for the technical term γῆ ἀποκεκαλυμμένη, “land left exposed” (by the recession of the Nile’s flood waters), which is frequent after the first century A.D.

⁸ Tcherikover/Fuks 1957-1964.

⁹ Frey 1936/1952.

¹⁰ Naldini 1968.

¹¹ Maspero 1916, no. 67295, col. II line 8. The document is a VI century copy of a late V century letter by the pagan philosopher Horapollo, author of the *Hieroglyphics*, who eventually became a Christian.

both. He was born in Gadara about 110 B.C. and died shortly after 40 B.C. in Herculaneum, where he had been installed by his Roman patron, L. Calpurnius Piso Caesonius, consul in 58, sometime father-in-law to Julius Caesar, and one of the leading figures of the Epicurean circle that had Philodemus among its influential teachers and Lucretius, the young Vergil, and, later on, the younger Horace among its more influential pupils.¹² After Philodemus' time, ἀποκαλύπτω appears fairly often in pagan writers, and ἀποκάλυψις occasionally; the citations in Liddell-Scott-Jones¹³ adequately reflect the distribution. I hope this statement of the facts will not be taken to imply that I think Philodemus had anything substantial to do with the popularization of ἀποκαλύπτω/ἀποκάλυψις; I see no reason to think he did. He simply happens to be the first pagan author in whose works we find evidence of their increasing popularity. Why ἀποκαλύπτω which was in good usage in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., drops almost out of sight in the third, and then slowly begins a resurgence that will eventually place its derivatives among the most important religious terms of the western world, is uncertain. One thing seems clear: its success was not due to its suitability to the type of revelation it and its derivatives were eventually used to describe. Apocalyptic revelations are not customarily effected by removing a cover; the heavens are not stripped away, nor the lid of the earth taken off; even the old folkloristic notion of taking a cover off the eyes, so that they can see spiritual beings (for which ἀποκαλύπτω was used in the story of Balaam, Num 22:31) is not developed, in spite of the increasing popularity of the words (which would favor the development). Perhaps, however, I may now advance a conjecture suggested to me by the evidence that will follow. I conjecture that the actual course of events went like this: In the last centuries B.C. ἀποκαλύπτω came to be commonly used of revealing secrets. At about the same time began a great increase of the belief that the god(s) had very important secrets to reveal, secrets about the structure and future of the world that would enable those who knew them to escape impending disaster. In the lower-middle-class, eastern Mediterranean milieux where these ideas first caught hold, ἀποκαλύπτω was already the common word for revealing secrets, so it eventually came to be used for revealing these, and their ultimate success carried it with them, in spite of the inappropriateness of its root meaning for its new role. [13]

2.3.2. Before leaving Philodemus, let me add that he is a figure who tempts speculation, the more so because his fellow Gadarene,

¹² Caesar was sometime backer of C. Memmius; Memmius was patron of Lucretius, Catullus, and Cinna; their friend C. Asinius Pollio became an elder friend of Horace and Vergil.

¹³ *LSJ* 1940; *LSJSup* 1968 gives no additional references.

Meleager, the famous collector of epigrams, bragged in his epigrammatic epitaph of being able to speak to Syrians and Phoenicians, as well as to Greeks, in their native languages.¹⁴ Meleager's floruit was within a decade or so of Philodemus' birth, and Meleager was then already in Tyre, so there is no likelihood of direct influence. However, the two authors may be taken as evidence that Gadara was both a center of Greek culture and a city where men acquainted with Greek literature might also be acquainted with the language of the Semitic world around them. It is not impossible that Philodemus may have known Semitic languages well enough to amuse himself by reading the Aramaic and Hebrew prophecies that probably circulated in his time both in the Decapolis and in Italy.

2.3.3. Let me indulge in one more aside, on the role of ancient prophecy as a form of entertainment. Ezekiel complains that men come to hear him as a singer, rather than a prophet (33:32). A century before Philodemus, a Syrian named Eunus was enslaved in Sicily. He was a prophet of the Syrian goddess, who had promised to make him king. His master used to have him brought in after dinner to amuse the guests by prophesying in her name; they sometimes gave him tidbits and asked him to remember them when he came into his kingdom. He later led the great slave revolt of 135 B.C. which his master probably found less amusing.¹⁵ Just about the time of Philodemus' death Vergil chose to parody such prophecies in his delightful nonsense poem for a child's birthday, the fourth *Eclogue*. Some of the nonsense, it is true, may come from the prophetic original, but the fact that Vergil perceived it as nonsense, and used it deliberately to amuse, is proved not only by the absurdity of the opposite supposition—to suggest that he took it seriously would equate him in stupidity with his interpreters—but also by the poem's conclusion (4.66-70):

Incipe, parve puer, risu cognoscere matrem ...
Incipe, parve puer; qui non risere parenti
Nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata cubili est.

2.4. Now back to our muttons: Evidence of the revival of δ ποκαλύπτω/δ ποκάλυψις by literary circles in the eastern Mediterranean began with the Septuagint, of which the evidence has already been reviewed. The Septuagint probably covers a span of about a century and a half; its earliest element, the Pentateuch, may have been translated shortly after 275, its latest may be the preface written by Ben Sira's grandson in 117 B.C. "Aristeas" used the verb of uncovering a physical object (177); Josephus [14] twice in that sense,

¹⁴ *Anthologia Palatina* 7.419.

¹⁵ Diodorus 34/35.2.8.

and twice of revealing human secrets.¹⁶ Otherwise I have not found the words in the Jewish historians. They do not occur in the Jewish imitations of classical poetry (including *Sibyllines* III). As to their use in what are commonly called “the pseudepigrapha,” it is difficult to judge because so few of these texts have been preserved in Greek and the Greek texts of those few are commonly late and interpolated. *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* use the verb eight times, five of these in references to revealing secrets. In two instances it is God who reveals the secret—Reuben’s adultery and Potiphar’s wife’s plan to poison Joseph—he also reveals Levi’s imminent death. Levi is made to prophesy the coming of “a new priest, to whom all the words of the Lord will be revealed.” What seems a Christian interpolation says that God will reveal his salvation to all the gentiles.¹⁷ In *Joseph and Aseneth* there are three uses of the verb: Aseneth reveals her sins in confession to God (12:4); consequently an angel is sent to read her a lecture, give her a piece of heavenly honeycomb, and assure her that the secrets of God have been revealed to her (16:7); later, when she makes friends with Levi, he reads things written in heaven and reveals them to her in secret (22:9).

2.5. Remarkable is the rarity of the words in works now commonly called “apocalypses.” I do not know any such text prior to the New Testament Apocalypse which either describes itself or the proceedings in it as ἀποκαλύψεις or even uses the verb ἀποκαλύπτω for the whole of the revelation. A number of such works are referred to by partistic writers as “apocalypses,” but such references pose a problem to be considered later.

2.5.1. The immediate problem is that of the use of the words in the New Testament. They are rare in the Gospels—ἀποκάλυψις only once, in Luke’s reference to Jesus as “a light for enlightenment (?) of the Gentiles” (2:32—a unique usage). Ἀποκαλύπτω appears in four items about revealing secrets and two about revealing God,¹⁸ in John’s quotation of Isa 53:1, “To whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed?” (12:38), and—at last!—in a single “apocalyptic” passage, of “the day when the Son of Man shall be revealed” (Luke 17:30). The references to revealing secrets continue the usage we have just noticed in Josephus, *Joseph and Aseneth*, and *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*; it is even more conspicuous in ben Sira who has a dozen

¹⁶ Josephus: *Bell* 1.297; 5.350; *Ant.* 12.90; 14.406.

¹⁷ Secrets: *Reuben* 3:15; *Judah* 16:4 (*ter*); *Joseph* 6:6, of these the first and last are revealed by God. Levi’s death: *Levi* 1:2. Salvation for the gentiles: *Benjamin* 10:5 (the ἕως clause seems a Christian attempt to void the initial command; notice the change from θεός to Κύριος). The new priest: *Levi* 18:2. See below, notes 25ff., for similar Christian changes in other texts.

¹⁸ Secrets: Matt 10:26/Luke 12:2; Matt 11:25/Luke 10:21; Matt 16:17; Luke 2:35; God: Matt 11:27/Luke 10:22.

uses with this reference against three or four with others. All in all, the gospel usage can hardly be made into evidence of a major theme, or of [15] clear connection with Palestine, two of the nine instances being peculiar to Luke, one Johannine, and four from the peculiar “Johannine” pericope of Q. Outside the Gospels, the words are *exclusively* Pauline and deuterio-Pauline (*i.e.* in Ephesians and 1 Peter), except for the solitary use as the first word of the Apocalypse. (Was it part of a title? If so, was the title secondary? Who knows?)

2.5.2. For Paul, as we know him in his letters, ἀποκάλυψις is the core of his life, but this ἀποκάλυψις means “revelation,” not “apocalypse,” and this revelation has nothing to do with “uncovering.” Paul’s choice of the word can be explained neither by its root meaning, nor by its later connection with the apocalypses. The explanation must lie in some aspect of its previous usage, most likely in that for revealing secrets, but the connection is not clear and the data are puzzling. What is clear is that the center of Paul’s concern is not any revelation to Paul, but the revelation in Paul. Gal 1:12, where he insists that “I did not receive” my gospel “from men ... but by revelation of Jesus Christ” is explained by the following reference in 1:15f. to God who “was pleased ... to reveal his Son *in* me, that I might proclaim him,” and this “in” cannot be read as “by”—it is used in preparation for Paul’s clinching argument in the dispute with Peter to which this section of the letter is leading, “I live no longer I, but Christ lives in me” (2:20), where even the most ardent advocate of “ἐν instrumental” would not dare to use “by.” Paul’s notion that he is the living revelation of Jesus is spelled out fully in 2 Cor 3-5 and Rom 6-8, which make clear that the revelation is conceived not as vision, but as possession and progressive transformation, and is extended, by Paul’s preaching, the rite of baptism, and the gift of the spirit (which is Jesus, 2 Cor 3:17), to his converts. Moreover, it is not a single event, but a continuing process, the acts and powers of the spirit being the constant witness in the believers that they are continually “receiving the revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ” (1 Cor 1:7).

2.5.2.1. This revelation, as expressed in Paul’s gospel, is not only of the immediate powers of God, but also of his future purposes; it reveals his wrath to the wicked, to the righteous his justice (Rom 1:17f.) and the things he has prepared for them (1 Cor 2:10); it is thus a revelation of the long-secret mystery of his will (Rom 16:25). Because continuing, it is not yet complete—more will be revealed at the end, first the Antichrist (2 Thess 2:3; 6:8), then the heavenly return of Jesus with the angels (2 Thess 1:7), the fiery test of what each man has done (1 Cor 3:13), the just judgment of God against the wicked (Rom 2:5), and the destined glory of the saints (Rom 8:18f.).

2.5.2.2. While awaiting these final revelations, Paul and the other saints enjoyed frequent specific revelations from the spirit that dwelt in them, and [16] these revelations were often of secrets. This accords with the usage of ἀποκαλύπτω for revealing secrets, as we saw it in the Gospels and in earlier Jewish works. The secrets revealed by God might, in human terms, be answers to particular questions. Jews and Christians used their deity as pagans used the oracles of their gods and modern believers in alien wisdom use the columnists and television seers who live by telling people what to do. Thus Paul claims that his second trip to Jerusalem after his conversion was dictated by revelation (Gal 2:2); he promises the Philippians that God will reveal to them the truth of competing opinions (3:15).

2.5.2.3. The meetings of the Pauline congregations seem often to have been devoted to encounters with the spirit, which expressed itself in different oral forms. 1 Cor 14:6 opposes speaking with tongues to several forms of rational speech—revelation, “knowledge” (proverbs?), prophecy, and teaching. Here, as in the preceding passages, the word translated “revelation” is ἀποκάλυψις and a reader unaware of its meaning elsewhere in Paul might be tempted to translate it by “apocalypse” and take it to mean “a report of a vision of the sort described in the literary apocalypses.” But we have found no evidence that at Paul’s time the literary apocalypses were called “apocalypses,” and Paul clarifies his meaning here by his argument later in the chapter (vss. 23ff.):

“If the whole church is assembled and everybody speaks with tongues, and some who are uninitiated or unbelieving come in, won’t they say you are mad? But if everybody prophesies and some unbeliever or uninitiate comes in, his vices will be exposed by everybody, he will be judged by everybody, his hidden thoughts will be laid open, and consequently, prostrating himself, he will worship God.... So what is (to be done), brethren? When you come together (and) each has a psalm, a teaching, a revelation, a ‘tongue,’ an interpretation, arrange everything so (that the proceedings will be) edifying.”

Clearly, “prophecy” here refers not to foretelling eschatological events, but to revealing the thoughts and characters of persons present—a remarkable gift of Old Testament prophets, as Gehazi learned to his grief (2 Kings 5:26f.). By analogy with this use of prophecy, and in the light of the previous passages, I think “revelation” here probably means “answer to some question,” whether practical (“Should Paul go up to Jerusalem?”) or dogmatic (“What is to be thought of Peter’s teaching?”), or the like.

2.5.2.4. The same meaning is indicated in 2 Cor 12:1ff. where Paul is forced to boast of his “visions and revelations given by the Lord.” He boasts first of the visions (ὁπτασῶν) especially of a former experience,

perhaps his own, more likely that of Jesus who now lives in him and of whom alone, he has said, he will boast.¹⁹ This experience was an ascent to the third heaven, where things ineffable were heard. Next he goes on to his own present condition: he will (after all) boast of his illness, since it was [17] given him as a humiliation lest he should think too highly of himself because of “the excess” (ὑπερβολή) of his revelations. The text here (12:6-7) is notoriously corrupt and “excess” certainly refers to quality as well as number, but there is clear contrast between these plural, excessive, evidently current ἀποκαλύψεις and the one great ὀπτασία for which Paul has to go back fourteen years and more, and which he describes in such a way as to suggest it was not his own. Ὀπτασία, moreover, is a good translation of the Hebrew *mar’eh*, the chief term for the visions in Daniel 8, 9 and 10; it was thus appropriate for the first experience Paul described. Accordingly we should not suppose the content of the former vision was identical with that of the present revelations, nor think that Paul was constantly commuting to the third heaven. Rather, the boasting here and the connection of the revelations with his illness recall 10:8, where he said that he would boast of his authority over the churches, and 11:28ff., where he speaks of his direction of the churches as the climactic item in a list of his burdens as servant of Christ, from which he goes directly to his (consequent?) illness as something to boast of. These connections suggest that his administrative and political decisions entailed not only the anguish often expressed in his letters, but also psychosomatic disturbances which produced both the physical symptoms he left undescribed and the frequent revelations by which the Lord settled difficult problems as Paul wanted them to be settled.

2.5.2.5. The deutero-Pauline uses of ἀποκαλύπτω and ἀποκάλυψις testify to the importance of the terms in Paul’s work, and slightly extend their meanings, along Pauline lines.²⁰ Ignatius, as usual, is close to the deutero-Paulines.²¹ 1 Clement, like John, uses only ἀποκαλύπτω (16:3) and that only in a quotation of Isa 53:1. In sum, down to Domitian’s time, or perhaps well thereafter (if we reject the traditional date of the canonical Apocalypse), the preserved Christian uses of ἀποκαλύπτω and ἀποκάλυψις are, with few exceptions, not apocalyptic.

2.5.2.6. This fact brings into focus the inconsistency latent in Paul. The revelation from within, by Jesus living in and working through the believer, which is Paul’s main concern, differs markedly from the final revelation to be given by external events—the Antichrist, the external

¹⁹ Cf. 12:5 and 10:17.

²⁰ Revelations as means of solving present and past church problems: Eph 1:7; 3:3ff.; 1 Pet 1:12. Revelation of Christ in the believers: 1 Pet 1:7, 13 (?). Revelations of Jesus, glory, and salvation, to be given in the End: 1 Pet 4:13; 5:1; 1:5.

²¹ Ign. *Eph.* 20:1, he hopes for further revelations of the nature of his life in Christ.

Jesus and his angels, etc. As is well known, the clearest Pauline references to these events are concentrated in 2 Thess and have led many to think it spurious. For our present purpose that question can be left aside; the important thing is that in the Pauline corpus this final, external revelation [18] appears as a different sort of thing from the internal revelation that was Paul's main concern. The external revelation has of course much cognate material in the Old Testament, pseudepigrapha, and Gospels; but for this material, so far as can be judged from the preserved evidence, the term ἀποκάλυψις had not hitherto been used and would not have been the most likely choice, since the material is commonly presented as visions, with terms like *mar'eh* and *hizzayon*, which ἀποκάλυψις does not render accurately. The first vision of this sort to carry the Pauline title ἀποκάλυψις is now the canonical Apocalypse. Should we therefore think the title came from Pauline circles? Little else in the work seems to be Pauline, in particular Paul's essential notion of internal revelation is hard to find there. But if its title did not come from Paul, what was the source from which both it and Paul derived this somewhat unlikely term for such material? Are we dealing with the literary Greek of Palestine and Jewish circles in Alexandria, or with the lower-middle-class Greek of Corinth and of the cities of Asia Minor? For want of evidence, the questions are open.

2.5.3. We have much better evidence for the great success of the term ἀποκάλυψις for this type of work in the second century and thereafter. The canonical Apocalypse is closely followed by that of Hermas (in the lower-middle-class Greek of Rome). From then on, as Lewis Carroll said, "Thick and fast they came at last, and more, and more, and more."²² This suggests a problem that should be investigated: If literary works of the class now called "apocalypses" were first commonly so named by the Church fathers, which fathers did most to extend this nomenclature? Which circles took it up, and why? But here again, caution is in order. Because we have and hear of Christian and cognate apocalypses, we are apt to think of this epidemic as traceable within the Christian tradition—at least if "Christian" be used in its larger sense, to include the so-called "gnostics."

However, by the end of the third century Iamblichus was using the same terminology, and *he* is not likely to have taken it over from the Christians.²³ In the late fourth century Synesius as a young man wrote to his brother, from Alexandria, "We have had a swarm, of both private individuals and priests, forging dreams which they call 'apocalypses'; they would make my waking life a nightmare were I not

²² *Through the Looking Glass*, ch. IV.

²³ *De Mysteriis*, 6.7 (248), for revelations that would destroy the world.

soon to get away to holy Athens.”²⁴ The priests were presumably pagans. Synesius had been studying Platonism with Hypatia, whose relations with the Christians were somewhat cool. The lateness of this evidence prohibits any conclusion about the early period, but its mere existence suggests that pagan circles may have contributed to the spread of the terminology. [19]

2.6. One consequence of the spread was the introduction of ἀποκαλύπτω/ἀποκάλυψις into earlier Jewish texts about revelations. Theodotion, for instance, in his second century A.D.(?) revision of the Septuagint, used ἀποκαλύπτω in half a dozen passages of Daniel where the earlier Greek had other verbs; he thus first gave the vision of chapter 10 a linguistic claim to be an apocalypse.²⁵ Similarly, the words were not in the oldest text of *The Lives of the Prophets*, but were twice introduced in later expansions;²⁶ they were not in the oldest text of the *Testament of Solomon*, but appear twice in later versions;²⁷ they were not in the *Greek Apocalypse of Baruch*, but appear now in the Christian title and introduction, and in a Christian interpolation;²⁸ they were not in the original *Martyrdom of Isaiah*, but *revelatio* (for ἀποκάλυψις?) was used in the Christian addition, the *Ascension* (6:14). We have already noticed a use of ἀποκαλύπτω in what seems to be a Christian addition to the *Testament of Benjamin*.²⁹ *The Testament of Abraham* never uses either word, but was probably described by Epiphanius as an “apocalypse”;³⁰ he says the Sethians already called it so. To the best of my knowledge, all other pseudepigraphic apocalypses of the last centuries B.C. and the first A.D. which are commonly listed as evidence of “the apocalyptic movement” owe their apocalyptic titles either to patristic references, or to late manuscripts, or to modern scholars—and none of these sources is reliable.

2.7. In sum, as far as the preserved evidence goes, we must say that the literary form we call an apocalypse carries that title for the first time in the very late first or early second century A.D. From then on, both title and form are fashionable, at least to the end of the classical period. Their fashionableness is part of the well known growth of superstition and of claims to special revelations and to occult knowledge, complementary characteristics of the later Roman Empire which forms their fairly familiar social background.

²⁴ *Epistulae*, 54.

²⁵ Cf. Theodotion and LXX for Dan 2:19, 22, 28, 29, 30, 47; 10:1; 11:35.

²⁶ *Epiphani recensio* prior 19; *Dorothei recensio*, ed. Schermann 1907, 38.

²⁷ Ed. McCown 1922, 8★ line 8; 87★ line 7.

²⁸ The whole conclusion of ch. 4, at least from f. 176 on, is a Christian interpolation; it breaks the connection of 175b with ch. 5. 'Αποκαλύπτω appears twice in 4:13f.

²⁹ Above, n. 17 on paragraph 2.4.

³⁰ *Panarion* 39:5, if our text be that of which he is speaking.

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PART V
MAGIC

CHAPTER THIRTY-SIX

HOW MAGIC WAS CHANGED BY THE TRIUMPH OF CHRISTIANITY

[51] The intimate, almost incestuous, relations of magic and religion should lead us to suppose that the great change of religion which took place in the ancient world, when Christianity displaced paganism, must have been accompanied by a correspondingly great change of magic. Few scholars, however, have made this supposition, and almost none have discussed it. This neglect has resulted in part from the general neglect of magic as an aspect of civilization, in part from the notion that magic is timeless and changeless, either because a survival of primitive culture, or because a spontaneous expression of some aspect of human nature, and therefore has no more history than does sleep or copulation. Both of these reasons, as well as the notion they are used to justify, are false. Here, however, we cannot argue these questions in general. We must limit ourselves to one instance, the change of Greco-Roman magic as a result of the triumph of Christianity.

To discuss the change we must begin with an account of classical magic before Christianity triumphed. It was complex. The real *magoi* had been Median priests. The Greeks probably first got to know them as religious officials attached to Cyrus' army, and coined *mageia* to refer to the strange things they did. Soon, however, the word acquired a second meaning as a term of abuse like our "hocus pocus," and as such was used to describe a lot of religious practices, most of them native Greek, that were going out of fashion (at least, among the upper class) because of the rise of rationalism: the things done by prophets, bird watchers, interpreters of dreams, men who used sacrifices to foretell the future, singers of spells, old women who sold love potions and sometimes more deadly drugs, and so on and on. All such practices had originally been perceived as distinct; each had its proper Greek name. Only when rationalism came to see and represent them as a class was a general name for the whole class needed, and the foreign term, *mageia*, because of its abusive connotation, was pressed into service for this purpose.

Once the class was conceived and named, its memberships grew, as more and more practices were thus discredited. It probably grew much in hellenistic times as the Greeks spread across the near east and encountered strange observances; it certainly [52] grew much in Roman times when Italian practitioners of shady supernaturalism were added—*haruspices*, *strigae*, and so on. Also pretenders to hellenistic

psuedo learning and to near eastern wisdom—*mathematici, physici, astrologi, Chaldaei*—were gradually assimilated in popular opinion to the *magoi*, and their practices, too, came to be classed as *mageia*, or, in Latin, *magia*, for the Romans borrowed the word as well as the concept.

These various practitioners used an even greater variety of practices for which they pretended to rely on equally various powers. A mere catalogue of this complexity would take more space than is here available. We must fall back on the traditional distinction into two great classes—"natural magic," which relied on powers supposed to be inherent or revealed in natural objects or events, and "daemonic magic," which claimed to work by invocation or compulsion of various sorts of supernatural beings ranging from ghosts to gods.

This seems a reasonably clear distinction, but in fact it was constantly blurred because natural objects and events were commonly personified. Not only were the planets, sun, and moon sometimes assigned to gods or angels, sometimes identified with them, but even the perfume myrrh was invoked as a deity (*Papyri Graecae Magicae* XXXVI.333ff.) and there were spells to be used to secure the good offices of any plant (*id.* IV.2977ff.). Even in the realm of religion, *bonus eventus* (successful outcome) was a god to whom prayers were offered.

Nevertheless, for convenience's sake, we can fairly lump together the procedures (commonly classed as magic) that relied on knowledge of, or belief about, the "powers" of plants and stones and parts of animals and celestial bodies; this included most medical magic, much love magic, alchemy, and astrology. A second great group dealt with interpretations of events: dreams, movements of animals or of incense, configurations of the entrails of animals, chance encounters and utterances, lightning, thunder, and other weather signs, and so on. Many such interpretations had roles in established religion, but magicians made use of them, too, and did so to such an extent that the Latin *haruspex* (examiner of entrails), for instance, comes to be practically equivalent with Greek *magos* or *goes*. Hippolytus of Rome, when attacking magicians in his *Refutatio* (4.28ff.), gives directions for producing imitation thunder, livers with abnormal markings, and the like, which the magician will then "interpret" to suit his needs.

All such practices differed basically from the other great class of magical operations which were thought to be performed by invocation of daemonic powers. I use "daemonic" in its widest sense to include the spirits of the dead on the one hand, the gods on the other, and all the beings in between. The differences separating them did not matter greatly for practical purposes. Though various ones had to be invoked in various ways, all could be called on effectively and compelled or

persuaded to perform their appropriate functions. Indeed, the surpris[53]ing thing is the relative uniformity with which such beings are treated in classical magic. Even alien gods—Mithras of Persia, for instance, and Yahweh of Israel, and a lot of Yahweh’s alter-egos and angels (Adonai, Sabaoth, Elohim, Pantocrator, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Ouriel, and so on)—were all taken into this divine democracy on equal terms. Yahweh even rose to become its most prominent citizen. The Greek form of his name, ΙΑΩ, is half again as frequent in the magical papyri as that of any other god.

These daemonic powers were sometimes referred to in natural magic, especially in astrology because of the identification of some of them with the luminaries, but they were mainly used in various sorts of operations we may describe as “callings,” and these had only peripheral connexions with natural magic. *Daimones* might be called on simply to do their proper work, or to obey the magician by performance of some special task. They might be called out of something or someone and banished, or they might be called into someone, either the magician or his assistant, and this either for a brief period or, in the case of magician, permanently. Thus the oldest *defixiones* (curse tablets sunk in graves or wells or the like) simply “made over” their victims to the underworld gods for the destruction those gods would naturally inflict. (St. Paul followed this old pattern when he “made over” to Satan, for physical destruction, his opponent in Corinth (1 Cor 5:3). Jesus, as conceived in Luke 7:1ff., sent his angels like soldiers for the specific purpose of healing the slave of the centurion of Capernaum; conversely, he not only ordered the demons out of the Gerasene demoniac, but told them where to go: into a herd of pigs (Mark 5:1ff.). Such *ad hoc* callings and sendings are frequent in the Gospels and in other magical material. Paul, writing to the Corinthians, urges them to invoke spirits not simply for the pleasure of being possessed and speaking ecstatically, but for the practical purpose of prophecy (1 Cor 14). Prophecy is likewise the commonest purpose of invocation in the magical papyri, but there are many others, especially erotic. *Daimones* were often sent to bring lovers, but were also asked to give the magician such power that anyone whom he called would immediately drop everything and follow him, as the disciples did when Jesus called them (Mark 1:18, 20, etc.). Beyond such particular services, *daimones* were also called to enter the magicians and unite with them, so that the magician could say, “I am you and you are I,” or, as Paul said, “I live no longer I, but Christ lives in me” (Gal 2:20). Such identification was sometimes, especially for erotic purposes, effected by physical means. The magician, when identified with a god, might identify a cup of wine with his blood—the blood of the god—and give it to another to drink. Whoever drank it would be

joined to him in love. These rituals are the closest known parallels to the eucharist (see M. Smith, *Jesus the Magician*, San Francisco, 1978, pp. 122 etc.).

In this brief description of Graeco-Roman magic I have pointed out some of [54] the many parallels to Christian stories, teachings, and practices, because such parallels explain why Christianity was so often identified by ancient writers as magic and was prosecuted accordingly. The similarities did not stop with New Testament times, nor did the prosecutions. The later Christian collection of the remains of martyrs' bodies was suspiciously like magicians' collection of the remains of bodies of executed criminals (the martyrs were legally criminals) whose spirits they wished to control. We have many ancient stories of thefts of dead bodies for magical purposes; the practice was evidently common and may explain the disappearance of Jesus' body and the empty tomb. Be that as it may, the Christians' frequent gatherings around tombs and in catacombs must have seemed to most pagans an indication of necromancy. Such similarities and suspicions had important consequences for the social position of magic when Christianity, so long identified with it, was legalized and given a privileged position by Constantine. It was no accident that through the following centuries, from Iamblichus to Proclus, magic was everywhere.

During this period Christianity, like magic, was an extremely complex entity. Not only was the Catholic Church divided by important heresies and schisms—the Arian struggle with its innumerable subdivisions, and the Donatist and Meletian and Novatian schisms, to mention only the most important—but also many earlier Christian sects lived on, some in important numbers—Marcionites and Montanists and Valentinians and Ebionites and so on—each one claiming to be the Christian Church.

Therefore it was impossible for the Christians, as a whole, to take a single position about magic. Besides, even within the different parties of the Catholic Church that at different times were dominant during the fourth century, widely different positions on magic were to be found. They stemmed from inconsistencies in the Old Testament itself, about pagan gods and practices. At one extreme were statements like Deut 4:19 which says that Yahweh assigned the celestial bodies to the gentiles that they might worship them; such worship has therefore divine origin and justification. At the other extreme were many verses like Ps 135:15ff.: "The idols of the gentiles are silver and gold, the work of men's hands. They have mouths but do not speak, eyes, but do not see, ears, but do not hear," etc. Between came passages which implied that the pagan gods were living beings, albeit inferior in power to

Yahweh; the classic statement was the Septuagint's rendition of Ps 96:5, "All the gods of the heathen are *daimonia*" (LXX Ps 95:5).

To what extent the worship of *daimonia*, especially for magical purposes, might be thought permissible even in Judaism, is now shown by *The Book of Secrets*, a fourth or fifth century Jewish text pieced together by the late Prof. M. Margalioth from fragments of the Cairo Genizah (*Sefer harazim*, Jerusalem, 1966). The work is a handbook for magical practices, arranged as a "Who's Who [55] in the Heavens." It lists the angels of each heaven, from the first to the sixth, telling for which purposes and with what incantations and (sometimes) sacrifices each should be invoked. A number of pagan gods appear among the angels, one of them is Helios, to whom part of a Greek prayer, like those in the magical papyri, is addressed in Greek transliterated into Hebrew letters. But when the author reaches the seventh heaven, he bursts into hymns of praise for Yahweh as the only God and creator of all. This text was not an isolated eccentricity. It must have been, in Jewish circles, an early Byzantine best seller, for it was represented in the Genizah by fragments of half a dozen manuscripts, and it was widely echoed and adapted in early mediaeval Jewish literature. Besides this direct evidence, there are numerous Christian patristic texts which report Jewish worship of angels and are thus confirmed.

The fathers also report that their Christian competitors, whom they called, and by whom they were called, "heretics," practiced magic and worshiped angels. These reports, too, are partially confirmed and altogether likely. It is also likely, though not reported, that the cult of angels was carried on for magical purposes by many Catholic Christians. J. Barbel's *Christos Angelos* (repr. Bonn, 1964) has collected passages, from Justin Martyr down, in which Christ is described as an angel, and has used this tradition to explain the hold of Arianism. A history of the cults of the angels, with attention to magical parallels, would yield interesting material. More could be found in the cults of the saints, with some of whom a number of pagan deities important in magic had close ties—Helios with St. Elias, Serapis with St. Menas, etc.

Other aspects of ancient magic that notoriously survived were among those I classed as "natural magic," both the learned pseudo-sciences—alchemy, astrology, magical medicine, interpretation of dreams and portents—and the enormous number of peasant practices which usually escaped persecution because they were not tied to any named pagan deities, and because neither the Church nor the Empire had the strength to stop them. Constantine had implicitly recognized this in his early legislation (*Codex Theodosianus* 9.16.3, dated 319) when he provided that "maleficent arts" practiced to harm others or to gratify lust are to be punished, but no accusation is to be permitted

concerning remedies for human bodies or rural rites for protection of crops.

This is a commonsense distinction and was probably followed not only by imperial officers but also by many church authorities (who were perhaps more important because they had a vastly greater number of interested informers). At all events, the archaeological evidence for maleficent and erotic magic (mainly *defixiones* and papyri) gradually dwindles away after the definitive Christian [56] triumph in the fifth century, though the Christians themselves continued to produce imprecatory prayers, with magical traits, well into the 500's (see G. Björck, *Der Fluch des ... Sabinus*, Uppsala, 1938). In the fifth century, too, amulets with pagan figures and prayers are gradually replaced by amulets with saints' figures and Christian prayers for much the same purposes. Besides the saints, the Blessed Virgin and Jesus now become prominent in such prayers. The Holy Spirit rarely appears except in trinitarian formulae. After Montanism, if not before, the Church turned its back on the Pauline tradition of personal possession; the Holy Spirit continued to be invoked *pro forma*, but no directly observable response was desired. Another Pauline magical trait that disappears is identification with the deity. Since Paul's letters remained authoritative, it remained and remains a matter of doctrine that Christ lives in all baptized Christians. But any Christian who draws the practical conclusion—Christ lives in me; I therefore have his power and shall use it for a specific, observable miracle—will be an extraordinary figure and probably soon in trouble.

While in these ways the triumph of Christianity diminished magical practice, in another way it greatly increased magic. It classified as magical all the rites of pagan religion, and so made magicians and witches (at least for legal purposes) of the innumerable pagans who still practiced them. The Biblical basis for this was the Septuagint's pronouncement already cited, "All the gods of the heathen are *daimonia*" (Ps 95:5). When *daimonia* were distinguished from the one God not merely as inferior, but as evil beings, then pagan worship became, as magic had long been said to be, the cult of evil demons, and its prohibition could be justified.

The fathers of the Church, from Justin Martyr on, had been identifying the pagan gods with evil demons, but the civil government was not prepared to follow them, much less draw the consequences for the erstwhile civic religion. Whatever Constantine's personal convictions, he had to keep the loyalty of important pagan elements in his court and his army, so his legislation was limited in scope and terminology. As we saw, he prohibited maleficent magic, but did not identify it with pagan religion, and even permitted medical magic and agricultural rites (*Cod. Th.* 9.16.3). Similarly he provided that

soothsayers (*fatidici*) might be consulted when buildings were struck by lightning and that the customary rites for such occasions might be observed “provided there is no sacrifice” (*Cod. Th.* 16.10.1)—the terminal provision looks suspiciously like a gloss. Eusebius says he prohibited sacrifice (*Vita Constantini* 2.45.1) and a law of Constantius refers to this prohibition (*Cod. Th.* 16.10.2), but Constantine’s prohibition, if any, has not been preserved and the truth of Eusebius’ report is disputed. That Constantine classed *venefici* and *malefici* (customary terms for magicians, though of wider reference) among the criminals liable to capital punishment (*Cod. Th.* 9.40.1), whose property should be confiscated (9.42.2), whose appeals from verdicts were not to be [57] considered unless supported by strong evidence (11.36.1), and who were excluded from the general pardons given on festive occasions (9.38), merely extended traditional Roman laws against magic. A new departure was his prohibition of haruspices from entering private houses (9.16.1), but if the ancient board of official haruspices had already lapsed, and the haruspices had returned to the status of private practitioners, this prohibition would not have affected Roman *public* religion. Only the prohibition of sacrifices would have done that, and animal sacrifices had long been attacked by some pagan thinkers as superstitious (Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* 8.7.10).

After a generation of imperial patronage of Christianity, with consequent increase of its adherents, Constantius could go further. He prohibited consultation of *haruspices*, *mathematici*, *harioli*, *augures*, *vates*, *Chaldaei*, *magi*, “and all the rest whom the common people call *malefici*” (9.16.4), and in other laws he prescribed death for “those who summon the spirits of the dead to torment their enemies” (9.16.5), and ruled that none accused of any of the above practices, nor any interpreter of dreams, should, even if members of the imperial staff, escape torture to compel admission of guilt (9.16.6). The inclusion of augurs in this list is important, since they had formerly been high officials of Roman state religion.

Constantius’ laws on these subjects presumably lapsed under Julian. Valentinian and Valens issued new legislation along the lines Constantius had laid down, but perhaps found that they had gone too far. In 371 Valentinian found it prudent to rule that “Haruspicy has no connexion with magic. This *religio*, and all others allowed by our elders, is not to be considered a crime. Everyone is to be free to follow his belief. We do not condemn divination, but we do forbid it to be practiced harmfully” (*Cod. Th.* 9.16.9). Ammianus Marcellinus (29.2) reports that in this year prosecutions for magic by imperial officials had produced a reign of terror in the court, so this law may reflect a temporary reaction.

In all this legislation against magic it has not been equated with heresy, nor have the heretics, who are the objects of equally frequent and virulent legislation, been accused of magic. In one exceptional instance, *Cod. Th.* 16.5.34, we find a ruling that persons who try to preserve the books of Eunomians and Montanists by concealing them are to suffer capital punishment "as guilty of magic," but "as" probably means, "in the same fashion as if," i.e., it equates the punishments, not the crimes.

Yet more remarkably, this legislation against magic makes no frontal attack on Roman religion generally. The approaches to such an attack begin under Theodosius, when all extispicy is prohibited as "an attempt to break down the laws of nature" (*Cod. Th.* 16.10.12), and offerings to images are prohibited as services of "pagan superstition". From then on, references to pagan cultic acts as [58] "superstitious" are frequent (16.10.16, 17, 18), but only under Honorius and Theodosius II in 423 is it flatly declared that sacrifices to pagan gods are sacrifices to demons (16.10.23). With this the reversal is complete. Christianity which previously, by Roman law, was magic, has become the official religion, and the official religion of ancient Rome has become, by Roman law, magic. The notion that magic has no history could hardly be more conspicuously refuted.

By way of postscript it should be said that the changes in magic produced by the triumph of Christianity were by no means limited to these comparatively immediate results. Christianity not only brought with it a new supernatural population of benevolent beings—the Trinity, the Blessed Virgin, the saints—whom Christians promptly pressed into service, often by the old magical rites, for many of the old magical purposes, but besides this, and more important, Christianity gave to magic Satan—a supreme ruler of the powers of evil, whose realm could be conceived as an empire opposed to that of God. The classical world of *daimones* had been literally a pandemonium. No god was always in control; few were wholly beneficent or wholly evil, and those few were comparatively unimportant; the magician turned to one or another as the task in hand seemed to indicate, with no apparent thought to ulterior consequences. The triumph of Christianity, however, brought also the triumph of Satan, though this consequence was only slowly realized. The Roman/Persian dichotomy was shifted to the supernatural world. To practice magic became to side with the opposition, to enter the service of the great enemy, the Kingdom of Evil and its rulers, the Power of Darkness. Thus magic began to be Satanism, a counter religion. This is not to say that Satan was a Christian invention. His "name" is really a Hebrew title, "the accuser"—the official informer of the divine court—and his role as ruler of all other evil spirits probably came from Persia. But

Christianity made him one of the great figures of occidental mythology, and once it had done so, the power of this concept, like a magnet, attracted to itself and arranged in order the hitherto scattered and unrelated elements of classical magic.

CHAPTER THIRTY-SEVEN

THE EIGHTH BOOK OF MOSES AND HOW IT GREW (*PLEID*. J 395)

[683] Since there are so few magical papyri earlier than the third century A.D., and since a great change in magic seems to have occurred about the first century A.D., we are led to hope that by source analysis of the later papyrus texts we may learn something of the content and structure of works of the earlier, critical period.

For this purpose *PLEid*. J 395 (= *PGM* XIII) is particularly valuable because it gives us three different versions of a work with various titles, which is commonly called by one of them *The Eighth Book of Moses*. As a table of contents of the entire papyrus (*Appendix A*) shows, the first 734 lines are filled by these three versions (hereinafter A, B, C), interrupted only by a list of the uses of the text, appended to A, lines 231-343, and a brief invocation of Sarapis, lines 618-45. The remainder of the papyrus contains other texts the compiler thought cognate.

The three versions of *VIII Moses* differ considerably (contrast the common dogma that magical texts had to be preserved and recited without change of a single letter). Here the second version has shifted to the end a long spell which the first version has in the middle, while the third version has almost wholly omitted both this spell and another, referring to them as already known, without giving their texts. Besides these, there are many minor peculiarities of each version, but all versions so often agree verbatim that there can be no reasonable doubt of their all being variants, at various removes, of a single basic text.

The basic text was intended to make the greatest god—the god who contains/controls all things, and who created the world—appear to the magician and give him valuable information. It described the equipment and preliminary purifications necessary for the rite, the proper time for performance and the proper costume, amulets, offerings and invocations to win over the gods of the weeks, hours, and days, and magical proceedings—writing on a plaque of natron the [684] name of the greatest god and an invocation of him, licking off one of these inscriptions and washing off the other into a krater of mixed milk and wine, drinking this mixture and lying down to recite a long invocation that began with the praises of the greatest god and went on to an account of how he had created the cosmos by laughing seven times, each burst of laughter producing a god or pair of gods to

control one or another aspect of the physical, social, or psychological world. This invocation was to end with the seven vowels. Thereupon the god would enter, and the magician was told how to act in his presence and get the desired information. The text then closed with directions for discovering which god ruled any given day.

This reconstruction of the basic text relies on the fact that all the elements specified either stand in all three of the versions now in the papyrus, or stand in two and can be shown by fairly strong arguments to have stood in the source from which the remaining one, version C, was abbreviated. Thus, for instance, version C says nothing of the first long invocation until it orders the magician to recite it, and says nothing of the drawings on the natron plaque, until it orders the magician to wash them off. But these orders indicate that it was abbreviated from a text in which both invocation and drawings had previously been specified and which therefore, in these points, paralleled, at least in the main, versions A and B.

However, the complete basic text, thus identified, is not preserved in any of the versions without some corruptions, both additions and omissions. The additions and omissions that have occurred in only one of the three versions are fairly easy to identify, especially when something essential to the structure has been omitted, as in the examples just considered, or when the material added is clearly a digression, like the dubious information given by the B version about the songs of the crocodile. Often, however, we must remain in doubt, since it is not impossible, nor even unlikely, that two versions sometimes made independently the same omissions, or additions at least similar, or that such changes were made in both by the compiler of the present collection (i.e. the archetype of the preserved papyrus).

An especially important example of such possibilities is given by the directions that, in each version, follow the recitation of the creation story. The A version says (lines 210ff.):

When the god comes in, look down and write what he says and the name for himself that he gives you. And do not go out of your [685] <initiation> tent until he also tells you accurately the things about yourself (i.e., your fate).

The B version (lines 564ff.) has almost exactly the same words (a suspicious fact, because it has no previous reference to any initiation tent). Version C (lines 704ff.) differs widely:

When the god comes in, do not gaze at his face, but look at his feet while beseeching <him> as indicated and thanking <him> that he did not despise you, but that you were thought worthy of the things about to be said to you for correction of <your> life. You, then, ask, 'Master, what is my fate?' and he will tell you both about <your> star, and what sort of *daimon* you have, and which <planet was> sovereign <at your birth>,

and where you will live and where you will die. And if you hear anything bad, do not cry out or lament, but ask that he may wash it out or avert it. For all things are possible to this god (Cp. Matt 19:26).

Here the remarkable thing is that nothing is said in C about the god's telling his true name, or the magician's asking it, and this in spite of the fact that the titles of both the A and the B versions declare that the rite is "about the holy Name" or "the Name that contains/controls all things." But the C conclusion cannot be summarily dismissed, because the B version has a similar conclusion at the end of the spell to be written on the natron—a spell which, as already remarked, B does not give in its directions for the rite, but adds as a postscript at the end where (lines 608ff.) it says:

An angel will come in, and you say to the angel, 'Hail, Lord. Both make me successful in these my affairs, and help me, and let the circumstances of my birth be revealed to me. And if he says anything bad, say, 'Wash away from me the evils of fate. Do not hide yourself, but reveal to me everything, by night and day, and in every hour of the month, to me, so-and-so the son of so-and-so. Let your good form appear to me, for I serve, under your order, your angel *Anagbiathi*, (etc.).

Here too there is nothing about revelation of the god's name. The rite is understood as one to reveal the magician's fate and enable him to avert its unpleasant elements. Yet one of the titles which follows version C again refers to the "Hidden book of Moses about the great Name."

What, then, was the purpose of the basic text? Probably divination [686] and correction of fate, since that appears in all four [? does Smith mean three?—SJDC] versions, whereas revelation of the name, though promised in all the titles, is provided in only two of the actual rites. Moreover, the compiler of the archetype of *PLeid*. J 395 was much interested in the true/great name and its use. He added to version A (unless he already found there) a long list of magical acts that could be performed by saying the name (lines 231-343); he inserted between B and C a formula for invoking Sarapis by use of his true name (lines 618-45); he added after version C two or three spells (the division is uncertain) for calling the great god by his true name, and then a long list of true names as given by assorted authorities (lines 933-1001). Consequently we can probably attribute the references to "the great Name" in the titles of *VIII Moses* and in the conclusion of versions A and B to the compiler of the collection, and say with some likelihood that they did not stand in the basic text.

Another such example is afforded by the numerous prescriptions for sacrifice in version B. Versions A and C do not prescribe sacrifices, but still have the prescriptions for a knife and sacrificial animals. Evidently, therefore, the basic text prescribed sacrifices, but A and C

have eliminated them. The elimination may reflect either the reported Constantinian prohibition of sacrifices, or the increasing prestige of vegetarianism which left similar contradictions in Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* for Eusebius, in ch. X of his attack on the *Life*, to pounce on as evidences of dishonesty.

In *VIII Moses*, however, the discrepancies go beyond such editorial adjustments. The basic text itself was not a single, unified composition. This appears first in the preliminary directions, see the synopsis (*Appendix B*). Versions A and B run roughly parallel until the Name is being written on the natron plaque. After specifying its second element, both interrupt the writing to prescribe invocation of the gods of the hours, days, and weeks—an invocation both had prescribed only a few lines earlier. With this their parallelism breaks off. Version A goes on at once to the invocation that must be written on the natron, but, after this, begins a new set of preliminary directions—equipment, costume, tent for initiation, amulets, etc.—all of which are practically unparalleled in B, but almost exactly paralleled in C, which begins at this point. A and C now go through the rite again, from the beginning, and are joined by B only when they come to the point at which the invocation is written on the natron and licked, or washed off. Since B put the text of the invocation at the end of its version, it has almost [687] nothing between the point where its parallelism with A broke off and the point at which it resumes.

The meaning of all this for source criticism is clear. There were two basically similar, but considerably different, texts giving preliminary prescriptions for the rite. B used one, C used the other, A used both, one after another. Hence its parallelism, first only with B, then only with C, and its jump backwards to the beginning of the rite—a jump that occurs just where the parallelism changes.

A similar conclusion is implied by the appearance of the angel and the revelation at the end of B's appended invocation. In the basic text from which A, B, and C, ultimately derived, that invocation was only the first of two. It was to be written on natron and licked off (eaten) or washed off and drunk by the magician, so that he would have it inside him and could genuinely produce it for the second invocation that would bring the god. Therefore to have an angel come at the end of the first invocation and anticipate the god's revelation is structurally anticlimactic and only to be explained by the supposition that there was an earlier, simpler form which used only one invocation, after which, without any licking, drinking, or repetition, the revelation would occur. The compiler of B used this form, therefore kept the invocation at the end, where it stood in his source, and carelessly kept the appearance and the revelation at the end of it, although he should have delayed them until the end of his second invocation.

This conjecture is confirmed by two facts. One we have already noticed—the magician's appeal to the angel at the end of B's appended invocation is paralleled by that to the god at the end of C's final invocation, and both show the original form, a request for revelation and amendment of the magician's fate, not the secondary request for revelation of the Name, which appears at the ends of A and B. The second fact is that in all three versions the two invocations—that to be written on the natron and the second, which begins the *kosmopoiia*—are essentially identical: I call on you, the supreme, creator god ... I call on you as do your first created gods/angels, notably the sun; I call on you in bird language, in hieroglyphic, in Hebrew, in Egyptian, etc. (each of these categories being filled out, in both invocations, by much the same magical words).

Thus we can go with some confidence a step behind the 'basic form' that was the common source of the A, B and C versions, to an earlier, simpler form in which the god was called by a single invocation. When the notion came in that the magician must get the prayer inside him [688] before he could utter it, the original form was changed by adding the write-and-lick/drink directions, and the original invocation was repeated, with modifications, as conclusion of the rite. At a yet later date this was expanded by addition of the story of creation by laughing, a story which had its own prehistory. But that is another story.¹ [689]

¹ For those to whom the obvious is not obvious, let me add that if the above observations are correct, *PLeid.* J 395 is *at least* the fifth generation of a literary family. The first generation was a simple invocation of the creator god. In the second generation this was doubled, connected by the write-and-consume ritual, and otherwise expanded to produce the common source of the three versions of *VIII Moses*. In the third generation this common source was altered to produce the three versions (for C the alteration involved at least two stages, the second being abbreviation, so probably several generations should be allowed here). In the fourth (by minimal reckoning) generation, the three versions were collected with other material to produce the archetype of the present manuscript. In the final generation this archetype was copied to produce the text we now have. How many years should be allowed for five generations?

APPENDIX A: CONTENT OF *PLEID*. J 395=*PGM* XIII

lines

- 1-230 "Sacred Book called Monad or Eighth of Moses about the holy Name"
- 231-343 "The uses of the Sacred Book which all the *sophistai* practice"
- 343-618 "Sacred Hidden Book of Moses called Eighth or Holy, and this is the rite of the Name that contains/controls all"
- 618-645 An invocation of Sarapis by his genuine name
- 646-734 An abbreviated version of *VIII Moses*, with a terminal title, "Eighth, Hidden <Book> of Moses. In another I found was written <as title> 'Hidden Book of Moses about the great Name'"
- 734-746 Directions about names said to be concealed in the preceding book
- 746-759 Other names and their uses
- 760-911 "Directions for the seven-letter name and the spell the god hears"
- 912-933 A fragment of an invocation cognate to the above, for meeting the god
- 933-1001 Different great names, as given by a dozen authorities, including Orpheus, Egyptians, Zoroaster, Pyrrhus, "Moses in the Archangelic <Book>" and "in Jerusalem"
- 1001-1057 Directions for making and using an amulet to control fear or anger
- 1058-1077 "Moses' Hidden Moon <Book> " (evidently a collection of short spells)
- 1078 "The Hidden or Tenth <Book> of Moses" [690]

APPENDIX B: SYNOPSIS OF THE THREE VERSIONS OF THE EIGHTH BOOK OF MOSES

<i>A. lines 1-230</i>	<i>B. lines 343-618</i>	<i>C. lines 646-734</i>
Title	Title	
40 days' purity	40 days' purity	
new moon in ram	new moon in ram	
clean house, ground floor, etc.	sleep on ground, sacrifice	
ingredients of incense		
Hermes stole names		
incenses & their gods, flowers and their preparation	burn incense (no gods) flowers and preparation, wear cinnamon	
Explanation of Key		
	breakfast, milk of a black cow and wine	
	tasting the sacrifice when the day comes, ingredients and sacrifice	
	incenses, flowers, and sacrifice	
	tasting the sacrifice, sacrifice again	
invoking the hour gods	invoking the hour and day gods	
	Moses stole (?) names.	
initiation to them by cakes	initiation to the hour gods	
writing the name on natron	writing the name on natron	
(1) popping: crocodile and ennead	(1) popping: crocodile and ennead (songs of the crocodile) (2)	
(2) whistling: ouroboros	whistling: ouroboros	
the 9 names (of?) the hour gods said first	the 9 names (of?) the hour gods said first	
Invocation to be written on the natron	(B puts this after the rest of the text)	
Equipment: pinax, knife <i>if</i> you should sacrifice costume, tent for initiation.		Equipment: pinax, knife <i>if</i> you should sacrifice costume, tent for initiation. [691]

wear cinnamon.
 amulet: Apollo and snake
 Hallow yourself 7 days.
 Sleep on the ground at the
 dark of the moon.
 Rise to greet the sun for
 seven days.
 Entreat hour, week, day
 gods.
 On the 8th day, at
 midnight,
 light altars and lamps,
 have roosters ready,
 recite the invocation
 for the natron, and the
 mystery of the god.
 Have a krater of milk and
 wine.

Write invocation on both
 side of natron
 Lick off one side and wash
 off the other into the
 krater.

The natron is to be written
 with ink of incense and
 flowers.
 Before drinking the milk
 and wine say this (?)
 entreaty.

Lie down with tablet and
 stylus
 and say *Hermaikos*.

Invocation introducing the
 story of creation.
 Story of creation by
 laughter, sputtering and
 hissing.

Having put some flowers
 into the ink,

write invocation on both
 sides of natron.
 Lick off one side and wash
 off the other into the
 krater.

Before washing off,
 sacrifice one rooster,
 have the other and the
 dove ready,
 then call on the hour gods,

then drink the milk and
 wine.

Invocation introducing the
 story of creation.
 Story of creation by
 laughter, sputtering and
 hissing.

wear cinnamon.
 amulet: Apollo and snake
 Hallow yourself 7 days.
 Sleep on the ground at the
 dark of the moon.
 Rise to greet the sun for
 seven days.
 Entreat hour, week, day
 gods.
 On the 8th day, at
 midnight,
 light altars and lamps,
 have roosters ready,
 recite the invocation
 for the natron, and the
 mystery of the god.
 Have a krater of milk and
 wine.

Write invocation on one
 side of natron only.
 Lick it off.
 Wash off the other side, on
 which are the pictures,
 into the krater.

The natron is to be written
 with ink of incense and
 flowers.
 Before drinking the milk
 and wine say this (?)
 entreaty.

Lie down with tablet and
 stylus
 and say the *kosmopoiia*
 which begins with the
 first line of the
 invocation.

Lord, I imitate the seven
vowels, come in and
hear me.

When the god comes in
look down.

Write the things said and
the name for himself
that he gives.
Do not go out of your tent.

till he tells you about
yourself

When the god comes in
look down.

Write the things said and
the name for himself
that he gives.
Do not go out of your tent.

till he tells you about
yourself

When you come to the
seven vowels, say
'Lord, I imitate the seven
vowels, come in and
hear me'. [692]

Then, too, the name of the
27 letters.

And be lying on a rush mat
spread on the ground.

When the god comes in do
not look at his face, but
at his feet,
both beseeching and giving
thanks ... (for) the
things to be said for
correction of life.

Ask, 'What is my destiny?'
and he will tell you.

And if you hear anything
bad ask him to wash it
out or avert it.

When you learn, give
thanks.

Always sacrifice thus, for
thus he hears.

Invocation to be written on
the natron (=A, above,
p. 690)

An angel will come in. Say
to him, 'Hail, Lord.

Prayers for success and
for revelation of fate.

And if he says anything
bad ask him to wash it
off,

and to reveal everything at
all times,

and to appear in a good
form,

"because I serve under
your angel."

How to determine which
star controls the pole
(table).

I have set forth for you
these things which not
even kings were able to
grasp (cp. Luke 10:24).

Write on the natron with
ink made of flowers and
incense. [693]

Similarly make the “vetch”
of which I spoke
allegorically in my *Key*.

I have set forth for you, my
child, the complete
initiation of the *Monad*.

How to determine which
star controls the pole
(table).

<The> *Eighth Hidden*
<Book> of *Moses*. I
found written in
another <copy> <The>
Hidden Book of Moses
concerning the great
Name (etc.).

CHAPTER THIRTY-EIGHT

P LEID J 395 (PGM XIII) AND ITS CREATION LEGEND

[491] Since Prof. Nikiprowetzky, in the tragically short time allotted him, contributed so much to our understanding of hellenized Judaism, it seems appropriate to dedicate to his memory this study of a document of Judaized hellenism—the opposite effluent from that mysterious swamp produced by the juncture of the two traditions.

Our document, P. Leid J 395 (PGM XIII),¹ has been famous since Dieterich devoted to it his pioneer study *Abraxas* in the *Festschrift* for Usener,² a great tribute to a great teacher. Unfortunately, Dieterich wrote at the height of the nineteenth century's faith in source criticism so he began by trying to reconstruct exactly the source of the two versions of the creation legend given in the papyrus. Consequently his reconstruction was attacked in the next generation by Reitzenstein,³ who went to the opposite extreme and maintained that the basic text had been completely fluid, a revelation every magician made over to suit himself.

For this, and for his description of Dieterich's attempt as "volkommen verfehlt," Reitzenstein tried to make amends in his own work on the text, *Die Göttin Psyche*,⁴ where he praised *Abraxas* for its "great and enduring service" (p. 29) and himself tried to recover the original text of the creation legend, using conjectures far more hazardous than any Dieterich had dared.

His work was a brilliant disaster. Half a dozen points papyrologically preposterous were promptly indicated by Preisendanz,⁵ but with prudent politeness to his distinguished senior colleague Preisendanz insisted that such errors did not in the least affect the main argument—that the chief [492] elements of the creation legend were derived from ancient Persian cosmology (unfortunately unknown). In *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*³ (1927) Reitzenstein withdrew one or two of his worst howlers (e.g. p. 216, n. 3), but reasserted his basic position. Consequently his work has

¹ *Papyri graecae magicae*², edd. K. Preisendanz and A. Henrichs, Stuttgart. 2 v., 1973-4, vol. 2, pp. 86-131.

² A. Dieterich, *Abraxas, Studien zur Religionsgeschichte des spätern Altertums ... Festschrift Hermann Usener zur Feier seiner 25jährigen Lehrtätigkeit an der Bonner Universität*, Leipzig, 1891.

³ R. Reitzenstein, "Die Areopagrede des Paulus," *Neue Jahrbücher* 31 (1913) 393-422, esp. 421.

⁴ *Sitzungsberichte*, Heidelberg, 1917.10, pp. 23-44.

⁵ K. Preisendanz, "Zur Göttin Psyche," *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 1917.1427-33, esp. cols. 1432-3.

remained the chief obstacle for further study—a body of enormous learning, brilliant observations, astonishing conjectures and incredible conclusions. To refute it point by point would take forever. To ignore it is to beg the question. Let me beg the question.

Simply by looking at the text (more accurately, at Preisendanz' edition of the text)⁶ it can be seen that *PGM XIII* is a clean copy of a papyrus put together by somebody much interested in supposed powers of divine names, and in magical works attributed to Moses. The compiler not only collected such texts, but compared them, cited variants from one when he copied another, and even went to the trouble of copying different versions entire. We should therefore not suspect him of harmonization. In *PGM XIII*, lines 1-734, he copied two complete versions of *The Eighth Book of Moses*, and added an abridgment of a third (lines 646-731).

All versions (in his structure) served the same purpose—to make a great god appear, foretell the magician's fate, and eliminate from it anything evil.⁷ They all told the magician to secure this service by writing an invocation on natron (hydrogenated sodium carbonate) then ingesting it (by licking it off or washing it off and drinking the water), and then reciting a different form of it. This would bring the god.⁸ The doubling of the invocation is odd, and was probably not original, since the second version seems originally to have lacked it. However, the doubling results from the notion that magical knowledge or power can be acquired by [493] eating or drinking, and this notion is widespread and ancient.⁹ More surprising is the fact that all three versions were altered for the same purpose—the doubling of the invocation—but not in the same ways. Why three similar texts should

⁶ Far from the same thing. A new edition is needed. For what follows see M. Smith, "The Eighth Book of Moses and How it Grew," chapter thirty-seven above.

⁷ The directions to make him tell his true name are lacking in one version and probably secondary, but may have been added early, since they got into two of the three.

⁸ The uniformity of structure is somewhat concealed by the fact that the second version does not have the first invocation at the place where its writing and drinking are ordered (lines 433-42), but puts it at the end, as an appendix (lines 567-608). The third version, too, is somewhat muddled, but it unquestionably required the use of at least two invocations. "Ἀρξαι λέγειν τὴν στήλην in 684 must mean "Begin (the rite for) recitation of the (text on the) stela"; otherwise there are too many recitations. The rite begins with writing, licking, and washing (688-92), then the recitation of "this entreaty" (695), which must be the one written on the stela—it has the same beginning (cp. 62f., 568ff., 689f.). This is to be said before drinking the washwater. Then, presumably after drinking, follows the second invocation (139ff. = 443ff. = 698ff.), here called τὴν κοσμοποιῶν: evidently it had the creation legend attached to it, as it does in the other two versions.

⁹ Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, 2 ed., Bloomington, 6 vols., 1966, Sections B 161-5, 217; D 980-1046, 1240-1248, 1301, 1310, 1357-8, 1793, 1811; M 312; V 132; Jeremiah 15:16; Ezekiel 2:9-3:4; John 6:53-58; Apoc 10:8-11.

independently have been altered in different ways but in all instances to make the same unnecessary change, is a mystery.

In the first and second versions we can be sure of the passages assigned to be written and recited, and can see that they had much the same basic structure. Those to be written on the stelai (lines 61ff. and 567ff.) can be outlined as follows:

I invoke you greatest of all, creator of all, etc.
(attributes, culminating with invisibility and metamorphoses).
I invoke you, Lord, that you may appear to me in your true form,
for I serve ... your angel, *voces*,¹⁰ Helios (attributes).
I invoke you, Lord, as do the gods who appeared by your order,
that they may have power, *voces*.
I invoke you Lord, in birdglyphic, *voces*, in hieroglyphic, *voces*,
in Hebrew, *voces*, etc. (Egyptian, baboonic, hawkic, hieratic).
Then clap three times, make many popping sounds, give a long
whistle/hiss.
Come to me Lord, perfect, etc. (attributes).

The invocations to be recited in 138ff., 443ff., show a variant of this form. The initial aretology is shorter, the request for an epiphany (redundant after “invoke”) is omitted, the prayer is interrupted by a note about the first angels and begins to attribute the different languages to different “angels,” but soon drops this practice to specify instead the different speakers appropriate in Egyptian thought to the different languages.¹¹

That the differences between the pairs of forms can be listed so briefly confirms the observation above, that all are variants of a single type. [494] Consequently their difference is a further reason for thinking the doubling secondary; had it been original, the first form given and its double would have been identical. The doubling was probably effected by conflation of texts originally close, but separated long enough to have developed peculiarities preserved when they were put together.¹²

Nevertheless, the forms are still so close that the second pair should end, as the first does, with directions for making inarticulate noises and

¹⁰ *Voces*, sc. *magicae*; I shall use this term for all combinations of letters that do not form recognized words or names, unless their conjectured content (e.g. “sun of the world” or “eternal sun” for *semesilam*) seems to justify specification.

¹¹ Helios—hieroglyphic; (name omitted?)—Hebrew; “the sun disc, saying, I precede you” (etc. and uttering) “your magical name in Egyptian”; the baboon “in his own dialect” (= “baboonic” in the preceding text); the hawk (likewise = “hawkic”); the ennead—hieratic. This reconstruction proposes transposition of ὁ δίσκος, which now stands without grammatical connexion in lines 152 and 461, to precede and serve as subject of λέγων, which now has no adjacent subject, in lines 151 and 460. The utterance is exactly appropriate for the sun disc.

¹² The note on Jewish angels in the second form probably indicates that a Jewish copyist worked on it before its inclusion in the source of both the versions used for the manuscript copied by our present text.

then calling in the god: εἶτα κρότησον γ' etc. However, the second pair are broken off, at lines 161 and 471, by an insertion perhaps due to homoeoarchy: εἰπὼν ἐκρότησε γ' etc. This insertion was easier because the participle could be read as continuing the account of what the ennead ("the nine-formed") did. But the invocation had been addressed to the creator god in the second person; the text now goes on in the third person: καὶ ἐγέλασεν ὁ θεὸς ζ' etc. The break is apparent and the appearance is confirmed by the unsuitability (for an invocation) of the long account of creation which now follows in both fully preserved versions and seems to have done so in the third, to judge from the reference to τὴν κοσμοποιίαν in 697.

The beginning of this creation legend has evidently been lost. If the loss was due, as we conjectured, to homoeoarchy, the preserved beginning, εἰπὼν ἐκρότησεν γ', must have stood near the similar phrase in the end of the invocation. But the proximity may have been either in the next few lines, or in an adjacent column, so either a small or a large initial loss may be supposed. The change of subject and style argues in favor of a large loss, and therefore of the conclusion that we cannot reconstruct what is missing.

Fortunately, the preserved conclusions, if not of the legend, at least of the section here quoted from it, enable us to recognize the purpose for which it was quoted. It not only tells us, as does the *Sefer haRazim*, which god is in control of what, and so provides a handy guide for effective petitions, but it also leads to the appearance of *Iao* and to his establishment, together with *Phobos* (Fear), as the final resort in every need or necessity (ἀνάγκη), see lines 196-206, 536-563.¹³ Recitation of [495] the story was probably intended to produce the god's epiphany (the purpose of the entire rite) as well as to secure his attention. Telling a story to produce a desired effect is a common magical practice, familiar, e.g., in the canon of the mass, which is roughly contemporary with this text and, like it, begins with prayers and invocations before going on rather abruptly, to the narrative expected to produce what it describes.

This purpose of the quotation, however, can hardly have been that of the original legend—it is considerably too complex. The fragment we have begins with the inarticulate end of a conversation. Someone, who had just said something, clapped, or struck something three times. Thereupon "the god" laughed seven times and a series of gods who encompass/control the cosmos came into being. They were:¹⁴

¹³ The association of *Iao* with Fear may have seemed, to the editor who produced it, justified by such verses as Prov 9:10; Ps 111:10 (LXX 110:10); etc. ("The beginning of wisdom is the fear of Yahweh.")

¹⁴ Henceforth the first text, lines 1-230 = "A"; the second, 343-618 = "B," the third, 646-734 = "C."

First laugh: *Phos*, *Auge* (Light, Radiance), illuminated all, became god of the cosmos and of fire.

Second: An unnamed god, set over the abyss, controls increase and decrease of fluids.

Third (the laugh merely desired or intended?): *Nous*, *Phrenes* (Mind, Intelligence), called *Hermes* and *Semesilam*.

Fourth: *Genna* (Generation), controls *Spora* (Seed) and sowing.

Fifth: *Moirai* (Fate) holding a scale. Contends with *Hermes* for control of justice. The contest is settled by "the god": Justice is to be determined by both, but all things in the cosmos are subject to *Moirai*.

Sixth: *Kairos* (Time) holding a sceptre which he gave to "the first-created god." In return for the gift he is clothed with the glory of *Phos* and is to be with the first-created god (cp. 1 Cor 15:24-28). Here B has a long passage not in A: *Kairos* is given control over all things past and future. "When he put on the glory of *Phos*, the disc that turns towards *Phos* showed a certain effluence. The god said to the Queen, 'You, putting on the effluence of *Phos*, will be with him ... You will increase with *Phos*, receiving (light) from him, and again you will wane.'" etc., 510-521.

We now come to the only major transpositions and contradictions in the creation legend. These are far too small to justify Reitzenstein's original theory of a wholly fluid basic text.

Seventh: *Psyche* (Soul). A, 192-206: When *Psyche* came into being, while laughing, the god wept. Then he hissed, whereupon Earth humped itself and begot the Pythian serpent who foreknew everything. The god called him *voces 1*. But, seeing him, the god was also terrified and made a popping noise, at which there appeared an armed man called *voces 2*. Seeing him, the god was again terrified, (fearing) lest Earth had cast up a god, (so) looking down at Earth he [496] said, "*Iao*." From the noise (*echos*) was born a god who is lord of all. The former (the armed god) contended with him, saying, "I am more powerful." The god said to the strong one, "You come from a popping noise, this (god, *Iao*,) from a sound (of speech? *echos*). You shall both be in control of every necessity." So he (which?) was thenceforth called *voces 2*.

B. 522-59: When *Psyche* appeared all things were moved/began to move. The god said, "You will move/animate all things, and all will be gladdened, so long as *Hermes* guides you." Thereon everything was uncontrollably filled with spirit. Seeing this the god made a popping noise and everything was frightened and *Phobos* (Fear) appeared armed and was called *voces 2*. Then, bending towards Earth, the god whistled and Earth opened to receive the noise and begot "its own creature," the Pythian serpent, who foreknew everything. His name is great and holy, *voces 1*. When he appeared, Earth rose up and was greatly exalted ... but the god said, "*Iao*," and everything stood still and a greatest great god appeared, who fixed in place the things past in the world and those yet to be, so that none of the aerial beings was thenceforth disorderly. *Phobos*, seeing one more powerful than himself, opposed him, saying, "I am before you." He, however, said, "But I fixed everything in place." The god said, "You (*Phobos*) arose from a sound (*echos*), but this one (*Iao*) from an utterance (*phthoggos*) (?). Now an utterance is better than a sound, and (therefore) the power of both will belong to you who appeared later (*Iao*), so that all things may be fixed in place. And he

(*Iao?*) was thenceforth called by the great and marvelous name, *voces 2* (cp. Phil 2:9). Wishing, however, to give honor also to him (*Phobos?*) who had arisen together with him (*Iao?*), the god gave him (*Phobos?*) precedence of the ennead and power and glory equal to theirs, and he was called *voces*, etc.

This summary has of course omitted many significant details, not only because there was no space for them in this article, but also because I think the significance of details usually uncertain until that of the structure in which they stand is determined. What can we learn from the structure here?

First, it appears as a continuation of the preceding invocations of the god. Those invocations are directed to Horus-Harpocrates. His appearance rising on the sky-boat, with the solar disc above (i.e. preceding) him, the adoring baboon on the boat in front of him, his hawk perched on the stern, and all creatures, in groups, each group worshipping him in its own language, is familiar from many magical gems¹⁵ (and was perhaps a model for Luke's miracle of pentecost, Acts 2:1-16). Since the cosmology was at least a close sequel to the invocations, there is some probability, but nothing approaching certainty, that its supreme god was also Harpocrates. On the other hand, the cosmology in its present form leads to [497] *Iao*, so the compiler may have thought the invocations directed to him. He was often conceived as a solar god; his appearance on the sky boat would not, in Egypt, be surprising.¹⁶

Since the evidence from the invocations is uncertain what of the cosmology? It is of the magical type—production by utterance rather than by physical means (operations on external objects, bodily emissions, childbirth). At first it resembles the Genesis story, which is also of this type: creation begins with light,¹⁷ earth and water are not created but are there from the beginning, etc. Since it celebrates *Iao*, influence of Genesis is not unlikely, but the differences are so great that it is not likely to have gone far.

First, this is a theogony rather than a cosmology; it rarely reports the origins of elements of the physical world, usually of rulers controlling some aspect of life. Second these divine rulers appear so often in male-female (or female-male) pairs that it is easy to suppose an original list of the following syzygies:

Phos-Auge

Earth-Water (masculine in semitic)

Nous-Phrenes

¹⁵ C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, Ann Arbor, 1950 (*U. of Michigan Humanistic Series* 49) Plate 10, nos. 203-210; Pl. 21, no. 391.

¹⁶ See M. Smith, "Helios In Palestine," volume one, chapter eighteen.

¹⁷ As it does if the first verb of Genesis be read as an infinitive which it can be.

Genna-Spora (masculine in semitic)

Moirā-Hermes

Kairos-the Queen (= Helios-Selene)

Psyche-the Pythian serpent.

Phobos and *Iao* cannot make a masculine-feminine pair, so they are probably to be seen as a supplement to the seven syzygies, although, like those, their powers, if not their persons, are finally united. Similarly, in the Valentinian system, after the paired aeons had appeared the Father sent forth their boundary, Horus, as a final, single emanation, Irenaeus 1.1.3. The similarity is increased by the fact that *Phobos* was probably at first alone. The function of fear is to freeze, to fix everything in its place. This being *Phobos*' proper function, there was no need to introduce *Iao* to perform it; the introduction of *Iao* leaves *Phobos* with nothing to do; *Iao* does nothing but what *Phobos* should have done; and the final union of their powers is bungled albeit differently, in both texts—a sign that the original was satisfactory to neither redactor. Moreover, *Iao* is the only semitic deity in the whole series; otherwise the above series is [498] wholly Greek, though the genders show that it was compiled in semitic. Finally, *Phobos* is introduced without any mention of the law. He is not the Old Testament giver of moral law, but the Hesiodic power of the god who maintains the order of the physical cosmos. In sum, we find a hellenistic theogony that issues in a world ruled by Fear. It shows no trace of Jewish influence,¹⁸ but was composed in some semitic environment, very likely Egypt where such lists of pairs of primaeval gods were prominent, where notions of creation as beginning with the appearance of light and the separation of earth from water were widely accepted,¹⁹ and where the papyrus was found. This looks like the sort of stock to which Old Testament material was later grafted by Valentinus, Basilides, and others in the second century, as it was perhaps earlier, in the text behind our document, by the addition of *Iao*. If the structure was originally hellenistic Egyptian, the secret divine names, which we have left aside (following Reitzenstein, who dismissed them with contempt as late, “magical” additions to a primarily “religious” text) will have to be reconsidered as potentially primitive elements, since such names of the doorkeepers of the invisible world were of great importance in Egyptian religion from pharaonic times on. This does not prove that the particular ones found in the present text are ancient, for in the present text the original

¹⁸ The seven syzygies, with none designated for rest, reflect the influence of the pagan, astrological week, not of the Jewish one. E. Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World*, 2 ed., London, 1980, p. 61.

¹⁹ H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1952, p. 864 (“Weltbeginn”).

theogony has been forgotten and mutilated—translation into Greek has obscured the sexual relations, Hermes has been attached to Nous-Phrenes, the Queen has been dropped (from one version), and so on.

Nevertheless, enough of the original structure remains, like the stylobate of an Egyptian temple used as the foundation for a string of village houses, to tell something of the Greco-Egyptian religion that tried to appropriate the power of the great god of Jerusalem.

CHAPTER THIRTY-NINE

A NOTE ON SOME JEWISH ASSIMILATIONISTS: THE ANGELS (P. BERLIN 5025b, P. LOUVRE 2391)

[207] Professor Bickerman's particular interest in relations between Jews and gentiles as a continuing theme in Jewish history makes it seem appropriate to dedicate to his memory this note on a minority group of Jewish immigrants who entered Europe from the Near East about the beginning of the present era, prospered mightily, after their (probably involuntary) conversion to Christianity, became an important part of the ruling class, and in many cases assimilated with, in others reportedly drove out, the earlier inhabitants of their own sort (this in spite of the fact that they also remained active in Jewish affairs). I refer to the angels.

That they were originally a Jewish family—or even a family at all—is disputed. Certainly they had close relatives in Palmyra and elsewhere along the Palestine-Syrian coast, where their name can be traced back to the bronze age. It was originally *mal'ak*, a functional name meaning 'envoy' or, by extension, 'agent.' In early times it seems to have been used for any men or deities, or even animals, who ran errands for their superiors. This was true also of its Greek (not quite) equivalent, *angelos*, 'messenger,' which in hellenistic times, if not before, became its common translation. By Roman imperial times, however, the trade union was well on towards becoming a family group. When writers of the Antonine period and later speak of "the angels" they usually mean a special class of beings, commonly conceived as a sort of racial group distinct from the other groups of the (usually) invisible population—the gods, ghosts, demons, etc.

To trace the stages—let alone the causes—of this transition would be a task far too complex for the present paper. Here we shall focus on one small stage of the process, a stage documented by two invocations in the magical papyri, one which I shall call L, in P. Louvre 2391,¹ the other, B, in P. Berlin 5025b.² In both papyri these have been run together with other metrical passages and therefore have not, so far as I know, been [208] considered separately, in spite of their differences from their contexts. L follows a hymn to the sun (who is addressed as 'Titan') and is followed—after two lines of uncertain content—by a

¹ Lines 211-24, according to the numeration of K. Preisendanz, *Papyri graecae magicae*², ed. A. Henrichs (Stuttgart, 1973-74, 2 v.; henceforth P), in which P. Louvre 2391 is no. III, often called P. Mimaout; its fragments have been arranged and its lines numbered in various ways by various editors, see the table by G. Moeller in P, I.32f.

² P no. I, lines 300-305.

conjunction of some single individual; the purpose of the conjunction is not stated. B follows a brief invocation of the Pythian Apollo, and is immediately followed by a conjunction related to that in L. Here, too, the conjunction has no stated purpose and no apparent connexion with the invocation of the angels. The similar arrangement in both papyri of two apparently unrelated pieces of material suggests that both papyri used some smaller collection, which apparently existed in widely different forms, evidence of rather long descent from its original, but this is a side road we cannot follow.

Both L and P have been reprinted as verse, along with their quasi metrical contexts, in the appendix to P. The versions given there are based on the observations and conjectures of many scholars who have tried to make sense and hexameters of the letters in the papyri.³ Let us suppose the results of their scholarship approximately correct. If so, those elements of the content which will concern us are mostly reliable. Serious uncertainty about them occurs only in the case of L, about the preserved initial of the lost name at the end of line 2, and about considerable elements in lines 4, 5, 7, and 13. We may put these problems aside till we come to them, and may here pass over the general questions of palaeography, wording, and grammar (which have hitherto had most attention) so as to come to those of composition and content (hitherto comparatively neglected). The two texts, as printed in the appendix to P, read as follows:⁴

- B: ἄγγελε πρῶτε θεοῦ, Ζηνὸς μεγάλοιο, Ἰάω,
καὶ σὲ τὸν οὐράνιον κόσμον κατέχοντα, Μιχαήλ,
καὶ σὲ καλῶ, Γαβριήλ, πρωτάγγελε, δεῦρ' ἀπ' Ὀλύμπου,
ἀντολήης Ἀβραὰξ κεχαρημένος, Ἰλαος ἔλθοις,
5 ὅς δούειν ἀντολήθηεν ἐπισκοπιάζῃ, Ἀδωναι.
πᾶσα φύσις τρομέει σέ, πάτερ κόσμοιο, Πακερβήθ.
- L: κλήζω πρῶτοιν τὸν Διὸς ἄγγελον, θε<ι>ον Ἰάω,
καὶ σε τὸν οὐράνιον κόσμον κατέχοντα, Ρ[αφαήλ,
ἀντολήης χαίρω]ν, θεὸς Ἰλαος ἔσ<σ>ο, Ἀβρασάξ,
καὶ σε, μέγιστε <καί> αἰθέριε, κλήζω [αἰρω]γον σου <σε> Μιχαήλ,

³ Notably: G. Parthey, *Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri des Berliner Museums*, Berlin, 1865 (= *Abhdl.* Berlin, 1865), 109-49; E. Abel, *Orphica* (Leipzig, 1885), 286; L. Fahz, "Ein neues Stück Zauberpapyrus," *ARW* 15 (1912), 409-21; S. Eitrem, *Les Papyrus magiques grecs de Paris* (Kristiana, 1923 = *VSK Skrifter* II.1); K. Preisendanz, P; E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der röm. Kaiserzeit* (Göttingen, I², 1963 = *Abhdl.* Gött., 3 Folge, 49). Further bibliography in P.

⁴ B = II.262, no. 23, lines 3-8; L = II.241f., no. 5, lines 14-26, a reprint of Heitsch, LX.5, lines 14-26. The apparatus given by Preisendanz and Heitsch do not suffice for accurate determination of the texts of the papyri, nor for a history of the proposed emendations; hence it does not seem worthwhile to reprint them here.

- 5 καὶ σῶζοντα βί[ου]ς ἰδίω<ν>, Δι[δ]ς ὄμμα τέλειον,
καὶ φύσιν ἀέξοντα καὶ ἐκ φύσεως φύσιν αἰθις,
καὶ κλήζω ἀθανάτων [.....] σεσε[ν]γενβ[α]ρφαραγγης
παντοκράτωρ θεὸς ἔσσι, σὺ δ', ἀθάνατ', ἔσσι μέγιστος.
ἰκνοῦμαι νῦν λάμπων, ἄναξ κόσμοιο Σα[βα]ώθ,
10 ὃς δύσιν ἀντολήσιν ἐπισκεπάζε<ι>ς, Ἀδωναί,
κόσμος ἐὼν κόσμον μόνος ἀθανάτων ἐ[φοδε]ύεις, [209]
αὐτομαθής, ἀδίδακτος, μέσον <τὸν> κόσμον ἐ[λαύν]ων
(?)τῆ[ς] νυκτὸς <κ>αιροῦς ἰδὲ ἡοῦς, Ἀκραμμαχ[ά]ρι

From this juxtaposition it is clear that we have two versions of an original invocation of five angels. Lines 1 and 2 of both are obvious variants; line 3 of B is probably a remote variant of line 4 of L (see below); line 4 of B and line 3 of L are variants; so are lines 5 of B and 10 of L. These are the only lines of which variants appear in both texts, and in four cases of five they invoke the same angels: Iao, Michael, Abrasax, and Adonai. Except for one inversion, the lines occur in the same order in both texts. No angel, save those attached to matching lines, appears in both texts; with two exceptions, no pair of lines occurs save with identical angels. A clearer case of common source and independent developments could hardly be found.

The Michael-Raphael-Gabriel exchange is puzzling, the more so because doubt as to the name in line L2 (where the letter read above as initial R has also been read as M) and serious corruption in L4 make the wording uncertain. That the line of which B3 and L4 are different descendants was part of the original seems likely because the verb in it is essential for B. That B 1 and 2 and L 1 and 2 were in the original is clear from their similarity. The angel invoked in B2 was probably at first Michael because the function specified—maintaining order in heaven—is one appropriate to him,⁵ not to Raphael, a doctor, as his name declares. One may guess that Raphael was introduced because of the importance of cures to the magicians who used these texts. If so, the fact that he had to be introduced will indicate that the spell did not originate in medical magic, but was later adapted to it. With the introduction of Raphael (and into second place!) Michael was shifted to the end of L4, displacing Gabriel, his less colorful second in command.⁶ The original list will have been Iao, Michael, Gabriel, Abrasax, Adonai—an all-Jewish team (if one accept Barb's derivation of Abrasax from 'arba')⁷ and probably a charm for warriors,

⁵ W. Lueken, *Michael* (Göttingen, 1898), 22ff. For Michael's cosmic rule see 1 Enoch 69:14ff.; he is regularly "the chief commander" of the heavenly armies, *Tosefta Hullin* 2.18, etc., anticipated in Dan 12:1.

⁶ Lueken, *Michael*, 32ff.

⁷ A. Barb, "Abraxas Studien," in *Hommages à W. Deonna*, *Latomus* 28 (1957), 67ff.

given the prominence of Michael and Gabriel. (Iao, of course, was a warrior from of old, cf. Ps 24.)

Barb's argument, however, would also persuade us that Abrasax was *YHWH*, the god of the tetragrammaton, whose sacred number was four,⁸ whose throne was borne by four holy beasts and attended by four archangels. The god and the four angels would make five, but here we have five angels, all of them presumably servants of Zeus, who is "god." Admittedly, the pentagram was occasionally used by Jews in antiquity, perhaps as an apotropaic symbol. However, the number five had strong ties with paganism.⁹ So do the angels of this text: Iao appears as an angel of Zeus; Gabriel is called from Olympus. The original text was probably written by a completely assimilated Jew who invoked these Jewish angels as powerful, albeit subordinate, members of the imaginary supernatural society.

Perhaps the original text had a conclusion now lost. To take *Adonai* as the final word leaves things in the air. Indeed, it is so unsatisfactory that the strongest reason for [210] thinking it the end of the original is that both independent developments left the original here. The original may have intended them to leave. Many spells simply provide the power—the magic words, the invocation that will call up the spirit—and then leave it to the magician to use the power as he wishes.

That the last line of B is a later addition is argued not only by its absence from L, but also by the fact that *Pakerbeth* is not a Jewish angel but a fusion of words from a formulaic invocation of the Egyptian god Seth, another power generally useful for destruction. The whole formula is described in P XIVc.21 as his "authentic" name, and the word here taken from it may stand as *pars pro toto* for the whole, thus adding Seth, who was often identified with Iao, to this list of Iao and his affiliates. Alternatively, *Pakerbeth* may have been used here, as Bonner claims it often was,¹⁰ merely as a 'word of power,' a sort of 'Amen' to validate the preceding invocation (of which the clause ending, "father of the world," would then refer to *Adonai*). A further consideration is the fact that addition of *Pakerbeth* as an angel's name would produce a list of six names, and six, falling between Greek five and Hebrew seven, was comparatively neglected in magic.¹¹ Given these contrary considerations, the question must be

⁸ Barb, *Latomus* 28.81ff.

⁹ J. Schouten, *The Pentagram as a Medical Symbol* (Nieuwkoop, 1968), 19-27.

¹⁰ C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets* (Ann Arbor, 1950 = *U. of Mich. Studies, Humanistic Series*, 49), 163f.

¹¹ The unpublished index of P lists 32 uses of *pente*, 24 of *hex*, and 99 of *hepta*. These figures include both names and numerals, and also uses in compounds, except in other numbers (thus *pentegrammaton*, but not *dekapente*). My single count of the passages cited in Preisendanz' lists may be somewhat off, but hardly enough to misrepresent the relative infrequency of *hex*.

left open, though the prior structure of the invocation—one line per angel—argues strongly for the supposition that the word is here used as a name. So much for B.

The development of L is more uncertain because of the uncertainty of its text. “Perfect eye of Zeus” is a brilliant conjecture—it has the brilliance of thin ice. *Sesengenbarpharanges* is perhaps a marginal gloss¹² and certainly hard to adapt to the meter. *Pantokrator* may be either an epithet or the name of an angel; in magical usage the word was in the tadpole stage. That it was placed at the beginning of the line, while most angelic names come at the ends, may indicate that it was to be read as an epithet of the angel whose lost name preceded it. On the other hand, its Hebrew equivalent, *Sabaoth*,¹³ is almost certainly here the name of another angel. Though in the Old Testament it was merely an epithet of *YHWH*, in magical texts it commonly refers to an independent god.¹⁴ This argues that *Pantokrator*, too, should be taken as a noun. So does the prior structure of the invocation.¹⁵ After *Sabaoth*, however, the one-line-per-angel structure seems to be abandoned and the “who” of line 10 appears to be carrying the sentence on. But this appearance is misleading. Comparison with B shows that we now return to the original text and that the “who” should be taken as an anticipatory reference to *Adonai* (“<And thou> who..., <O> *Adonai*”), here a second vocative after “shine forth.” Consequently *Adonai* should be followed by a period. Lines 11-13 [211] (which indisputably break the structure, as did lines 5-7) would seem by analogy to lead to *Akrammachari* as the name of a final angel. However, this name is a variant of *Akrammachamari*, which has been convincingly explained by Scholem as an imperative, “uproot the spells.”¹⁶ This imperative makes good sense as a conclusion for the invocation, and it accords with the introduction of Raphael, as part of a remodeling of the invocation for medical purposes. To take it as an angel’s name would leave the invocation without any point, another example of the type mentioned above (on *Adonai*). But the interpolator—if his work is rightly restored—did not even know how to spell the word he introduced, so he may be suspected of ignoring its semitic meaning and of thinking it merely a name; it is often used by itself as if it were one.

¹² P on III.217, “von cccc an auf den Rand geschrieben,” is not clear about this.

¹³ *Pantokrator* is the regular translation of Hebrew *Šeba’ot*, see Hatch and Redpath, s.v.

¹⁴ This will be shown fully by the forthcoming *index verborum* to the translation of the magical papyri (ed. H. D. Betz, U. of Chicago Press, 1986).

¹⁵ The proposal of E. Heitsch, “Drei Helioshymnen,” *Hermes* 88 (1960), 154f., to read the names as various epithets for one solar deity, founders on the undoubted distinction of the figures in the original text.

¹⁶ G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition*² (New York, 1965), 97.

Sesengenbarpharanges, although marginal, was probably intended to replace or identify some name in the text. If we take it, *Pantokrator*, and *Akrammachamari* as names, we have nine angels, the number of the holy Egyptian ennead. But the ogdoad and the hebdomad were hardly less holy, so numerology, as often, leaves us a free field for choice.

More significant is the fact that all the names added in this expanded text come from the same Jewish magical background as do those of the original text, so the expansion, as well as the original composition, probably went on in circles either Jewish or in close touch with Judaism. Yet the identification of Iao as “angel of Zeus” was not eliminated, and “eye of Zeus”—if correctly discerned—appears as a new pagan epithet. The angels now have active roles in physical creation (line 6), they are also rulers of the world (8), drive it and oversee it (10-12), as do the visible gods (the planets) of Platonism. This anticipates the Palestinian synagogue mosaics with the angel of the sun in their centers, and the other material, both Jewish and Christian, that indicates Jewish worship of angels.¹⁷ The pagans may have learned angelolatry, as well as monotheism, from Jews as well as Christians.

Finally, dates: P. Berlin 5025 was written about A.D. 400, P. Louvre 2391 about 300 or a bit later. Both are probably copies of earlier texts like themselves. Those texts (or their ultimate ancestors) had been put together from smaller collections which, before being thus used, had diverged widely and independently from their originals. Such divergence implies a manuscript history of several generations. The invocation which the original collection contained was hardly written by the collector; it differs too markedly from the other elements. Before incorporation into the collection it presumably had a history of its own. The steps from the present manuscripts back to their archetypes, and from the archetypes back to the collections they used, and from the two different collections back to their common original, and from that original back to the first form of the included invocation, could perhaps be squeezed into a couple of centuries, but, given the wide divergence of the preserved texts, might reasonably be thought to have taken longer.

The fact that not only the original, but also its major expansion in L, are entirely Jewish in nomenclature, argues for a date before the near-extirmination of the Egyptian Jews in 115-117. After that, indeed, Jewish material survived in manuscripts and [212] undeniably continued to be used, but one would expect, when a text was being expanded, some admixture of pagan personnel. A first century A.D.

¹⁷ M. Smith, “Helios in Palestine,” chapter eighteen of this collection.

date would be more likely, but perhaps, for the sociological background, one should go back to a yet earlier time, when Jewish warriors needed such spells, and when the picture of Jewish angels in the service of Zeus could be modeled on the sight of Jewish generals in the service of the Ptolemies (e.g., Josephus, *Ant.* 13.354). This would put us in the first two thirds of the first century B.C., roughly 350 years before the writing of P. Louvre 2391. Is this too large a gap? I think not. Many manuscripts written as late as A.D. 1500 contain texts of “the Lord’s prayer.”

CHAPTER FORTY

THE JEWISH ELEMENTS IN THE MAGICAL PAPYRI

To speak of the Jewish elements in the magical papyri is to beg the question, what was Judaism in the times and places where the papyri were written? This question cannot be answered precisely. We know from preserved evidence that ancient Judaism took many different forms, some of them surprising (primitive Christianity, for instance), but we don't know what more surprising forms may have been represented by the great majority of the evidence—that now lost. The same holds for paganism and Christianity. Consequently it is better not to begin by trying to apply denominational labels to fringe material. The first thing to do is to get a clear account of what forms have been preserved, and which seem to go with which.

Accordingly, let us begin by looking for elements that seem to have come, at least indirectly, from the OT, apocrypha, pseudepigrapha, and Jewish cult. Then we can look at other elements commonly found together with these, and so, gradually, piece together a picture of what Judaism may have, in those times and places, included, or, at least, given rise to.

A difficult necessity is, not to be hasty. This is not palaeontology. Ancient Judaism was not a single, uniform species, within which the whole of any specimen could be accurately inferred from the discovery of one of its parts. Rather it was a genus comprising a great number of species so widely different that their basic similarities are sometimes almost unrecognizable.

For example, consider the Jews of Elephantine, who worshipped several gods, along with Yaho. They *may* not have had any biblical books; no trace of any has been found in their remains. To conclude from this fact that they *did* not have any, would be a rash argument from silence, that is, from lack of evidence. But to suppose—as often is supposed—that, when the preserved evidence comes to an end, these Jews and their sort of Judaism had been completely exterminated, would be a rash conclusion from ignorance. As a matter of fact we continue to find in Egypt, through the succeeding centuries, persons with Jewish names, sometimes as worshippers of Egyptian gods, sometimes, of Yahweh.¹ Hence it is not unlikely that some of the

[My student Mr. William K. Gilders and I have constructed this essay from the following sources: Smith's typescript of the text that appeared in the SBL Seminar Papers; Smith's corrections to that text; Smith's typescript of the remarks that he delivered at the SBL session devoted to the discussion of this paper; Smith's corrections to that text. In the counting and classifying of magical texts and Jewish elements, Smith changed his mind

syncretistic worship of Yahweh attested in the magical papyri may have come from an old, Egyptian cult of Yahweh relatively unaffected by Palestinian developments. The Amherst Egyptian papyrus no. 63 shows that in the second century B.C., at the latest, an Aramaic hymn closely related to Ps 20:2-7, but appealing to Horus (?), Adonai, Sahar (?), El Bethel, and the Baal of Heaven, as well as to Yaho/Yahweh, was transliterated into Demotic and included in a manuscript buried at Thebes.² The Demotic transliteration has been plausibly attributed to an Egyptianizing Jew of Edfu. Be that as it may, the papyrus shows that when it was written these gods were associated in Demotic worship. Therefore when we find similar groups of gods in the magical papyri, some hundreds of years later, we may be looking at survivals of old time religion, not degenerate novelties. [I shall return to this point in my conclusion.] Thebes, by the way, was the site of the most important discoveries of magical papyri.

One difficulty in the way of recognizing such survivals is that many themes characteristic of the cult of Yahweh in the OT and the works derived from it turn out to have been characteristic also of the cults of other gods. They, too, were "living gods," "creators of heaven and earth," "creators of all living things," even of the other gods, consequently "gods of gods" and "lords of the spirits," as well as "rulers of heaven and earth and of the things under the earth." They had "set in order the stars," ruled the sun, moon, winds, and sea, caused vegetation to arise, and created all animals and man. They also had "great names" and, like Yahweh, were much concerned about their own glory. One of the best ways to secure their favor ("grace")

any number of times, and it was not always clear to us exactly what he meant. Smith himself remarks in the essay that his math may have been faulty. In several places we were able to correct Smith's math; we also have tightened up the essay throughout and have reorganized it. All of our corrections and additions are in brackets. This essay clearly needs a good deal more polishing but we have not felt authorized to tamper with it any more than we have already done. Still, even as it stands, the essay makes an important contribution to the study of the magical papyri, a point that was impressed on us by Prof. Hans Dieter Betz, to whom we are indebted for sending us a copy of Smith's typescript. Since the version printed here differs extensively from the original published in the Seminar Papers, we have not indicated the page numbers of the original. – SJDC]

¹ See M. Smith, "Jewish Religious Life in the Persian Period," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, edd. W.D. Davies and L. Finkelstein, Cambridge, 1984, esp. p. 233.

² See C. Nims and R. Steiner, "A Paganized Version of Ps. 20.2-6," *JAOS* 103 (1983) 261-74, with the corrections in "You Can't Offer Your Sacrifice and Eat it Too," *JNES* 43 (1984) 89-113; and cp. S. Vleeming and J. Wesselijs, "An Aramaic Hymn," *Bib. Or.* 39 (1982) 501-10, who independently studied the same text and reached results substantially similar. My question marks indicate differences of opinion. Only Nims and Steiner traced the manuscript to the Theban burial and made the connection with Edfu.

was to proclaim that you had declared or would declare their names.³ And so on. Consequently when such attributes are given to pagan gods in spells of which nothing else seems to be Jewish, we should probably suppose them part of an international theological language which expressed what I long ago called “the common theology of the ancient near east”—a description that has been widely accepted.⁴ Nevertheless, although such attributes cannot confidently be taken as signs of Jewish influence in pagan spells, or of pagan influence in Jewish, they *may* sometimes be the one, sometimes the other. Even attributes that seem more specific are sometimes misleading; we have a spell addressed to the god Menophris “who sitteth upon the cherubim” (*GMPT* VII.628-43).⁵ Had the name been lost, an editor would surely have restored “Iao Sabaoth.” Traits that seem references to events of biblical stories are more likely to indicate OT influence, but even these are not always reliable. Dionysus led his followers through the wilderness and made springs flow in the desert; historians reported that, thanks to a wind, the sea went back and enabled Alexander and his army to cross.⁶ Pious pagans surely thought that the wind was sent by one of their gods. If we knew more pagan history and mythology we might know that more traits need not be Jewish.

What is true of attributes and seemingly historical references is even truer of names. “Yahweh” having become “Iao” in Greek, it was ideal for inclusion in the long lists of vowel combinations with which ancient magicians called on their gods. If the seven Greek vowels were to be combined in groups of three, as they often were, IAO had to turn up in the list. “Ia” (=“Yah”) seems to have been a common Greek representation of a cry (cf. *iazein*) and “Io” was a cry particularly common in Greek religion. Hence we should expect IAO to turn up almost everywhere and, especially in lists of vowels or isolated cries, to be normally without specific theological reference. The Amherst papyrus has shown us Adonai, as well as Iao, setting out on its own, as a holy name, in the second century BC. The lead curse tablets of Greece show that the magicians there, in the first or second century AD, were trying to reinforce their appeals to the old local gods by the use of “Hebrew conjurations” and “the holy names.”⁷ Sabaoth, too,

³ In *GMPT* (*The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, ed. H. D. Betz, Chicago, 1986; cited by papyrus number – Roman – and lines) see VII.690ff.; VIII.1-63; XIII.636ff.; XIV.135ff., 195ff.; XXXVI.165f.

⁴ M. Smith, “The Common Theology of the Ancient Near East” (chapter 2 in this collection).

⁵ The cherubim probably came to Egypt, as they did to Israel and to all the Phoenician coast, from Assyria, and were early standardized as supporters of royal throne seats, so there is no need to suppose Israelite influence here.

⁶ Plutarch, *Vita Alexandri* 17.3ff.; Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.26.1f. [and Josephus, *Ant.* 2.347f.]

⁷ R. Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln*, 2 ed., Bonn, 1912 (*KT* 20), #1.

became very popular; so did Abraham, Jacob, Michael, and, to a lesser extent, El and Gabriel. All seem to have become elements of a transcultural magical lingo; we find one here, one there, in wholly pagan material where they seem to serve only as “words of power”—a use long recognized and too long made an excuse to deny their reference, in many other passages, to the OT god, his angels, and his favorites. Similar transcultural diffusion evidently extended the use of a number of non-biblical locutions, called “*voces*,” commonly associated, in magical texts, with OT material. I shall take as examples Ablanathanalba, Abrasax, Akrammachammari, Arba(th)-iao/i(a)oth, Semesilam, and Sesengen bar Pharanges: the list could easily be extended. These are less troublesome because their connection with Jewish material is less readily recognized by dilettanti, hence “discoveries” of Jewish influence are less often based on them, though they sometimes do indicate it.

So much for the prolegomena; now for the texts:

I shall limit these remarks mainly to material in the new Chicago corpus, *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (ed. H. D. Betz, University of Chicago Press, 1986, henceforth *GMPT*), and, of that material, to texts in Greek or Demotic, written on papyrus, and not apparently Christian. These limitations exclude much relevant data, but leave a body homogeneous in some important respects and larger than we can now itemize—well over 100 texts.⁸ This is not the whole body of the evidence, not even within the limitations I have set; the evidence keeps growing almost from day to day.⁹ By comparison with what has formerly been available, however, it seems to me sufficient to justify reconsideration.

Since many of the texts are collections of rites or spells often quite diverse, reconsideration must be based on the individual sections, not on the collections as such. *Almost* none of the compilers of the

⁸ The 81 numbers of Preisendanz *Papyri Graecae Magicae*² (henceforth *PGM*²) included some 102 texts. Of these texts *GMPT* has omitted 17 [??] as not magical or not comprehensible, but has retained, for those remaining, the original numeration. To the original 81 numbers it has added 49 numbers, for a total of 130, and to these one supplementary text, the Demotic P. Louvre E 3229. The added numbers stand for one text each, except for two numbers, each standing for six texts. Thus the total of the texts in *GMPT* (102-17+49+1+10) is 145. Of these 145 I have left [16] out of consideration as Coptic, Christian, not magical, not legible, or not on papyrus, viz., nos. XXVc, XXVIIIc [does Smith mean XXIX?], XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXVII, XLVII, XLVIII, LXXII [?], LXXXII, LXXXIII, LXXXV, XCIII, XCIX, C, CXXVIII, CXXIX. Of the remaining [129], a few are so badly preserved as to be of little use, but those which are useful number well over 100.

⁹ Twenty-eight more texts, of which most will soon be published, are to be listed in the forthcoming article by W. Brashear in *ANRW* [“Die Zauberpapyri aus Ägypten,” to appear in *ANRW* II.18.5]. By the time those are out there will be yet more unpublished, some, probably, from new excavations, but others, almost certainly, from reexcavation of old collections of which the editors have hitherto passed over magical material.

collections seem to have done any considerable editing of the rites collected.¹⁰ We find nothing comparable to the rewriting that prevails in the gospels. Because these collectors wanted their spells to work, they were more concerned about accuracy than were the evangelists, and took fewer liberties with the sacred texts that had come down to them. Or, perhaps, they were just lazy. If so, their laziness was our good luck. We can hear each prayer and rubric speak for itself, and the breaks between items are usually clear.¹¹ This makes possible a count of the items. In the texts selected¹² I have counted 560.¹³

Here I must emphasize that this, and most figures hereinafter, should be taken as approximate. This is a report on research I am now beginning. For this report I have gone over *once* in Greek and, for the Demotic material, in English, all the texts in *GMPT*, analyzing them and making notes as I went. Those notes have not been checked, and the following figures are unchecked transcriptions from them. I suppose that careful checking will turn up some mistakes in analyses, transcriptions, and arithmetic. I also suppose that such mistakes will not be of much importance for the major results now to be discussed. For example, I discover on rereading that in my 560 sections, I found 378 that contained nothing Jewish. This should leave 182 with Jewish elements. However, the numbers I give for [the sections containing Jewish material] add up to [200]. Evidently, I changed my mind (or made mistakes in counting) a dozen times. I will not go over all the instances to discover the errors.

In reviewing I divided the 560 sections into seven classes, according to what they showed of the seemingly OT and related material, including the *voces* listed above. The classes are:

- I. Those without any Jewish element—[approximately] 378 items.
- II. Those with nothing Jewish but the name IAO—19 items.
- III. Those with magical *voces* (Abraxas, etc.) commonly thought to be of Jewish origin, either with or without IAO—23 items.
- IV. Those with OT divine names (e.g. Sabaoth, Adonai, Eloë/im) or well-attested angel names (Michael, Gabriel, Raphael) or names of OT personalities (the patriarchs, Moses, David, Solomon, etc.) used as words of power or prestige, without indication of their OT contexts—71 items.

¹⁰ For the outstanding exception, *GMPT* XIII, see M. Smith, "The Eighth Book of Moses and How It Grew" (chapter 37 in this collection).

¹¹ The uncertain instances are mostly due to damage to the papyri.

¹² I.e., those in *GMPT*, minus those listed in n. 8 as omitted.

¹³ My count of the items differs occasionally from that of *GMPT*, mainly because that does not treat as separate the short spells that are often tacked on to the ends of long ones. I doubt that the differences would alter the count by as much as 5%.

- V. Those showing a number of the preceding, especially if put together in the biblical way or with evident knowledge of a biblical or parabiblical context—[50 items].
- VI. Those pagan texts in which isolated bits of OT or cognate material seem to be glosses or interpolations—33 items.
- VII. Those Judaized by modern (editorial) restorations—4 items.

[I shall now briefly discuss each of these seven classes.]

[Class I.] The most important result of the review is that the great majority of the items—378 out of 560—contain *no* OT or Jewish elements. I conclude that the magic of the papyri did not come, in the main, from any Judaism of any sort known to us. Some is purely Greek, some purely Egyptian; my impression is that most combines Greek and Egyptian elements.

[Class] II. Much to my surprise, occurrence of IAO as the *only* OT element in a spell is rare. I noted only 19 passages.¹⁴ This may indicate my carelessness; the little word is easy to overlook. But even if I missed a third of the isolated occurrences, the number would still be low. It would seem that, although IAO appears very often—no other divine name in the papyri approaches it in frequency—it usually is accompanied by one or more of the OT names or *voces*. This tends to discredit the common belief that it was *usually* a mere word of power or collection of vowels, without any thought of its OT reference.

[Class] III. The *voces* also rarely appear alone. I found 23 instances, mostly of Abrasax or (less often) of Ablanathanalba as the effective word of an amulet or short charm. Also, they are often found with nothing biblical save IAO; the few such instances are included in the 23.¹⁵

[Class] IV. This catch-all class has 71 examples—a little surprising, since it included so many words. I expected more, and should not have been surprised to find forty or fifty uses of Sabaoth alone. Perhaps I had noticed OT elements more than pagan ones because of their relation to material I knew. If so, then, conversely, most Egyptians would probably have found them comparatively inconspicuous, and may have perpetuated them habitually, as they did *Ereschigal*, with only the vaguest notion of what they stood for. It must be remembered that all the uses reviewed to this point, of OT and related terms, *might*

¹⁴ To wit: III.575-90; IV.154-285, 1872-1972, 3209-54; V.1-53, 172-212; VI.1-29; VII.300a-310, 374-6, 579-90, 703-26; X.24-35; XII.99-103, 107-21, 153-60, 160-78, 182-89; PDM XII.76-107 (PDM prefixed to numerals indicates Demotic texts, which sometimes occur in the same papyrus as Greek ones, and therefore have the same numbers, but different line numeration; all are included in *GMPT*); PDM XIV.563-74.

¹⁵ These are: I.1-42; III.424-41, 690-730; IV.1323-30; V.440-45; PDM XIV.695-700, 1163-79; XVIIa; XVIIc; XVIII; XXXVI.102-33, 134-60, 231-35; LVIII; LXVIII; LXIX; LXXI; LXXXIX; XCI; XCIV #2, #8; CXVI; CXXIII.55-9.

be explained by the words-of-power theory, since these words have usually stood alone or almost so, with little or no indication of any knowledge of what they meant. The fact that IAO and the *voces* usually appeared in the company of other OT related terms does argue against this theory, as remarked above, but the argument is not conclusive, because many words are perceived as members of groups, so that, if one appears, the others are likely to follow, and this sort of group association can precede accurate knowledge of what the individual terms mean—as will be clear to anyone familiar with the profanity of kindergarten children. In magical, as in many other, religious texts we are dealing with forms of mentality not remote from the kindergarten, so we turn with interest to the passages on which any further account of Jewish influence must be built, those in which the words appear in contexts indicating the larger groups to which they belonged and the writers' notions of their significance.

[Class] V. Of this class there are 50 examples.¹⁶ They are of two types, which may be called “liturgical” and “indicant.” The “liturgical” [with 31 examples]¹⁷ are the invocations, self-predications, conjurations, and the like, in which the magician calls on a series of biblical and parabiblical beings. We can thence discern that he knows of them; sometimes we can make out a bit more, but these spells were not intended to inform us and often they give only a list of names. Nevertheless, they suffice to show us that these magicians knew little about Jewish demonology and less about Hebrew. We find in them Iao, Adonai, Sabaoth, Eloai (*ai* was pronounced as *e*), “I am what I am” (which the LXX rendered “I am the being”), “the being God” (reflecting the LXX rendition), Abraam, Isak, Iakob, Enoch, Solomon, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Ouriel, Israel (usually *Istrael*, and [usually] an angel), Emmanuel (also an angel), the cherubim, an occasional phrase—*barouch Adonai Eloai Abraam*. These practically exhaust the biblical and parabiblical terms.¹⁸ We also find amazing mistakes. The Hebrew *beshem* (“in the name of” somebody) has become an angel *Basym* (IV.1376 and often); the patriarchs are usually angels too; the name of God in Hebrew is said to be Ablanathanalba (V.475), and “the true God, Iao, Lord, Pantokrator” and Ablanathanalba are addressed as one person (LXX).¹⁹ Elsewhere Iao is said to be “one of

¹⁶ [Corrected from 52. 31 + 21 - 2 duplicates = 50.]

¹⁷ Viz.: III.262, 441-65; IV.1331-89, 1496-1595, 1716-1870; V.53-69, 459-89; VII.218-21, 311-16, 619-27, 973-80, 1009-16, 1017-26; X.1-18; XIc; XII.261-70, 270-350; XIII.760-932; PDM XIV.239-95; XIXa; XXIIa; XXIIb.1-26; XXVIIIa and b; XXXVI.35-68, 171-7; XLIII; LXXI; XC.1-13; CI, CVI. Two of these references will recur in the list of “indicant” passages; one section may share both traits.

¹⁸ XII.264 got a Jewish title of God right.

¹⁹ The author of III.119 seems to have thought that the *abramenthoo* logos was Hebrew.

the holy assistants of the great God"; and he, Sabaoth, Adonai, Ablanathanalba, etc. are adjured "by the great name *Abraam*" (VII.314). There is no sense of a distinction between biblical names and magical ones; in the thirty-one passages cited, many of them sizable, there are not more than half a dozen short strings of biblical terms *not* interrupted by *voces*. I say nothing of mistakes of spelling (sometimes grotesque) –there is no telling how many are due to copyists.

Nevertheless, knowledge of Hebrew was surely behind this stuff, though far behind. Even the misunderstanding of *beshem* implies knowledge, at some time, of Hebrew spells in which spirits were commanded "in the name" of some power. Those spells presumably went out of usage some time before the composition of the ones we have, and the ones we have were composed and circulated before they were collected in handbooks (these handbooks being collections of diverse texts, not compositions by single authors) And who knows how long the handbooks were handed down before the making of the copies we have? Shall we say that the Hebrew background was probably more than a century prior to the preserved manuscripts?

The "liturgical" passages are mostly mere lists of names that tell us nothing of their own sources and little of what their authors thought about the deities they called on. Many differ from class IV passages only by the number of beings invoked. So many texts were on the margin between classes IV and V, judgments were often difficult, and some will probably be found mistaken. However, the principle of differentiation is clear, and there is another group of class V passages that has a yet clearer distinction, the group of those that, beside names and magical directions, contain some additional material. I have therefore called these texts "indicant" [with 21 examples].²⁰ (Two of these also contain "liturgical" passages, and thus appear in both lists.)

In these, Jewish influence is clear. The questions are, What kind of influence, and how and when exercised? Let us begin with those that have or claim connections with the Temple.

IV.1217-1226: This petition is markedly different from the syncretistic material that precedes it. The notions of Yahweh's light appearing in the gold lamella worn by the High Priest (Exod 28:36ff.), and of the unquenchable light in the Holy Place, would have lost their force after 70. Nothing indicates a later date. The general (or generally supposed) utility of the text would explain its circulation as a separate item.

²⁰ Viz.: IV.1217-26, 3007-86; V.96-172; VII.260-71, 593-619; XII.92-5; XIII.1ff., 970-74, 975-78, 997-1001, 1001-58; *PDM* XIV.117-49, 1026-45, 1110-29; XXIIa.18-27 (cp. XXXV & XCII); XXIIb.1-26; XXXV; XXXVI.187-210, 295-311; LXII.19-24; XCII.

IV.3007-86: A pseudepigraphon. Pibechis is mere window dressing,²¹ but the prescription and phylactery seem primitive. The conjuration is probably the work of a pagan who uses a Jewish text—carelessly. “The god of the Hebrews, Jesus” seems unlikely for either a Jew or a Christian, and the many historical mistakes also favor pagan authorship, though only slightly; the biblical ignorance of both Jews and Christians should not be underestimated. Again the unquenched fire in Jerusalem suggests a date prior to 70 for the text the pagan used. So does the description of Jesus, reflecting a pagan’s impression of Christianity in its first appearance, and so does the favorable attitude of an Egyptian toward Jews, unlikely after 115-17.

XIII.997-1001 (in a list of magical names): “And the great name, that in Jerusalem, by which they bring out water when there is none in a cistern (?): ‘ACHME IEEO IEEO IARABBAO/YCHRABAOA, do the NN thing, unutterable name of great god.’”

LXII.19-24: Another brief conjuration dated by its reference to the unquenched fire. That seems to have been a much advertised “wonder,” so its extinction would have been a considerable embarrassment and would have discouraged reference to it after it had been so conspicuously discredited. This and the preceding references are due to the conservative attitude toward texts, common in magic.

From the Temple, let us now turn to biblical legend.

XXIIb.1-26, “The Prayer of Jacob”: another text that may be first century. It fits first century Judaism, and has no elements requiring a later date. Archangels had appeared in Daniel. The interpretation of seraphim as “serpentine gods” supposes knowledge of Hebrew—*seraphim* are serpents in Num 21:6f.—and of the equation of angels with “gods,” inferred from Psalms [82:1, 6]. God enthroned on Sinai [appeared] in Ezekiel *tragicus*, which also took up Exodus’ use of “Hebrews” for Jews. “The God of the Hebrews” is the deliverer in Exod 3:18; 5:8; 7:16; 9:1. Promise of the kingdom to Abraam²² would have appealed to the Jews who began the revolt. Multiplication of angels with outlandish names appears in the pseudepigrapha; Josephus said it was a hobby of the Essenes [(BJ 2. 142)]. That the name “sabaoth” was still “secret” to Egyptian Jews ignorant of Hebrew, also suggests an early date; a century later it was becoming popular for amulets. The desire to become an angel on earth is one which the author of 4QM^a claimed to have realized.²³ All of this makes *The Prayer of Jacob* a rarity, since *GMPT* contains no other purely Jewish texts larger than amulets and brief conjurations.

²¹ A familiar device, like the story of the secrecy oath exacted in the Temple, XIII.233f.

²² [Smith wrote “Moses.”]

²³ *Discoveries in the Judean Desert* VII, no. 491, on which see “Two Ascended into Heaven,” (chapter 25 in volume 2 of this collection).

V.96-172; XII.92-5; XIII.1ff.; 970-74; etc. These pretensions to “be” Moses and to have Mosaic books tell us only that Moses’ magical prestige survived the Jewish debacles. That the “mysteries” it is here used to recommend are identified in V.110 with those of Israel, suggests that the latter were not likely to be known by the expected readers.

V.115ff.;²⁴ XIII.970ff.; 975ff.; 997ff.; 1001-58: These absurd speculations about “the great name” carry similar suggestions, particularly when combined with a ritual in which the name is written in characters explained in part as the name of Ptah, and when these, to be used, must be rewritten on Apollo’s sacred laurel leaves and shown to the sun. The reworking of this solar spell to serve Iao goes with the interpolations to be considered in the next section.

VII.260-71; XIV.117-49; 1026-45; 1110-29; XXXVI.187-210; 295-311. Any of these brief prayers and conjurations may have come from a Jew, a Christian, or a pagan. All show a little knowledge of OT stories and/or related pseudepigrapha, being put to practical (magical) use. The best informed is XXXVI.295-311; its author could name (almost correctly) all five of the cities destroyed [by] Yahweh in the Sodom episode. Few modern biblical scholars could do as well. Perhaps he taught in a Jewish or Christian school, or was a closet reader of the OT. At all events he used his knowledge to conjure sulphur (one of the active elements in Yahweh’s [destruction of the cities]) by Iao, Sabaoth, Arbathiao, Michael, Zouriel, Gabriel, Sesengen bar Pharanges, Istraël, Abraam, and associates, to resume its former role and make a young lady come to him to participate in the “mystery of Aphrodite.” The others used inferior information for purposes sometimes better.

Even less demonstrative are the texts which show development of an angelic hierarchy, mostly by asking for the good qualities of the angels (one of the requests is addressed to Kypris, i.e. Aphrodite), but once by listing gods and angels whom the magician says his girl friend has slandered—he hoped they would punish her by making her desire him; a truly modest man (VII.593-619; XXIIa; XXXV; XCII). Significantly, the lists of gods, angels, and qualities change in each instance.

In sum, apart from *The Prayer of Jacob* and perhaps a few minor texts, we cannot speak of any unquestionably Jewish magical compositions in *GMPT*, although [several] texts in the collection

²⁴ In V.115ff. the *GMPT* translation is mistaken. Read (with Preisendanz) “I am the messenger of Pharaoh O...This, which had been transmitted...is your true name (Hear me!), Abathiao” etc.

contain elements derived from the OT, and many may have been written by Jews—whatever Jews then were.

[Class VI.] The paradoxical situation is complicated by the fact that many texts of *GMPT* were interpolated in antiquity by persons who added words, sentences, or entire passages, occasionally even changing the outlines and declared purposes of elaborate rites (as they did in the Mithras liturgy and in PGM XIII). Many of the interpolations added what we have been calling “Jewish material.” Since we have no time for a full account I shall merely list some passages in which I have noticed interpolation of Jewish material. Closer study would probably reveal more, and might reveal that a few of those listed are not, in fact, interpolated. Consequently I hope for further study and present this preliminary list to encourage it.

No.	Date of papyrus	Literary Unit	Interpolated lines	Content of interpolation
1	c. 400	I.42-148	105-106	“but as for pork...at all!”
2		.263-347	300-314	“First angel...heart and soul.”
3	300-350	III.1-164	76-80	“for I conjure you,” etc.
4		.1-164	145-161	“I am Adam...the whole inhabited world”
5		.187-262	211-229	“I call...when it hears.”
6		.549-75	572-575	“From the right of the axis...OA OAI.”
7	300-350	IV.930-1114	980-983	“and am now going to speak....INAX”
8		.1035-1045	1035, 1040, 1045	IAO, AOI, etc.
9		.1390-1495	1485-1486	“IAO SABAOth and ADONAI”
10		.2708-2784	2768-2771	“and MICHAEL,” and “ADONAI”
11	c. 350	V.1-52	22-30	“IAE IAO....the pronunciation.”
12	c. 350	VII.222-249	236	ARBATHIAO
13		.255-259	257	“and my lord, the archangel Michael.”
14		.540-578	565	IAO ELOAI
15		.643-651	646-649	“the guts of IAO.... ADONAI ABRASAX”
16		.756-794	759-760	“except him who made..., IAO”

No.	Date of papyrus	Literary Unit	Interpolated lines	Content of interpolation
17	c. 400	VIII.1-63	46-49	"and the second name... ABRASAX."
18		.1-63	60-61	"write also...IAO SABAOTH," etc.
19		.64-110	96	"IAEO SABAOTH ADONAI ZABARBATHIAO"
20		.64-110	102-103	"SABAOTH ADONAI IE IE IE IE"
21	c. 400	IX.1-14	6-7	"for you have put...SABAOTH."
22		.1-14	8	ABRASAX
23		.1-14	14	"Say this name," etc.
24	300-350	XII.14-95	54-55	"You are ATEPHTHO... ADONAI"
25		.14-95	63	"on order from the most high god," etc.
26		.14-95	74	"IAON (sic) SABAOTH...IARABBAI"
27		.14-95	92-94	"ADONEAI. I am he whom you met," etc.
28	200-250	XIV (<i>PDM</i>) .585-593	592	"listen O IAHO SABAHO," etc.
29		.1031		"the longing the god, the son of Sirius, felt for Moses"
30	350	XXXVI .333-360	349-351	IAO SABOATH... SEMESILAM"
31	120-150	LXII.1-24	12-16	"I will go inside...created from them."
32		.1-24	19-22	"I adjure you by the great god...ADONE"
33	250	LXXVIII .1-14	13-14	"Name of the all-[powerful] god: IAO IAO IAO."

Classification [of interpolations] (T = Terminal, i.e. appended to spell or unit in a spell.)

Brief glosses: 1(T), 6(T), 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 20(T), 22(T), 23(T), 33(T)

Extended invocation: 2, 5 (these had a common source)

Lists of Jewish names/voces in conjuration: 3, 4, 9(T), 15, 18, 19, 25(T), 28 (T), 30(T)

Reminiscences of biblical stories *vel. sim.*: 4, 27(T) (common source?), 29, 31

Conjuration by Iao/Adonai with attributes/vowels: 8 (ter, 1T), 11, 32(T)

These interpolations are only the Jewish ones. There are many pagan ones (e.g. IV.2242-2347; XIII.618-639), a few certainly Christian

(e.g. XIII.289-292), and more of dubious origin. However, the Jewish interpolations seem most frequent.

What have I considered evidence of interpolation? Interruption of the grammatical or intellectual structure of a passage; [appendage] of irrelevant material, or material contradicting or correcting the sense of a passage or of some of its details; elements that look like inserted footnotes; and so on. Admittedly, none of these criteria is singly decisive, but one may suffice for suspicion, and several, taken together, approach proof.

I was particularly suspicious of Jewish material that appeared suddenly or [inexplicably] in pagan texts that contained nothing else Jewish except, perhaps, an isolated IAO in a string of *voces*. Adonai and Sabao/th, when isolated, like IAO have little evidential value as signs of Judaism. Already in the Demotic-Aramaic psalm we see Adonai setting out on its own. Sabao should probably be studied in connection with the problem of the SABBA phoneme that appears in Sabazios, Sabbath, Sambathe, etc.

Even Moses is not always reliable. His name became prestigious, like those of Orpheus and Zoroaster, and all sorts of stuff was sheltered under it. The process began already in the books now biblical, e.g. Ps 90, "The Prayer of Moses, the Man of God." So it is not surprising that PGM XIII, which presents three texts of "The Eighth Book of Moses" and refers to half a dozen "Mosaic" works, contains nothing similar to the pentateuchal texts.

[Class VII.] I have noticed four passages in which Jewish material appears only thanks to the conjecture of modern editors.²⁵

Conclusion

I shall now comment briefly on the whole body of material I have been calling "Jewish." First: None of it comes from the literature or liturgy of rabbinic Judaism, not even when that is most congenial to the content. *Yithgaddal weyithqaddash shemeh rabbah* ("Magnified and sanctified be his great name") would fit perfectly into magical thought, but unless I have overlooked it, its exact equivalent does not appear in PGM. Nor does any of the other conspicuous elements of synagogal prayer, so far as I have noticed. And prayer by blessing, so conspicuous in the synagogue, is extremely rare.

Second: Even material from the Pseudepigrapha is almost nil. There are a few references to OT persons in situations unknown to the OT—some of them indiscreet. We hear, for instance, of "the longing that the god, the son of Sirius, felt for Moses when he (Moses) was going up the hill of Ninaretos to offer water to his god, his lord, his IAHO

²⁵ Viz.: VII.1005-9; XIV.304; LVII part 2; LXVII.

Sabaho, his....Muse" (PDM XIV.1031f.). But these interesting details seem to come, not from the known "pseudepigrapha," but from a body of legend otherwise unattested.

Third: Thus, when I looked for "Jewish" elements I found almost exclusively OT elements, but even these were often distorted and developed by memory or imagination or both, and often in ways unparalleled, so far as I know.

[Whence comes this material?] From Christians? If so, why are there no references to Jesus and [other New Testament figures]? From Samaritans? Some [material] perhaps. But it would seem unlikely to attribute to Samaritans exclusively *all* this sort of material in so many different papyri. From "the gnostics"? "The gnostics" are a common junk heap, onto which anything otherwise unassignable is thrown. In fact there was no such thing as "the gnostic church." There were a lot of small sects, with little in common. A few of them called themselves "gnostics," many of the others were called so by their fellow Christians for no reason better than normal Christian sectarian hostility. Consequently reference to "the gnostics" is worthless. One must refer to one or another particular sect, and those sects of which we know enough to make a reference meaningful gave such importance to Jesus that the rarity of references to him in the papyri makes their authorship as unlikely as that of "orthodox" Christians.

All things considered, I think it most likely that the bulk of this material comes from pagan magicians who were trying to strengthen their spells by calling on the famous Jewish god and his supernatural associates, and occasionally referring to stories about his cult and his people.

Such stories had been circulating in Egypt, and the cult of Yahweh had been living there, since Assyrian times at least. With the Assyrians came—reportedly—the Jewish garrison whose descendants lived at Elephantine and served the Persians. From their documents and related finds we can see that there were other Jewish settlements in the land, and from their time on we can trace a succession of names and documents testifying to the continuance of the cult of Yahweh in the country. In the time of the Elephantine garrison, this cult was neither monotheistic—other gods were also worshiped—nor biblical—no biblical texts were found in the remains—nor subordinate to Jerusalem. But it did have connections with the Persian governors of Samaria, who were themselves Samaritans, and either from them or from Jerusalem the Pentateuch probably made its way into the Egyptian cult in at least the succeeding century. However, to judge from the scraps of information that we have, the worship of other gods along with Yahweh continued. When masses of Palestinian immigrants arrived, many of them unwillingly, in Ptolemaic times, the conflict

between syncretists and adherents of the worship of Yahweh alone will have been imported with them, and the syncretists may have found important allies in the long established Judeo-Egyptian cult, a form of lower-class “native” worship sharply distinct from the aristocratic hellenized Judaism of Philo and [of] the Jewish poets and historians whose works were collected by Alexander Polyhistor. From this native syncretistic cult [pagan] magicians drew their knowledge of and references to IAO and his associates, not from the Septuagintal circles, with their upper class adherents. Evidence of this is the fact that the LXX never uses IAO. Further evidence is the continuance of this off track, quasi Old Testament material in those papyri whose roots lie in the second and third centuries A.D., a time when Jews had been almost wholly driven out of Egypt.²⁶ [The Greek magical papyri are also marked by] the total absence of Palestinian and Rabbinic liturgical traits. What we find there instead are the traces of the old native Judeo-Egyptian syncretistic cult of Yaho/Iao.

²⁶ [On the destruction of Egyptian Jewry in the war of 115-117, and] the near total absence of Jews between 118 and 337, attested by the papyri, see V. Tcherikover, *CPJ*, I, pp. 92-98; III, p. 3.

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Note: This bibliography was compiled from various sources: Morton Smith's own curriculum vitae and publication files; "A Bibliography of the Writings of Morton Smith to December 31, 1973" by A. Thomas Kraabel, in *Christianity, Judaism and other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty*, ed. J. Neusner (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975) 4.190-200; and various bibliographical data bases. I am grateful to Prof. Kraabel for permission to use his work, and to my student assistants William K. Gilders, Andrew Jacobs, and Mitchell Verter for their help. Papers reprinted in this collection are marked with an *.

Abbreviations:

AC	Antiquité classique
ACR	American Classical Review
AHR	American Historical Review
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJP	American Journal of Philology
ATR	Anglican Theological Review
BAR	Biblical Archaeology Review
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
BO	Bibliotheca Orientalis
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CNI	Christian News from Israel
CR	Classical Review
CS	Cahiers sioniens
CW	Classical World
EB	Estudios Bíblicos
EI	Eretz-Israel
GOTR	Greek Orthodox Theological Review
GR	Greece and Rome
GRBS	Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies [originally Greek and Byzantine Studies]
HLB	Harvard Library Bulletin
HR	History of Religions
HT	History and Theory
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
JAAR	Journal of the American Academy of Religion
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JBR	Journal of Bible and Religion

JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JPC	Journal of Pastoral Care
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JRT	Journal of Religious Thought
NTS	New Testament Studies
OLZ	Orientalische Literaturzeitung
PAAJR	Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research
RB	Revue Biblique
RHE	Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique
RHR	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
RIL	Religion in Life
RSPT	Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques
RSR	Religious Studies Review
SOTSBL	Society for Old Testament Study Book List
STK	Svensk teologisk kvartalskrift
TLS	Times (London) Literary Supplement
TLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
TR	Theologische Revue
TZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZfK	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
ZTK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

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IN MEMORIAM MORTON SMITH

Morton Smith (1915-1991) was a great scholar, blessed with extraordinary acuity, mordant wit, and expansive range. He received an A.B. from Harvard College in 1936 and an S.T.B. from the Harvard Divinity School in 1940. At Harvard Smith studied New Testament with Henry Cadbury, Judaism with Harry Wolfson, and Greco-Roman religions with A.D. Nock. Awarded a travel fellowship, Smith spent four years in Jerusalem at the Hebrew University and the American School of Oriental Research, and studied Hellenistic Judaism with Moshe Schwabe and Hans Lewy, and Jewish mysticism and magic with Gershom Scholem. Smith returned to the United States in 1944 but continued work on his doctoral dissertation which was accepted by the Hebrew University in 1948. After teaching at Brown University and Drew University, and some post-doctoral work at Harvard (which resulted in the Th.D.), Smith joined the History Department of Columbia University in 1957 where he remained until his retirement in 1985.

Smith wrote seven books, some one hundred and twenty articles, dozens of book reviews, and co-authored two books (one with Moses Hadas, the other with Elias Bickerman). This impressive body of scholarship had four main focal points: Ancient Israel; New Testament and Early Christianity; (Ancient) Judaism; Magic. Of course, many of Smith's works resist monothetic classification, and cross the lines separating these four fields – in fact, one of Smith's major goals precisely was to bridge the gaps between and among these four fields, as I shall discuss below – but this classification remains useful. It also has the advantage of having been suggested by Smith himself for *Studies in the Cult of Yahweh*, the collection of his articles that he first planned in the mid 1970's and that I have now completed on his behalf. I shall briefly assess Smith's contribution to each of these four fields, and then treat some general features of his scholarly achievement.

Ancient Israel

The Hebrew Bible – its text, its history, its background, and its influence – remained one of Smith's central interests from his first publications (5 and 7)¹ to his last (236). In this field Smith is probably best known for his *Palestinian Parties and Politics that Shaped the Old*

¹ Numbers in parentheses refer to the items in Smith's bibliography.

Testament (118). In this book Smith argued that the entire Tanak – indeed virtually all of Israelite and early Jewish history – should be seen as the product of two conflicting schools or “parties.” The “Yahweh-alone” party was the party of the prophets and the Deuteronomists, who uncompromisingly railed against the “syncretists.” Because the “Yahweh-alone” party ultimately triumphed, it shaped the creation of the Tanak and the historiographical image of the “syncretists” as wicked rebels against God. But, Smith argued, the syncretists were not “sinners” and “apostates” but a genuine and authentic expression of Israelite religion, even older than the monotheists of the “Yahweh-alone” party. Not only in the time of the first temple but even in the second temple period and later as well, syncretistic Judaism was much in evidence; witness the material remains of Judaism in both the homeland (165 and 218) and the diaspora, and, most importantly, the magical texts and rituals of late antiquity. I shall return to this below.

New Testament and Early Christianity

The New Testament, like the Old Testament (if I may use the Christian appellations employed by Smith), was always at the heart of Smith’s work and the subject of some of his earliest articles. Smith’s doctoral dissertation, originally written in Hebrew but published in English as *Tannaïtic Parallels to the Gospels* (4), was primarily a contribution to rabbinic studies. Contrary to what the title suggests, this book was not inspired by Lightfoot or Billerbeck; its goal was not the collection of rabbinic passages that illuminate this or that New Testament text. Rather, it was a study of literary form, “the first extensive application, to rabbinic literature, of synoptic criticism and form criticism.” This book launched the modern form critical study of rabbinic literature, but its relevance to New Testament studies too is obvious. In *Heroes and Gods* (77), published in 1965 and written jointly with Moses Hadas, Smith argued that Jesus should be understood as a “divine man,” a type well attested in Greco-Roman antiquity, and that the gospels were akin to an aretalogy, a recitation of the miraculous powers of a god. This book, amplified by some subsequent articles (122, 186, and 195), launched a new approach (or, perhaps better, revived the old *religionsgeschichtlich* approach) to the study of the Jesus traditions.

Smith achieved fame (some would say notoriety) in 1973 with his publication of *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark* (146). While traveling through the Levant looking for manuscripts of the letters of Isidore of Pelusium (12 and 28), in 1957 at the monastery of Mar Saba (not far from Jerusalem) Smith stumbled on a fragment

of an otherwise unknown letter attributed to Clement of Alexandria. In the letter Clement writes to an otherwise unknown Theodore and instructs him how to respond to the Carpocratians, a Christian sect of the second century, who rely on a “secret gospel of Mark” which is similar to, but longer than, the canonical Mark. In his book Smith argued brilliantly that the attribution of the letter to Clement was authentic, a point conceded by most reviewers (except for those who broadly implied that Smith had forged the whole thing), and that the “secret gospel of Mark” was an important source not only for the history of the second gospel but also for the history of earliest Christianity, a point disputed by many if not most reviewers. In Smith’s view early Christianity was a Jewish movement which centered on magic, mysticism, healings, heavenly journeys, ecstatic possession, and secret initiations. This portrait was filled in with even greater detail in *Jesus the Magician* (192), in which Smith argued that the actions attributed to Jesus by the gospels could best be understood against the backdrop of magic in antiquity. Smith used as evidence not only the gospel accounts but also the traditions about Jesus contained in rabbinic and classical literatures, a perspective also advanced in a wonderful article “Pauline Worship as Seen by Pagans” (207). At his death Smith was working on *Paul the Possessed*, whose thesis was to have been that Paul is a primary example of “spiritual possession.”

Ancient Judaism

All four of Smith’s books so far mentioned – *Tannaitic Parallels to Gospels*, *Palestinian Parties and Politics that Shaped the Old Testament*, *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark*, and *Jesus the Magician* – make direct and important contributions to the study of ancient Judaism, as I hope my brief summaries above have made clear. One of his most influential publications was a brief unannotated article that appeared in a collection of essays of the sort not normally the expression of innovative and original scholarship. But Smith’s essay was both innovative and original. Entitled “Palestinian Judaism in the First Century” (17), it argued, inter alia, that the Pharisees were not the dominant religious-political party in Judaeian society and that Pharisaic Judaism was not the dominant or normative variety of Judaism. The thesis that the Pharisees and their rabbinic continuators did not dominate the religious life of Judaism was not new, of course. It had been advanced fifty years earlier by Wilhelm Bousset. But Bousset’s account was flawed in two respects: it ignored rabbinic material out of ignorance – an ignorance that was seized upon by Bousset’s Jewish critics, notably Felix Perles, and that was somewhat remedied only in the 1926 revision by Hugo Gressman – and it

advanced the very dubious hypothesis that the apocalyptic and pseudepigraphic works give us a glimpse of real folk piety, of Judaism as lived and believed.² But there is no reason to think that these recondite and fantastic works represent the mind of the masses any more than the recondite and fantastic works of the rabbis. Smith avoided both of these pitfalls. Unlike Bousset, he knew rabbinic literature first-hand, and his picture of “the people of the land” was far more sophisticated than Bousset’s; the apocalyptic and pseudepigraphic works played virtually no role in Smith’s reconstruction.

What was entirely novel about Smith’s thesis was the historiographical argument. Smith argued that Josephus in the *War* still favored “the group of which his family had been representative – the wealthy, pro-Roman section of the priesthood,” while in the *Antiquities*, written some twenty years later, he favored the Pharisees instead. The contrast between the *War* and the *Antiquities* reflects the shift in the fate of the Pharisees and their successors between the pre- and post-70 periods. Smith would later support this thesis in *Jesus the Magician* with the argument that most of the synoptics’ references to, and virtually all of the synoptics’ polemics against, the Pharisees, are found in post-70 CE insertions in earlier material (192 pp. 153-157). Thus in both Josephus and the synoptics the picture of Pharisaic dominance is a projection of post-70 CE conditions upon the pre-70 CE period.

This bipartite thesis – the historical argument that the Pharisees were a small but influential group, and the historiographical argument that Josephus’ picture of the Pharisees developed over time – has been enormously influential. It was widely publicized through the voluminous and repetitive publications of Jacob Neusner, and has aroused continuing controversy.³ Smith clearly overstated the distinction between the *War* and the *Antiquities*, but put his finger on an important point, and no matter how the Josephan passages are interpreted the problem of the Pharisees and their influence still remains.

The essay “Palestinian Judaism in the First Century” addressed another of his favorite concerns: the Hellenization of Judaism. Smith never ceased railing against the misleading distinction between “Hellenistic Judaism” and “Palestinian Judaism,” arguing that Palestinian Judaism was no less Hellenized – albeit in different ways,

² Wilhelm Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1903); *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, rev. Hugo Gressman (3rd ed. Tübingen: Mohr, 1926).

³ See especially Steve Mason, *Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees* (Leiden: Brill, 1991).

perhaps – than Judaism of the diaspora. The literary forms, the social types, the scholarly techniques, much of the theology, much of the art, and virtually all of the realia of life, of Judaism in late antiquity were derived from, or at least heavily colored by, the ambient culture (32, 118 pp. 57-81, and 240).

Magic

The study of ancient magic was important to Smith for several reasons. First, Smith was always more interested in the narratives about Jesus than in his sayings, and the narratives in large part feature healings and miracles, in other words, magic. Second, magic was the great meeting ground and melting pot of religions in late antiquity. The Greek magical papyri (254) are composed of Egyptian, Jewish, and Greek elements, with a generous admixture from other cultures as well. Here, then, was clear proof for cultural and religious mixing, precisely the sort of thing that Smith always found interesting. Third, magic was usually suppressed, and occasionally persecuted, by the authorities. Magic, then, was the religion of the outsider, the one who did not get to write the canonical books or the authoritative laws. Magic provided clear proof for the one-sidedness of the literary tradition, and for the necessity of reconstructing other traditions alongside those of the “winners.” Smith always enjoyed discomfiting “winners” (see below).

Smith planned to write a catalogue of the magical gems of the British Museum and a History of Magic in Greco-Roman Antiquity, but made little progress on either project. Instead, we have extensive discussions of magic in *Clement of Alexandria* (146 pp. 220-237), *Jesus the Magician* (passim), and a series of articles on magical gems and magical papyri.

General themes and concerns

Certain themes and concerns unite all of Smith’s work. First, a determination to destroy boundaries. Smith was a man who worked comfortably in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and had a good working knowledge of Syriac. He read Sophocles, Septuagint, Soferim, and Cyprian with equal ease. He believed that the world of antiquity was a single whole, and that the scholarly conventions of dividing the ancient world into Jewish, Christian, and classical, and subdividing in turn each of these three, were impediments to scholarship. Smith argued that early Christianity was part of Judaism, that Judaism was part of the Hellenistic world, and that neither Christianity nor Judaism nor Hellenistic culture could be understood in isolation from the other. Because of his ability to see the ancient world as a whole, Smith was capable of some remarkable insights. Nehemiah was a tyrant of the

sort described by Herodotus (118 pp. 136-144); through their conquests the Maccabees created a league of *Ioudaioi* akin to the Aetolian league and the other leagues of Hellenistic Greece (280); Jesus was a magician like other ancient magicians (192); as a social type the rabbis of the Mishnah were philosophers (17).

Second, a concern for varieties of Judaism and Christianity, especially varieties that would counter the traditional and respectable versions of Judaism and Christianity known to most people. Smith saw his own work as complementing that of Walter Bauer on early Christianity and Erwin Goodenough on early Judaism (102 pp. 10-11). In his *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, Bauer argued, against Eusebius, that "Orthodoxy" does not precede "heresy" but the opposite: early Christianity was a variegated phenomenon in which many movements and schools which would later be styled "heretical" were at first not heretical at all but were perfectly valid and (in their own environment) acceptable forms of Christianity. They did not become "heretical" until an emerging "Orthodoxy" would later make them so. In his *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* Goodenough argued that the medieval triumph of rabbinic Judaism should not obscure the fact that in Roman and early Byzantine times rabbinic Judaism was neither dominant nor "Orthodox"; among Greek-speaking Jews and the Jewish masses there thrived a decidedly non-rabbinic, mystical, and Hellenized, Judaism. Goodenough found evidence for this non-rabbinic Judaism in various patristic texts, in ancient magic, and especially in Jewish art. Like Bauer Smith argued that in Judaism, as in Christianity, heresy preceded orthodoxy: the "Yahweh-alone" party was a pietist reaction to the reigning syncretism of the day; the Pharisees were an important, but hardly the dominant, group in the Judaism of the first century CE. Like Goodenough Smith argued that Jewish magic and art provided clear evidence that non-rabbinic Judaism persisted well into "the rabbinic period." In a brilliant review article of Goodenough's work, Smith observed that Goodenough's mystical thesis failed to convince, but that Goodenough, like Columbus, had discovered new worlds in the course of his failure (93).

Third, the concern for varieties was abetted by a great concern for terminological precision (227). Smith argued that scholars use words like "Judaism," "Hellenism," "gnostic" (213) and "apocalypse" (228) without realizing their ambiguities and without defining them precisely. The exact meaning of "Jew" or *Ioudaios* was a question to which he returned a number of times in the course of his life. In an influential article Smith argued that Sicarii were not Zealots, and Zealots were not Sicarii; the terms and the groups must be kept

distinct (123). Fourth, a concern for the big picture. Smith never allowed himself to be so blinded by varieties as to deny the fundamental unity of the phenomena we conventionally call Judaism and Christianity. A current scholarly fad is the term “Judaisms”; Smith never used this awkward word, always preferring instead “varieties of Judaism” or similar locutions. Smith believed that one could talk meaningfully of ancient Judaism, its patterns and paradigms (52). Similarly, one could even speak of “The Common Theology of the Ancient Near East” (7).

Fifth, scorn for pseudo-scholarship, that is, pronouncements and opinions born of religious faith and confessional conviction but masquerading as “objective scholarship.” Smith argued that “the Bible” is a theological category inherited from Judaism and Christianity, and as such is an obstacle to a proper understanding of ancient Judaism and Christianity. Smith had only scorn for those who believed that any truth might somehow be lurking in the New Testament miracle stories (except insofar as the cures allegedly effected by Jesus might have been psycho-somatically induced cures of psycho-somatically induced illnesses). Smith had only scorn too for those who saw any truth in the prophetic experiences of either the Old Testament or the New Testament, as if God or any god would ever or did ever communicate in such a way with humans. For Smith the ideal of scholarly objectivity could be met only through atheism or Epicureanism, that is, the assumption that if the gods exist, they intervene not at all in human affairs (102). (Whether Smith actually was an atheist or an Epicurean, I do not know.)

Smith never tired of discomfiting the faithful. An ordained Episcopalian priest who left the church (but was never defrocked), Smith well knew that his portrait of Jesus the Magician, and his picture of a Christianity dominated by magic, heavenly ascents, and spiritual possession, was far from the respectable, rational, middle-class Christianity of most of his readers. Smith well knew that his picture of a syncretistic Judaism living on from biblical to rabbinic times would discomfit many of his Jewish readers. Smith reveled in this. But in private life Smith was hardly the wild-eyed radical or the strident orator. On the contrary. In person he was staid and somewhat stiff, always well dressed, perfectly mannered, and an impeccable gentleman. His memory will endure.⁴

⁴ On various points I was aided by William M. Calder, “Morton Smith,” *Gnomon* 64 (1992) 382-384.

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